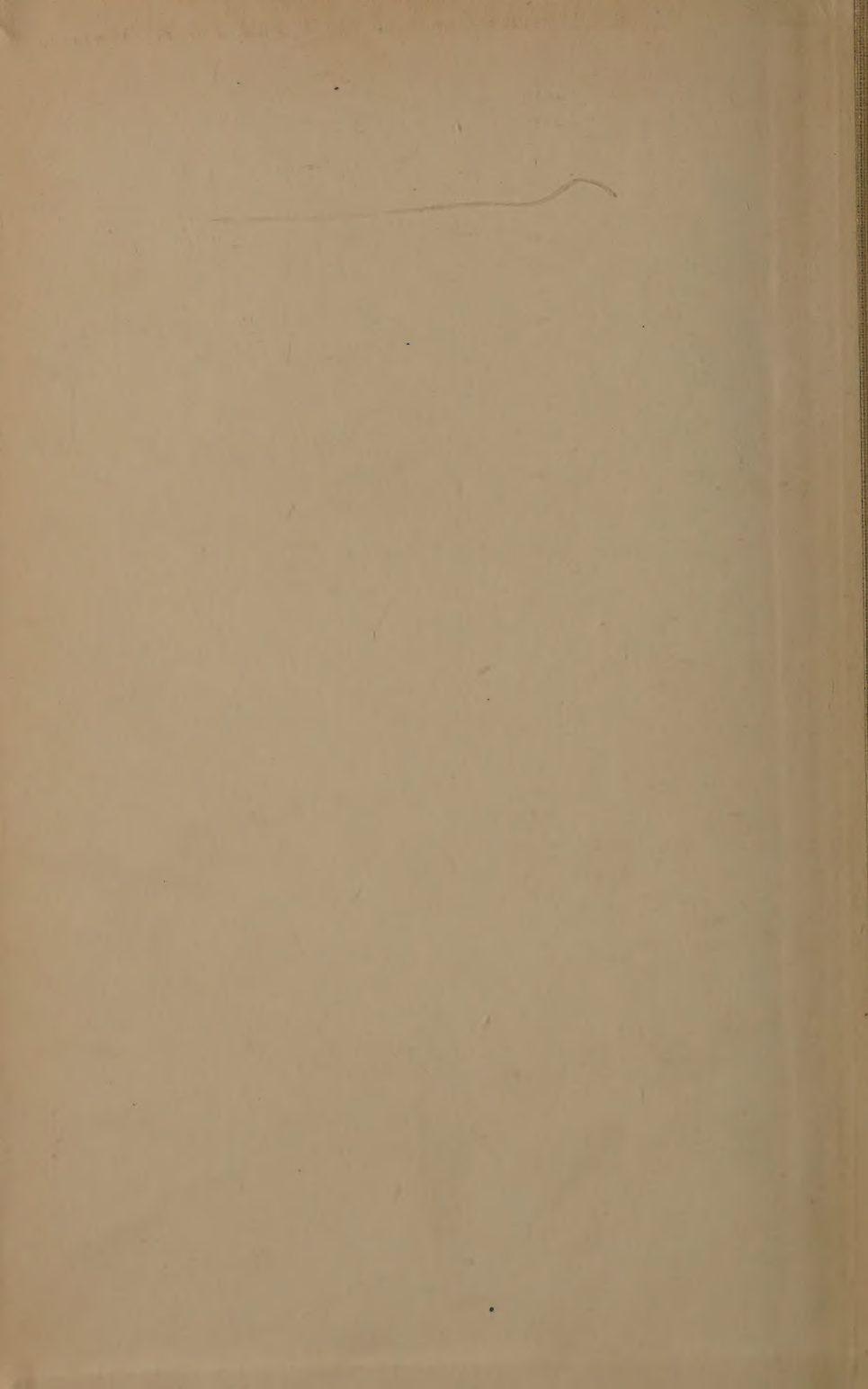




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THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

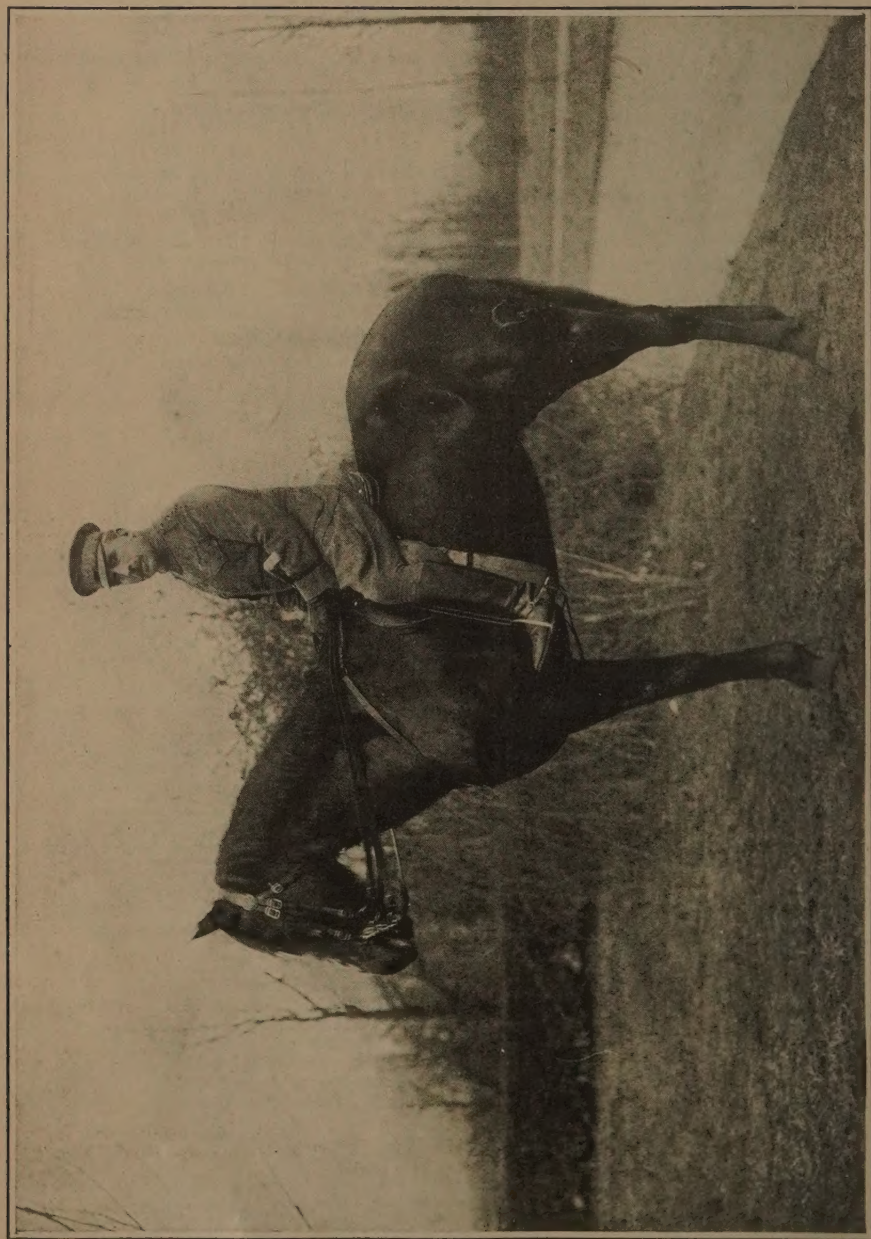
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MAJOR GENERAL LEONARD WOOD, OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY, LEADING CANDIDATE FOR THE REPUBLICAN
PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 1

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Preliminary
Presidential
Politics*

The State of South Dakota has adopted certain political arrangements that have some interest for the rest of the country, whether or not they are of much practical use to South Dakota itself. The primary elections for nominating party candidates are to be held in South Dakota in March; and at that time delegates will be chosen to attend the national party conventions. The law requires that the parties hold simultaneous conventions at the State Capitol, Pierre, several months in advance of the primaries, and accordingly these gatherings were held in the opening days of December. A preliminary expression on presidential candidates is one of the unusual requirements of this South Dakota system. The delegates from each county are allowed to vote in the ratio of the number of party votes cast at the last State election. The technical features of this curious primary law of South Dakota were not a matter of note, but the results last month actually secured extensive news reports and general press comment throughout the United States.

*Candidates
Named in South
Dakota*

Everyone interested in politics knew that several so-called "booms" had been started for presidential candidates. But not many citizens knew to what extent such movements were organized; much less was it known how far there was a genuine public support for one or another of the suggested candidacies. The value to the country of South Dakota's early conventions lay in the testing of these somewhat doubtful movements in a concrete situation. What was vaguely in solution had to be precipitated, to use a chemical analogy, in this Western political laboratory. So far as developed Republican candidacies are concerned, that of General

Leonard Wood and that of Governor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois have now assumed a character quite substantial because the Republican convention in South Dakota, in actual experiment, discovered 28,599 votes for Wood and 15,442 for Lowden. The endorsement of General Wood at the convention is not a conclusive, or binding action; and the voters at the primaries in March will be free to choose delegates to the national convention in Lowden's interest rather than in that of General Wood, or even in the interest of some other candidate if they should then see fit to reject the advice of the December convention. But the vote for this candidate, who is not in any manner identified with South Dakota and who is not therefore a "favorite son" or a selection made for local reasons, is indicative of the practical character that the movement on behalf of the nomination of Leonard Wood has assumed throughout the country. From various indications many people had thought his candidacy was growing; and the South Dakota vote came as a significant piece of evidence. It was doubly welcome to the organizers and managers of the Wood movement, because local politicians everywhere like to be early in the camp of the winner; and many who had no objections but had not committed themselves were now ready to show a more positive interest in General Wood as the leading candidate.

*The Presidency
as a Vital
Concern*

Whatever might have been true regarding so-called "booms" that suffer from being exposed to view prematurely, we are now near enough to the State primaries and to the national conventions to be considering seriously the question of candidates for the high office of President. There is no office in the world that is to be compared in critical importance

with that of the Presidency of the United States. This is a lesson that the country needs to learn more than almost any other. We have had millions of citizens fairly well educated in one sense, but dangerously unintelligent in other respects, who have acted upon the theory that it made comparatively little difference to them which party was in power or what individual leader was placed in the White House. They acted upon the belief that they could safely and profitably devote themselves to their own private affairs, and that matters of politics and government were largely in the hands of fate and not to be taken with too much concern. If such people are capable of learning anything at all by experience, they have now found out that matters of politics and government are of life-and-death concern to every American family in the carrying-on of its private affairs. It is of great consequence who are sent to represent the States in the Senate, and who are sent to the House of Representatives from the districts. But, under our system as it has developed, it is a business of so much consequence which is to culminate at the polls in November, as a result of the Presidential campaign, that this one issue of the Presidency should be regarded as paramount.

*Candidates
as Found,
or Made*

No high office should be a matter of intrigue or of self-seeking; but, on the other hand, it is wholly creditable that young men should prepare themselves for public work and should offer themselves as aspirants for one elective office after another. It is not unfitting that a man should seek a Governorship or a seat in the United States Senate, and it is desirable that men of public experience and talent should so study our methods and problems of government and so fit themselves for high leadership that their friends might present them as possible candidates for the highest office. But this one office is too far removed from all others in its responsibilities to be stubbornly sought as a prize by any man of ambition. If the people of any community or State think they have a fellow citizen especially fitted for the Presidency, it is their duty as well as their privilege to give the country the benefit of their views. But presidential politics must no longer be regarded as a game for the professionals who know the tricks. Men of public spirit and true perception must press to the front and not permit national conven-

tions to be dominated by schemers, or by experts in the art of gathering "hand-picked" delegates.

*The Man
and the
Office*

There are many thoughtful Americans—men who say less than they know or think—who have not ceased to ponder over the effects of convention management, both Republican and Democratic, during the past two decades, or, let us say, since 1896. It is useless to condemn in any sweeping way the methods and results of professional politics. It is perhaps true that politicians did better than was to have been expected in view of the neglect of political duty by the great mass of citizens. The point of these remarks lies in the observation that these well-meaning citizens should have learned by reason of experience that the conduct of public office is vital to every private interest. As the facts about the beginning of the Great War are now being candidly studied in Germany, it becomes evident that German opinion as to the responsibility of the Emperor William for Austria's attack upon Serbia is not different from the opinion that was generally held in the United States at the time. Even though urged on by the Pan-German politicians and the military leaders, it is probable that the Emperor could have prevented the war if he had tried to do so. He is justly chargeable, therefore, with having precipitated the world conflict. But, as events have shaped themselves in the past five or six years, it is doubtful whether even the Emperor of Germany ever exercised as much actual influence over the course of affairs in his own country as the President of the United States has exercised in this democratic republic.

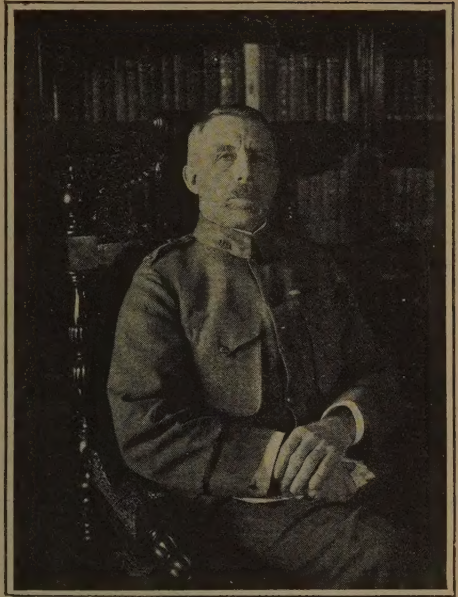
*"Personal Equi-
tion" of the
Presidency*

America has been through experiences that are expressed in aggregates of almost unthinkable magnitude. Chapters of our history have been made that will be critically studied and constantly rewritten for at least a century to come. The course of events has been profoundly shaped not merely by the words and deeds of the President of the United States, but by what is, to use a word now common in the streets, his "psychology"—that is to say, his peculiar individual way of seeing things, of theorizing about them, and of dealing with them in accordance with his own mental attitudes toward them. Mr. Wilson was elected in 1912 by reason of

certain reactions and movements that had split the Republican party and had swung the pendulum away from the Republican high tariff. It is a purely speculative exercise to wonder what would have happened in our relation to world affairs if Mr. Taft or Mr. Roosevelt had been elected in 1912, or again if Mr. Hughes or Mr. Roosevelt had been elected in 1916. After all, the country made its own choices under a free system and not under an autocracy. There is not to be found even between the lines of our comment any reflection upon Mr. Wilson or any other leader. But it would be worse than fatuous to ignore henceforth the enormous consequences to the country that lurk in the "personal equation" of the Presidency.

Now that General Leonard Wood has become so prominent as a candidate, with the practical certainty that his name will be presented at the Chicago convention in June, there is anxious desire in many quarters to know what kind of a President this leader would make. General Wood became a national character in 1898, but he had won distinction a dozen years earlier and had received the military Medal of Honor for his gallant part in an Indian campaign (against Geronimo) on our Southwest border in 1886. He was a New England boy, born in October, 1860, in New Hampshire and educated in Massachusetts, graduating at the Harvard Medical School in 1884. He went into the Army soon after, and was appointed First Lieutenant and Assistant Surgeon early in January, 1886. Before the end of that same year he had distinguished himself as an Indian fighter. He made steady progress in the Army, and within five years had become a Captain and a full Surgeon. A few years later he was stationed in Washington and had the honor of being President McKinley's personal physician at the time when Theodore Roosevelt left the Police Commissionership in New York City to become Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Wood and Roosevelt had so many tastes in common, including a love for vigorous out-of-door exercise, that they became intimate friends. It was Roosevelt who proposed the forming of the first volunteer cavalry regiment when we declared war upon Spain, but he insisted that Leonard Wood should be Colonel. Wood was in a short time promoted to be a Brigadier General, and

Leonard Wood
and His
Training



MAJOR-GENERAL LEONARD WOOD

Roosevelt was advanced from second place to the head of his regiment of "Rough Riders."

A Broad
Experience

There followed a period of opportunity and service for General Wood in Cuba. In a short time he had shown himself remarkably capable as a civil administrator. His medical knowledge gave him especial fitness for directing and supporting those sanitary reforms which are perhaps the best legacy for Cuba of our brief occupation, when we were transforming a Spanish colony into a self-governing republic. General Wood was made a Major General of Volunteers and later was sent to the Philippines, where his military, medical and political talents all found still further opportunity. This brief paragraph is intended only to characterize some of General Wood's qualifications, and not to serve the purpose of a biographical sketch. Most readers are familiar with General Wood's subsequent rise to the position of the Army's senior major general and to the honors and duties of the Chief of Staff at Washington. In due time he was transferred to the command of the Eastern Military Division of the country with headquarters at Governor's Island, New York. He had meanwhile, in previous years, witnessed the work of foreign armies in peace and in war, and had been a constant student

of public affairs as well as of matters relating to his own two professions. He had maintained himself in health and vigor by constant care and exercise, and had pursued a more active intellectual life than is usual among army officers.

*His Work
for
Preparedness*

General Wood's more recent distinction has been due to a public service in the field of statesmanship rather than of military service. Being a student of world conditions, he was thoroughly convinced when the European War began in the summer of 1914 that the United States would be in a perilous position unless we should at once increase our military and naval preparedness as quickly as possible and to a great extent. It was not regarded as quite the conventional thing for a military man on the active list of the Army to express opinions about policies that his superior political heads (the Secretary of War and the President of the United States) might like to present to the public in their own way. Presidents and Secretaries, however, come and go, while the professional army chiefs are permanent and are also citizens. There is no law or rule in this country by virtue of which an experienced army officer of high standing is precluded from expressing the opinions that he holds regarding the country's safety in the military sense. General Wood's attitude was eminently respectful and wholly non-partisan. He knew that private soldiers could be trained quickly in case of need, but that if drawn into war we should be at a loss for officers. He also knew that we should be exceedingly short of guns and munitions of all kinds. He expressed his views on every suitable occasion, and took the initiative by starting vacation camps at Plattsburg for the training of civilian officers at their own expense.

*Value of the
Plattsburg
Camp*

When the war came, his Plattsburg experiment of the summers of 1915 and 1916 had actually gone far to give us a body of excellent young officers. Further than that, the Plattsburg idea was taken up by the War Department in 1917, and training camps all over the country were established upon the Plattsburg model. In these training camps it was not unusual to find that the instructors, who were turning out fresh bodies of Lieutenants, were themselves young businessmen or lawyers who had received Plattsburg summer training and had been given commis-

sions when we began to raise armies early in 1917. It would be hard to over-estimate the service rendered to this country and to the world, not merely by General Wood's foresight in 1914 and 1915, but by his courageous action in demonstrating what could be done to create a large American army. General Wood, during the war period, desired to be sent to France, but he was retained in this country where he trained armies, worked loyally wherever placed, and showed by example that men best fitted to lead and to command can also take orders and serve well without complaint. Far from sulking or going into retirement, General Wood accepted the shifts from one place to another, and never failed to find tasks well worth performing wherever he was sent. He is not a man with a grievance, but an eminently capable American public servant, sound mentally and physically, of firm purpose, knowing all parts of the country well, and also knowing intimately the foreign contacts and relationships of the United States, as they have developed during the past quarter-century.

*The Rise of
Frank
Lowden*

The South Dakota showdown also gave concrete evidence of a real movement for the nomination of Governor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois. Governor Lowden, like General Wood, has a very acceptable personality. Both Wood and Lowden are examples for their fellow countrymen in one important respect. General Wood was fifty-nine on his last birthday, October 9. Mr. Lowden will be fifty-nine on the 26th day of the present month of January. Thus one has entered his sixtieth year and the other is about to enter it, and both are in prime condition, with the unimpaired vigor of youth. They have not been afraid of work, but have taken good care of their health. General Wood expresses himself as a public speaker with exceptional force, and with the self command of a finely trained speaker. As a medical man and a soldier, he has something of professional terseness and brevity. Lowden, as lawyer, politician and statesman, is a remarkably engaging speaker possessing unusual poise. He was born in Minnesota and went to Iowa while a very young boy, his father being first a blacksmith and then a farmer. Young Lowden taught in country schools for several years, and went to the Iowa State University at the age of twenty, graduating at the top of his class,

after which, by teaching and clerking, he made his way through law school in Chicago and soon was recognized as perhaps the most brilliant and promising of the young members of the Chicago bar. He became identified at once with the educational and progressive activities of his State, became a trustee of several leading colleges in Illinois, and took his place as a man of mark with the prospect of a distinguished future.

Lowden also became a volunteer

Lieutenant Colonel in Chicago

*Farmer and
War Governor*

at the time of the war with Spain in 1898. Meanwhile, he had married a daughter of the late Mr. Pullman, was a professor of law, active at the bar, and influential in Republican politics. He missed the nomination for Governor in 1904 when the Deneen-Yates forces combined against him on the seventy-ninth ballot; but he was sent to Congress two years later. He had purchased a farm in the Rock River Valley in 1900, and after a few years at Washington he decided to retire from politics and devote himself for some time to the building up of his health and the development of the varied possibilities of a great middle-western farm. He has been instrumental in doing much to promote successful scientific farming, while on the other hand farming has done much for him. He waited twelve years from the time of his previous candidacy and was elected Governor of Illinois by a tremendous majority in 1916. He could probably have won a seat in the United States Senate, but he held to his duties as Governor for the term of four years. Without invidious comparison, it is proper to say that Lowden has been in the very forefront of the successful war governors.

Illinois was in some respects a difficult State to administer in the war period; but there is no real dissent from the opinion that Lowden has shown himself a fine executive, a true leader, and a Governor to be proud of. Under his direction, Illinois has made remarkable reforms. It has consolidated 125 State boards, commissions and bureaus into a group of nine departments, with a wholly new kind of working efficiency, with a reduction of the tax rate, and with business methods in making estimates and expenditures. Under his leadership also, Illinois has entered upon the outlay of a large sum for good roads, interest and principal to be

*An Expert
Administrator*



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HON. FRANK O. LOWDEN, GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS

repaid by automobile license fees. Later in the present year, 1920, Illinois is to have a constitutional convention to revise the existing constitution which was adopted fifty years ago; and the referendum which has endorsed and authorized the holding of this convention was submitted to the people on Governor Lowden's recommendation. If he should be nominated for the Presidency, he would be well qualified to deal with the financial and economic problems which are to be so pressing during the next few years.

*Other
Figures—
Coolidge*

It is reasonable to say, in view of the discussion throughout the country that has followed the South Dakota convention, that General Wood and Governor Lowden are now candidates on the national plane. Is this true of any other Republicans? Certainly there are Republicans who are nationally known and recognized as personally of "presidential size," but it is not so well known whether or not they will be definitely presented as candidates, either in primary elections a few months hence, or before the national convention. It has been expected that a number of States would bring forward a "favorite son," either seriously or as a passing compliment. The South Dakota Republi-

can Convention almost unanimously agreed upon Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts for the second place on the ticket, but the Massachusetts leaders have themselves come together and announced their intention of supporting Governor Coolidge for the first place. In this decision Senator Lodge and ex-Senator Murray Crane are united, with the support of Progressive leaders like Mr. Bird. In Massachusetts they elect a Governor every year. Coolidge had come into the Governorship of Massachusetts by way of party promotion, having been three times (in three successive years) elected Lieutenant-Governor. He was first elected Governor as recently as 1918.

*A New
National
Personage*

The country at large knew nothing about Coolidge until he showed remarkable firmness in dealing with the Boston police strike which started on September 9. This issue was carried into his campaign for reelection, and, as everybody knows, he won an almost unprecedented victory at the polls two months ago and is now, with the beginning of the year, entering upon his new term as Governor, finding himself a national figure, an Eastern candidate for the Presidency, and a Western candidate for the Vice Presidency. He grew up a typical Vermont boy and went to Amherst College in Massachusetts where he graduated at the age of twenty-three in 1895, proceeding at once to the nearby city of Northampton, where he became a law student in the offices of the leading local firm and was soon admitted to the bar. He was married in Northampton and has lived modestly in that city for more than twenty-four years, being now about forty-seven years old. He has always been in politics; first in the City Council, then as Mayor, and afterwards for a number of terms in both branches of the Massachusetts Legislature. He has the good will of all who know him, as well as their unbounded confidence and respect. If the Boston police had not made the mistake of going on strike, it is hardly possible that South Dakota would have known enough about this modest young New Englander to nominate him for the Vice Presidency. But a successful Republican Governor of Massachusetts becomes a public asset even if not obviously of presidential size. It is wholly probable that Governor Coolidge will, in one capacity or another, be brought into the sphere of national affairs.

*Looking Over
the
Field*

Many Republicans have been more or less prominently mentioned, either for reason of national eminence or of local favor; but they have not as yet been designated by official action. It is supposed that home States in the West may bring forward Senators Hiram Johnson, Poindexter, and Borah. Iowa, Kansas, Indiana and Ohio may have State candidates to present. Indeed, Ohio seems to be rallying around Senator Warren G. Harding. Pennsylvania may further the candidacy of Senator Knox or of Governor Sproul. Ex-President Taft is available and widely popular, though not regarded as an active candidate. Ex-Senator Root was never more influential in the councils of the Republican party, but will not be drafted for the arduous work of the presidency by reason of years, although he has not lost the appearance or elasticity of middle age. Judge Hughes, who was the candidate four years ago, has more than ever the esteem of the country, and his talents especially fit him for the highest public responsibilities; but there is no evidence of any activity on his behalf. Apart from Mr. Root and Mr. Hughes, President Butler of Columbia University is the most widely known Republican of the State of New York, and in his converseance with public affairs, both American and foreign, is of foremost rank. He might prove to be the candidate of the Republicans of the State of New York, but this remains to be seen.

*Republicans
in
Council*

The Republican National Committee foregathered in Washington during the second week of December after a manner that enhanced the prestige that had already been earned by the resourceful Chairman, Mr. Will H. Hays, of Indiana. Mr. Hays has the faculty of keeping his mind upon the business of carrying on the government of the country, and he thinks of party success in terms of the country's welfare. He is proposing to restore politics to the place that the seriousness of public affairs requires. He has been trying to secure party harmony, and he has succeeded in gaining the confidence and approval of the party's statesmen and intellectual leaders while keeping his hold to a remarkable extent upon the good will of the men who manage the party machinery in the different States. Thus it has been usual, immediately after the presidential nominating convention, to change the na-



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A CASUAL GROUP SHOWING SOME OF THE REPUBLICANS WHO ATTENDED THE MEETINGS OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE AT WASHINGTON LAST MONTH

(Chairman Will H. Hays is at the center of the front row, holding a paper. At his right is Governor Sproul of Pennsylvania)

tional chairman and give the office, for the purposes of campaign management, to a personal choice of the presidential nominee. It was the general sentiment among the national committeemen and the chairmen of State committees at Washington in December that Mr. Will Hays should carry on the campaign as Chairman, no matter who might be the candidate chosen at Chicago in June. The friends of all the candidates whose names have been brought under discussion are agreed in expressing satisfaction with the way in which Mr. Hays has magnified and adorned the office of Chairman.

Chicago
Wins the
Convention

The meeting at Washington was primarily to decide the time and place of holding the National Convention. Chicago was chosen, and Tuesday, June 8, was fixed as the date for the opening of the Convention that may last until Saturday. The invitation to St. Louis was cordially received but the Chicago habit is too firmly fixed to be seriously shaken. Lincoln was nominated at Chicago sixty years ago, and that city has been associated with much party history since 1860. Apparently some of the active supporters of the candidacy of General Wood favored St. Louis on the natural theory that Chicago, as Lowden's home city, would have advantages for the Illinois can-

didate; but this is not a vital consideration. A platform committee named half a year in advance is a welcome innovation. The Washington conferences of Republican Committeemen were ushered in with an open session which brought together many leaders from all parts of the country, including Senators and Congressmen. The presence of women in considerable numbers marked the most important recent change in American political life. The principal speakers at the public session were Governor Sproul of Pennsylvania, Governor McKelvie of Nebraska, and Mrs. Medill McCormick of Illinois. Governor Sproul's name is in the list of Presidential possibilities; and if Senator Knox should not be a candidate, the able and presentable Governor may be brought forward as Pennsylvania's "favorite son." Governor McKelvie of Nebraska is typical of the leaders of the new generation now coming forward in the Mississippi Valley and the West. He is a product of the farm, a graduate of the State University, and editor of the *Nebraska Farmer*—an orator and a man of convictions.

Women
in the
Campaign

Mrs. McCormick has in marked degree that superior directness and lucidity that women of trained minds possess in public speech. It was observed that the women who were



International

MRS. MEDILL MCCORMICK, OF CHICAGO

present at Washington as members of the National and State Republican Committees were independent in judgment and were justly influential. They brought high purpose and real force to the party's plans and programs. By virtue of State action a large part of the women of America are already full voters. Mrs. McCormick announced in her speech at Washington that there was a fair probability that the constitutional amendment would be ratified by enough States to give it effect in time for all American women to vote at the presidential election. Relatively speaking, the women voters are more concerned about presidential candidates as individuals, and less concerned about partisanship, than are the men who have come up as party workers and who are now serving on party committees. This evident fact may have a bearing upon the nominations in June. While women in general will be aligned with established parties, they will control their own votes; and their point of view may easily determine the final result.

Mr. Wilson
and His
Party

We are giving attention to the Republican party situation this month because the Democratic situation has been more slow to develop. Thus, the Democratic convention in South Dakota, which met the same day as the Republican convention, on December 2, unanimously endorsed President Wilson for a third term. This action, of course, was not to be taken literally. The Democrats do not expect to vote for Mr. Wilson, but they must of necessity base their party claims upon the record of Mr. Wilson's two terms. In 1908 the Republican campaign was waged upon the record of Roosevelt and McKinley, and Mr. Taft was selected as the logical representative of the McKinley-Roosevelt policies, Mr. Roosevelt refusing to be brought forward for a third term. The South Dakota action of December 2 was an endorsement of Wilson's conduct of the war and of his work in the Peace Conference, and was in support of the fight for ratification of the treaty in the Senate. The friends of the Wilson Administration will endeavor to control the Democratic Convention and to secure a candidate acceptable to the retiring President. There is no one who supposes that Mr. Wilson's state of health would permit him to be a candidate, even if he were unmindful of the tradition that has always prevailed against a third successive term. Mr. Wilson, indeed, was nominated in 1912 by a convention that pledged its candidate to a single term. He did not specifically accept that plank in the platform, and his party forgot all about it before 1916.

"Logical"
Candidates

It is not yet clear what leader will be regarded by the Democrats as most likely to gain at once the endorsement of the White House and the favor of the voters. At least four men who have served in the Wilson Cabinet have been prominently named. These four are Secretaries Baker and Daniels, Mr. William G. McAdoo and the present Attorney-General, Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer. The Navy has been deservedly popular, and its recent history has brought into especial note and favor Secretary Daniels, who comes from North Carolina; the Assistant Secretary, Franklin Roosevelt, who comes from the State of New York; and, finally, Admiral Sims. There are plenty of people who believe that one or another of these three would make a first-rate President of the United States. Admiral Sims will not, of

course, be a candidate; but the New York Democrats might possibly present the name of Franklin Roosevelt at the Democratic national convention. His patronymic is not against him, and the esteem in which he was held by his cousin, the late President Roosevelt, is felt for him by Democrats and Republicans alike in his own home State. Mr. Baker, whose home is in Cleveland, might find the Ohio Democracy preferring to support the candidacy of Governor Cox, whose home is in Dayton. It became known last month that Hon. James W. Gerard, American Ambassador at Berlin until the breaking-off of diplomatic relations, will be presented to the voters in the primaries of many States besides those of New York.

*Mr. McAdoo
and
the Issues*

Mr. William G. McAdoo has had a chance to become thoroughly rested and to reestablish his private affairs under that welcome eclipse which every tired public man enjoys for a year after leaving office. Mr. McAdoo had worked with almost incomparable vigor and intensity for something like six years in the Cabinet, and soon after the signing of the Armistice he felt himself entitled to relief. He showed himself as head of the Treasury Department and of the Railroad Administration to be an executive of swift initiative, great courage, large grasp and bold imagination. The problems immediately confronting the country are economic in their character, and those of the government itself will have to do with taxation, finance, railroads, international credit, the merchant marine and so on. Our present situation as regards merchant ships, Federal taxation, public indebtedness and railroad administration has grown out of Mr. McAdoo's war-time proposals and programs, more than those of any other man. The Democrats might go far and fare worse in trying to find a man capable of dealing further with these problems.

*The New
Cabinet
Favorite*

But the man most in the limelight is a present rather than a former member of the Cabinet.

Mr. A. Mitchell Palmer has brought to the office of the Attorney-General a personality that is very agreeable, while notably strong and fitted for combat whenever principles and convictions are at stake. We are publishing in this number of the REVIEW an article by the well-known journalist and scholar, Mr. William T. Ellis, pointing out Palmer's fine qualities and praising his manly

and straightforward public career. He was a valuable member of Congress and made a high reputation in the war period as Custodian of Alien Property. His report issued in December as head of the Department of Justice shows the present range of Mr. Palmer's activities. The Department has been much concerned with the activities of alien agitators whose opposition to American institutions is criminal in its character. The war-time prohibition act has required a good deal of work in suppressing the illicit liquor traffic. The Department has also been concerned with the enforcement of war legislation relating to profiteering and the cost of living. The most notable of Mr. Palmer's immediate activities has been in connection with the coal crisis. His insistence upon injunctions against the leaders of the United Mine Workers was at the risk of political unpopularity in labor circles. The final adjustment of the strike on terms acceptable to the miners, while credited to President Wilson, was seemingly the result of efforts in which the Attorney-General took the leading part.

*The People
and the
Primaries*

The Democratic Convention of South Dakota, as we have already remarked, skilfully avoided premature advice to the Democratic voters in the March primaries, by declaring for Mr. Wilson himself. No one knows upon whose shoulders the Wilson mantle is to fall. Thus far the party has not shown much factional dissension. Mr. Wilson has been a skilful politician and a great party leader. He has been amazingly successful in holding together the Democratic cohorts on behalf of the adoption of the Versailles Treaty. The emergence of candidates, however, is not likely to be long deferred. The voters will express themselves definitely in the presidential primaries. They will not be guided, much less will they be controlled, by recommendations of leaders. The object of these primaries is to bring out the fullest expression. Some of the laws are so arranged that in voting for delegates to the National Convention the voter's opportunity to name his candidate for President is not very effective. Barely half of the States have as yet provided for presidential primaries; but in the list of those that do are many significant States. It will be for the best interests of both parties and of the country that voters should attend the primaries in great numbers, and express their preferences freely.



HON. WILLIAM G. MCADOO, EX-SECRETARY OF THE
TREASURY

*Dates of
Presidential
Primary
Elections*

New Hampshire leads in these primaries on March 9. Next comes North Dakota, March 16, and South Dakota, March 23. The Michigan voters express their presidential preferences on April 5. Neither party in Michigan is likely to present a local candidate. The New York primary on April 6 will be observed with especial interest. Illinois comes next on April 13, Nebraska on April 20, and Montana on April 23. April 27 will be a political date of especial interest for both parties, because on that date Ohio, New Jersey and Massachusetts all hold their presidential primaries. Our list shows some nine or ten such primaries scheduled for the month of May. Maryland comes first on May 3. Indiana and California are set down for May 4. Wyoming follows on May 10, while Pennsylvania and Vermont are scheduled for May 18. The Oregon primaries will be held May 21, and those of Texas and West Virginia on May 25. Florida has a presidential primary election on June 8, which is the very day of the opening of the Republican convention at Chicago, and therefore obviously without significance. Various other States have, of course, primary elections for the nomination of party officers; but so far as we are informed their

primaries do not provide for expression of presidential choice by the voters, or for the selection of national convention delegates.

*Pershing
and
Hoover*

Some surprises may be in store for us when the men and women of the country this year make use of the chance to record preferences in these primaries. The war period has developed some personalities on the national plane, regardless of parties. General Pershing's eminence has led many thousands of plain citizens to talk of him for the Presidency without any clue at all as to his party preferences. He is more usually regarded as a Democrat, and it has been suggested that if the Republicans nominate General Wood the Democrats may nominate General Pershing. Again, Mr. Herbert Hoover's name is constantly heard among women voters and plain citizens. It is the impression among many of these people that Hoover, more than anyone else, represents the United States in its relationships to the reconstruction of Europe and the world, and that he has a grasp of our home economic problems. Mr. Hoover's business and professional career has kept him in British and foreign residence during many years, but he is a typical Western American of California education. Republicans remember that Mr. Hoover wrote a letter in 1918 advocating the election of a Democratic Congress to support the Wilson policies. A Western Democrat of great distinction is reported to have sent the following message to the recent Republican gathering in Washington: "If you Republicans do not nominate Hoover, we Democrats will!" Doubtless this was said playfully, but many a truthful word has been spoken in jest.

*Senators
too
Busy*

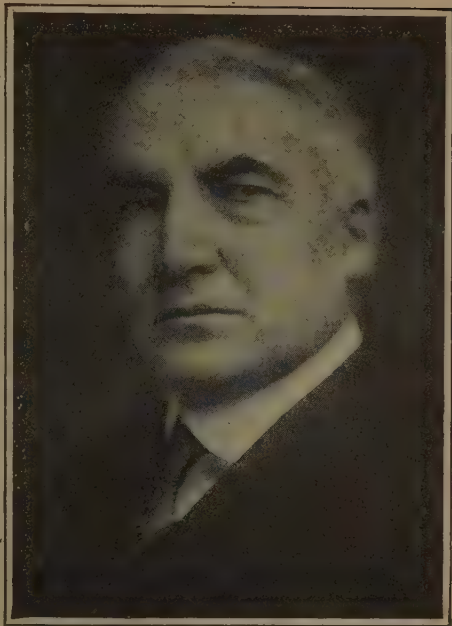
Senatorial leaders on both sides, like Mr. Cummins of Iowa, Mr. Kellogg of Minnesota, Mr. Hitchcock of Nebraska, Mr. Underwood of Alabama, Mr. Knox of Pennsylvania and Mr. Lodge of Massachusetts, all seem to have been too busy with their unending labors at the Capitol to have given thought to presidential aspirations. Senator Harding of Ohio, however, has been asked by the Ohio delegation at Washington to be a candidate, and his boom may survive until June as that of a worthy and much-liked "favorite son." The candidacy of Senator Poindexter of the State of Washington is avowed, and that of Hiram Johnson is also a definite fact.

"Labor"
Now in
Politics

The Democratic party, in recent campaigns, has had the benefit of the thoroughgoing support of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor. Steps have been taken already to organize a Labor party for this year's campaign, but the organization as completed in Chicago late in November has not been endorsed as yet by the leaders of the American Federation of Labor. The Chicago platform of principles is so radical and sweeping that in some respects it seems to go beyond the practices, if not the principles, of the soviet government of Russia. That the American labor movement has become exceedingly radical is evident at every turn, and that it proposes to take a strong hand in politics this year is obvious to all but the blindest of observers. Even the so-called "conservative" labor leaders have in recent years made their headquarters at Washington, which is remote from industrial centers, because they have been chiefly concerned with legislation and matters of public policy. Whatever one might prefer, it is no longer possible to detach the political life of a country from its industrial life. This year the political labor movement will be dominantly radical. It will not do business with the Republican party. Neither will it do business with the Democratic party unless it virtually controls that organization, dictating to a considerable extent the platform of the party, and taking part, directly or indirectly, in the naming of the presidential ticket.

Will Labor
Support a
Third Ticket?

A series of principles and practices has been involved in the strikes and movements that brought Ole Hanson and Calvin Coolidge into prominence. Another series was involved in the steel strike and the first of President Wilson's Industrial Conferences at Washington. Still other questions of practice and of principle have been involved in the coal strike. Perhaps more important than any of these are the practical proposals involved in the Plumb plan for Government-Labor control of railroads. The railway Brotherhoods, the United Mine Workers, and some other compact groups, are associated together for the political support of programs upon which they are in full agreement. The Republicans will be frankly opposed to these programs. It will not suffice for the Democrats this year to dodge the labor issues. If the Democratic plat-



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SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING, OF OHIO

form and candidate should not be satisfactory (1) to the advocates of the Plumb plan for railroad control, (2) to the proposal for nationalizing coal mines and certain other public utilities, and (3) to a further select list of reform proposals (many of them responsive to the spirit of the times and not without merit), we shall almost certainly have a third party in the field with a strong ticket and a positive platform. This third party movement of 1920 would not be in the hands of cranks or mere theorists or of Marxian doctrinaires, but under masterful control of a group of men disciplined in leadership, accustomed to exercise authority, and determined to secure power for purposes of their own, whether altruistic or tinged with private motives.

Economic
Issues
Foremost

In both of the old parties there are conspicuous and restless leaders of crusading temper who might be won over and placed on the ticket to support this third party program. It is enough to say that pending economic issues will present themselves in the election next November in broad, plain lines of cleavage. Any one who supposes that we are to wage a campaign of mere bickering between Republicans and Democrats, turning upon questions of extravagance or economy in war

expenditure, or upon details as to the League of Nations and the Peace Treaty, is not of an understanding mind. The very landmarks of the Constitution are at stake in the contest as it will shape itself. The present foundations of American society, resting upon freedom of opportunity for individual effort, may be affected for a century by the results of the election of this year. Furthermore, the political action of men and women in the primaries, and in the nominating conventions of June, must have a great bearing upon the result at the polls in November.

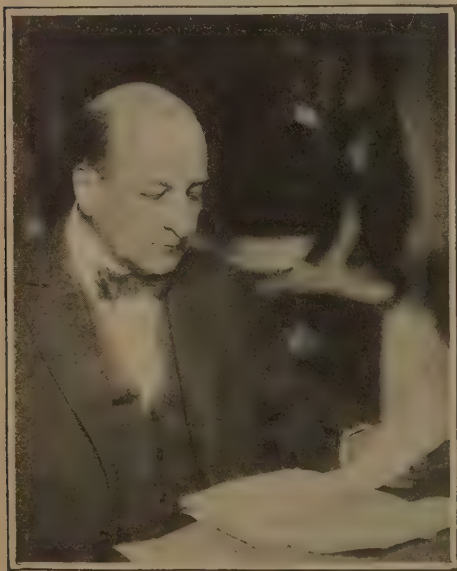
*Ending of
the Coal
Strike*

The bituminous coal strike came to an end with the announcement on December 10, sent out from Indianapolis, of the agreement upon terms proposed by President Wilson for immediate resumption of work. The terms thus accepted comprised, first, an average 14 per cent. wage increase to meet estimated advance in the cost of living since the last

previous wage adjustment, and, second, a study of the whole controversy by a commission to be appointed by the President which should deal with miners' demands and grievances, and with coal operators' profits. There was also the assurance that any further increase of wages as a result of the commission's work should date back to the time of resuming production. This strike of 400,000 coal miners had been stubborn beyond almost any other important strike in American experience. It subjected the innocent public to inconvenience and loss without need or excuse. Although the Washington administration seems to have assumed credit for ending the strike, the record, upon study, does not inspire much admiration. It was not good luck for the country that the Lever Act was still technically in force and that the Government undertook to head off the strike by injunction. The strike was called for November 1 and the President had issued official warning against it on October 25. An injunction was secured on the last day of October, but the strike began the next day and was apparently the more complete and unyielding because the injunction process had been used.

*A Failure in
Government
Control*

If the Lever Act had not existed, if there had been no Fuel Administration, and if the Federal Government had ignored the coal situation, it is probable that the strike would have been settled much sooner and that the public would have been spared great suffering. The Government's method prevented States, local communities and affected industries from acting efficiently on their own behalf. The miners had begun by demanding a wage increase of 60 per cent. and a six-hour day with a five-day week. The Government apparently had done little to secure the production of coal or to end the strike; and particular States and regions had merely been hampered in their local endeavors to go straight to the coal fields and obtain needed supplies. The public had been subjected to a multitude of minute restrictions as to the use of fuel, including reduction of railroad service. The Fuel Administrator, Dr. Garfield, had proposed a 14 per cent. increase of wages which should not be passed on to the consumers of coal. He was opposed to points in the settlement as finally made, and resigned. The small increase in wages is not now to be passed on in the form of increased coal prices to the



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GOVERNOR HENRY J. ALLEN OF KANSAS

(Before the settlement of the coal strike in December, Governor Allen had determined that the sovereign State of Kansas should save its own people from freezing. Control of the Kansas coal fields was assumed by the State, and hundreds of volunteer workers, including students from colleges and universities and men from all walks of life, proceeded to the mines and began production in successful quantities. But for Federal intervention, it is probable that local action of various sorts under such leadership as that of Governor Allen would have settled the strike in a manner much more satisfactory than the compromise made by the Federal authorities with the miners' union. Governor Allen attended the Republican gatherings at Washington, and now ranks as one of the foremost leaders of the party.)



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THE PRESIDENT'S SECOND INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE IN SESSION AT WASHINGTON LAST MONTH

(The new Industrial Conference is as different as possible from its predecessor in structure and in methods of work. The first conference was selected and organized on the highly fallacious theory that three separate groups of members, representing "labor", "capital" and "public", might confer together and find some useful solutions for current social and industrial disturbances. The present conference properly excludes special and selfish interests, and represents the public interest solely. It is a notably strong and able group of men. It is not bothering about the settlement of particular disputes, and its work will be aided by the fact that the coal strike is settled for the present and that the steel strike is practically ended. In the picture above, seated from left to right, are Julius Rosenwald of Chicago (head of Sears, Roebuck & Co.); Ex-Gov. Henry C. Stuart of Virginia; Ex-Gov. Samuel W. McCall of Massachusetts; Ex-Atty.-Gen. Thomas W. Gregory; Mr. Stanley King, and Hon. William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, who presides. Standing are Pres. Henry C. Waters, distinguished agricultural educator; Ex-Gov. Martin H. Glynn of New York; Mr. Richard Hooker (behind Governor Glynn); Mr. Herbert Hoover; Pres. W. O. Thompson of Ohio State University; Hon. Oscar Straus of New York; Ex-Atty.-Gen. George W. Wickersham; Mr. Henry M. Robinson; Prof. F. W. Taussig of Harvard and of the Tariff Board; and Mr. Owen D. Young)

public; but the consumers would gladly have paid a little more for coal to have been spared the disaster of the strike. Nothing gained for any party to the conflict in the final settlement furnishes the shadow of an excuse for the stoppage of coal mining; nor has any step taken by the Government, from beginning to end, lent any new strength to arguments for the Governmental regulation and management of industries. The coal mining business is highly local in its variations and therefore hard to regulate on any general terms or principles. The Government's Fuel Administration was a war measure intended to stimulate maximum production, regardless of expense. It was probably necessary for war purposes, but it is not adapted to times of peace.

vinced of the intelligence and good faith of the department chiefs. The voice of prejudice mentions certain public officials with ready sneers and the habit of detraction. It takes some knowledge of affairs to do justice to good work. A Republican predecessor like James Wilson, for example, would not be likely to speak ill of the general work of the Agricultural Department under Secretary Houston. Mr. Oscar Straus or Mr. George B. Cortelyou would not find that Secretary Redfield had failed to serve the country well in his office as head of the Department of Commerce. Assuredly Mr. James R. Garfield and other previous Secretaries of the Interior would praise the intelligent and faithful public service of the Hon. Franklin K. Lane.

*Faithful
Public
Servants*

The appearance of annual reports calls attention to the work of the Government departments, vastly extended in most cases, and helping to swell the aggregate of some five billions of dollars that it is now going to cost us each year to carry on the business of the nation, as centered in its Federal administration. The thoughtful citizen cannot read these reports without finding himself con-

*Frank Lane
and
His Services*

Mr. Lane's latest report is one of the most fascinating volumes that has issued from the holiday season press. He is never dull, and his constructive imagination commands a sprightly style even in the composing of public documents. The principal theme of his present report is: "Coal, electricity and petroleum as the three sources of light, heat and power, and the need for the adoption of certain con-

structive policies affecting their production and distribution." Mr. Lane is our best interpreter of "conservation," and he analyzes the coal situation, the water-power problem and various phases of petroleum production and demand, as bearing upon the country's future. He states once more his land policies in terms that to us are convincing. Alaska and its new railroad are favorite themes with Mr. Lane; and the training of young Americans is a topic he chooses for his climax and peroration. Mr. Lane had served notably on the Interstate Commerce Commission for a number of years, having been brought from California by President Roosevelt. He has now been veritable master and people's trustee of the country's physical domains for nearly seven years. His successor, whether Democratic or Republican, will study his reports with admiration and will find his policies for the most part worthy to be adopted and continued.

*Mr. Glass Ends
a Year at the
Exchequer* We announced last month the death of Senator Martin of Virginia and the appointment of Secretary Glass of the Treasury Department to the vacant seat. Secretary Glass did not immediately assume his new post, however, but remained to complete a year as Mr. McAdoo's successor. His report, while dealing with very large figures of taxation, expenditures and indebtedness, is optimistic. He finds the floating debt about to disappear, and current taxation in the near future equal to all expenditures of the Government, including interest and sinking fund charges on the funded debt. Besides clear statements dealing with our national finances, Mr. Glass presents a very important résumé of the financial relations of the United States with European governments. The Secretary declares that Government expenditure is the most vital factor in increasing the cost of living. He therefore urges rigid economy in appropriations and taxation to meet the Government's needs. He continues to oppose the excess profits tax in distinction from a proper war profits tax. The public debt of the United States at the beginning of November was, in round figures, \$26,000,000,000. The report includes a summary of various services that fall under the direction of the Secretary, including the great business of Soldiers' and Sailors' Insurance. The Secretary makes a strong argument for a budget system to secure proper

management of the income and outgo of the Government. Mr. Glass deals with this subject out of abundant knowledge and experience from long service in Congress. He advocates the preparation of the budget by the Secretary of the Treasury on behalf of the President, and would have appropriations considered by a single committee in each house of Congress.

*Mr. Baker
and
the Army*

The report of Mr. Baker, as Secretary of War, begins with a broad and high-spirited review of the major facts of our participation in the Great War. The sudden termination of the war, with our effort as planned only half developed, precipitated the problems of demobilization which Mr. Baker also reviews. He refers to the report of General Pershing, which was published soon afterward, as a document containing much material of general interest. Probably the most important portion of Secretary Baker's report is that which deals with the question of permanent army organization. This subject is one of such magnitude that we shall defer it for more thorough future treatment. We may, however, quote Mr. Baker's statement that the military policy recommended by him and his Department "involve a new Army, created with a new spirit, having wide civic usefulness, and of such size and organization as to be an adequate reliance in case of need." He makes an extended argument against an independent aviation service, and suggests that in addition to the separate aircraft work of the Army, the Navy, and the Post Office, there should be a Joint Board for purposes of harmony and cooperation.

*Daniels
Praises the
Navy*

Secretary Daniels tells of the Navy's work in helping to bring the soldiers home—a very brilliant record in every way. He describes also breaking up of naval bases in France, Great Britain and the Azores, and here again the record is one of efficiency. We had soon reduced the man power of the Navy from 500,000 to 132,000, not including several hundred thousand Naval Reserves released from active duty. Mr. Daniels declares that the Navy has not lost sight of the future, and that its symmetry is unimpaired. Our naval strength is now next to that of Great Britain and far beyond that of any third power. The Secretary holds as firmly to naval aviation as Mr. Baker does to military

aviation. He tells also the brilliant story of sweeping up the 50,000 mines that our Navy had planted in the North Sea. The sentiment of the country, insofar as we understand it, is in favor of a skeletonized Army reduced to the lowest possible limit of safety and of expenditure. The personnel of almost 4,000,000 men, highly trained in the war period, will be available in any emergency for at least a dozen years to come. We need to maintain military material, and to introduce gradually some system of training. The Navy, for some years to come, should be supported without hesitation upon a very large scale, this being our most necessary means of security and protection in a turbulent world.

*Prohibition
a Settled
Policy*

It was significant that the Republicans in their formal and informal gatherings at Washington last month were overwhelmingly in favor of supporting the policy of permanent prohibition. They were for enforcing prohibition laws, and for trying to help the country realize the substantial benefits to be derived from abolition of the liquor traffic. All through the last months and weeks of the year 1919, court actions were pending and efforts were being made to find outlets for the large quantities of liquor in storage before the country should have entered upon the period of permanent constitutional prohibition due to begin on January 16. Court decisions here and there—as in St. Louis, where liquor that had paid the revenue taxes was thrown upon the market—gave temporary life to the defunct liquor traffic and operated to salvage a part of the loss of distillers and brewers. Taking the country as a whole, however, the prohibition régime had already been accepted as a matter of course, and money that had formerly been expended for alcoholic drinks had been diverted to other and better forms of personal and social satisfaction. The Supreme Court was unanimous in a decision rendered on Dec. 15 fully sustaining the temporary war-time prohibition enactment.

*Changing
a Nation's
Habits*

This great national change of habit and custom has come by degrees. Local enactments had made most of the territory of the country "dry" before the Constitutional Amendment was enacted. The war impulse had much to do with the final victory of the Prohibitionists. That the habit of using alcoholic stim-

ulants will continue to assert itself in various ways is to be expected, and the dignity and success of the law will require vigilance in enforcement. But, speaking at large, the liquor business has disappeared because it can no longer have a legal standing, and because the vast amounts of capital hitherto invested in the manufacture of alcoholic drinks and in their wholesale and retail distribution will all have passed into other forms of enterprise, while the many thousands of workers in what were lawful occupations will, as law-abiding citizens, have turned to other kinds of effort. There is great demand for housing and business premises of all sorts, and there could not be a better time for drinking saloons to go out of business, or to reorganize as restaurants, groceries, or soda and candy shops. The country as a whole will gain in large aggregate amounts, while the liquor people themselves will lose far less than some of their defenders had estimated.

*War Risk
and
the Soldiers*

Since the publication of the article on War Risk Insurance in the November number of this REVIEW there have been many indications of the interest taken by the whole country in the work of this important Government Bureau. The National Convention of the American Legion in session at Minneapolis in November adopted resolutions recommending the passage of legislation now pending in the Senate which provides increased compensation for disabled men, extends the classes of persons to whom insurance may be payable, and provides for the payment of converted insurance in a lump sum or installments, covering three years or more, at the option of the insured. The convention also favored the House bill permitting the establishment by the Bureau of fourteen regional offices, and also authorizing the Bureau to advertise in newspapers and periodicals in order to inform service men of their rights under the law. Director R. G. Cholmeley-Jones of the War Risk Bureau last month invited the State Commanders of the American Legion of every State in the Union, together with the National Commander and National Adjutant, to meet at Washington on December 15 for a three-days' session in which all matters concerning the relations of the Bureau to former service men and their beneficiaries and dependents were to be considered. The Bureau is seeking closer coöperation with soldiers' organizations.



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THE HON. JOSHUA WILLIS ALEXANDER OF MISSOURI

(Who succeeds Mr. Redfield as Secretary of Commerce in President Wilson's Cabinet. Mr. Alexander, of Gallatin, Mo., has been in Congress from his District for the past twelve years. He was previously a Missouri judge)

*A Trade Balance
of Four
Billion Dollars*

The annual report of the Secretary of Commerce shows that in the fiscal year ending June 30, the United States established a new high record for a year's trade balance in the history of the world's commerce. The amount of exports and the amount of imports will reach also new high marks in our history. Exports amounted to more than seven billion dollars, while imports passed the three billion dollar mark. A striking feature of the report is the statement that the world's merchant fleets have so increased in tonnage as to have passed the pre-war figures, in spite of the losses occasioned by war. Furthermore, the ships now under construction are more than double the number under way before the war. The greatest gain in merchant ships has come, of course, in the United States, where the steel steamships now aggregate six million gross tons, four times as much as in 1914, and are increasing at the rate of 350,000 tons monthly. "The annual output of our shipyards exceeded the greatest annual output of the world's shipyards before 1914. Steel shipbuilding plants have been extended or established with new ma-

chinery, methods, housing and transit accommodations and in some respects superior to those abroad. American tonnage, clearing and overseas trade in the fiscal year of 1919, was six times greater than in 1914." This is Mr. Redfield's retiring report.

*Trade
with
Germany*

Of our seven billion dollars of exports, Europe took \$4,600,000,000; North America, \$1,290,000,000; Asia, \$603,000,000, and South America, \$400,000,000. In the trade with Germany for the ten months since the armistice, the United States has exported \$52,400,000, while imports from Germany have been only \$4,900,000. During this time, Great Britain exported to Germany goods valued at more than \$80,000,000 and received imports of something over \$1,000,000. America, however, seems to be rapidly overhauling Great Britain in the work of supplying German needs; our October exports alone were more than \$20,000,000, or 40 per cent. of the amount for the whole ten months. The English started in with a rush to secure German trade. It is said that agents came along with the British army into the occupied territory and that under encouragement of the British Government some three thousand commercial travelers have come into Germany by way of Cologne, since its occupation.

*The Depreciated
German
Mark*

Germany is still importing more goods than she is sending to foreign countries in spite of a remarkable expansion in her export trade during the past half year, due largely to the great depreciation of the mark, and to the further fact that prices in Germany, while very high indeed, have not increased in many cases nearly as much as the mark has depreciated. Thus, Scandinavian and other merchants have been rushing to Germany and buying leather manufactures, optical goods, drugs, medicine and a variety of other things and getting them at bargain prices, as compared with those quoted in other countries, simply because while the mark had fallen to less than one-eighth (later, to one-twelfth) of its normal level, the prices of these goods have not in many cases increased eight-fold. Indeed, it is stated that the general level of prices has not risen half as much as the mark has fallen. That under these circumstances, Germany's import trade should still greatly exceed her export trade, is to be explained simply by the fact that the

war left her stripped of many classes of goods which she must now have at any price.

*Sensational De-
cline in English
Exchange*

While the depreciation of the German mark has gone greatly further in mathematical terms, it has had no such effect of disturbing the finance of the world, especially of America, as the continued decline in the pound sterling measured in dollars. When Sir George Paish, England's brilliant economist, predicted some months ago that the pound sterling would soon be exchanged for less than four dollars, the matter seemed sensational enough. This depreciated figure was passed on November 20, and in the first weeks of December the process was continued so rapidly that by December 12 one could purchase the English pound for \$3.66½, a quotation far below any that has ever been known since there were pounds and dollars. It was only last April that sterling exchange in New York fell below the fixed rate of \$4.76, which was an artificial or "pegged" rate maintained by the British Treasury through its New York agents. Investment markets have taken this decline in very bad part and the stock market has been seriously unsettled and lower in its range of quotations, owing to uncertainty as to when this remarkable movement would stop, and to the absence of any effective effort to stop it. Two causes are given by international bankers as the chief ones for the progressive decline in sterling. First, trade is going almost entirely eastward and in unprecedented volume, while little is coming to the United States. Second, the English pound is virtually diluted through inflation, and the present rates of exchange are tending to express its comparative worth against that of the dollar.

*Uncertain Fate
of the
Railroads*

Congress made no progress, during the month ending with December 15, on the Cummins

bill, reorganizing our railroad policy and providing for the return of the roads to their private owners. That railroad baiting is still a popular political device, in spite of the lessons of the past and the very critical situation facing the country's transportation service, was shown in the obstructive speeches in the Senate, assailing Mr. Cummins' measure and railroad management, and attempting to prove that the transportation properties are really in fine shape financially and able to earn satisfactory profits

from now on. The simple facts are that with the much advertised economies of unit operation under the Government administration, the earnings of the roads have in the first ten months of 1919 fallen behind the standard return by no less than \$269,000,000—and this with inadequate maintenance of way and equipment—and that a goodly fraction of them must promptly go into receivership if they are turned back to their owners in the immediate future without Government guarantees or rates that will persuade the investors of the country to lend money for their vital needs and buy their new issues of capital stock.

*Railroad
Securities
Taboo*

There is not a banker in America who would now dare to bring out a new issue of railroad bonds on any livable interest terms, much less undertake to sell railroad stock. For candy concerns, motor companies, oil promotions, moving picture combinations, tire manufacturers, chain stores, clothing enterprises, steel works, the public has money by the hundreds of millions, but it is not in the least willing to trust its dollars in our standard railways. All the effects of high costs of production felt by the industrial concerns are felt by the railways; but the industrial concerns are selling their product at an advance of a hundred per cent. or more over pre-war figures while the railroads are held to less than one-third of such an advance. As Howard Elliott, President of the Northern Pacific, recently put it: "A day's pay, or a unit quantity of any article of commerce, will purchase far more transportation, both freight and passenger, to-day than ever before in the history of the country." With still higher prices for fuel facing them in 1920, higher taxes and great expenditures for equipment and maintenance of way to catch up after the neglect of the war period, the roads will collapse unless liberal and enlightened treatment is soon forthcoming, and this at a time when the growth and activity of the country's trade will make an unprecedented need for transportation service.

*A Great Street
Railway's
Troubles*

The current troubles of the railroads are not greater, except in dimensions and effect on the country's general industry, than those of the street railways and various other public utility concerns selling their product at a fixed rate during a period when all the ele-

ments of cost entering into the turning out of the product have been soaring. The most notable example in America is that of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company of New York City, which has in the past ten years so greatly extended its lines by costly new construction in virtual partnership with the city and under contracts specifying the continuance of the five cent fare. Although the Interborough is gaining in traffic at the rate of 100,000,000 passengers a year, a careful report recently compiled for its bankers shows that under the five-cent fare and with present costs of operation the company will fall short of earning its fixed charges for the year ending June 30, 1920, by more than \$8,000,000. This deficit will not include, either, any charge for \$100,000,000 invested by the City in the Interborough's ambitious program of extension. This very intelligent and comprehensive report also indicates that, had unit costs of operation remained stable, the road could, even with the five-cent fare, have weathered the inevitable stormy years when traffic was gradually growing for its new mileage. With the highly unstable and increased cost of operation, however, the operating ratio increased from 45.5 per cent. in 1916 to 67.9 per cent. in 1919—equivalent to about \$10,000,000 for the year. The example is of special interest not only because of its metropolitan dimensions, but also because the carefully drawn contracts, open to everyone, under which the subways were constructed are assurance that the money contributed by investors was actually spent in building subways, and that the misfortunes that have come were due to economic causes and not to financial exploitation.

*Our
Peace-Time
Budget*

The estimates of the Treasury Department for the national expenditures of the next fiscal year total, including the deficiency bills, are \$5,429,000,000. It was not so many years ago that a noted statesman had to defend a budget of less than one-fifth this amount with the reminder that "This is a billion dollar country." For the next year, the Army asks for \$989,000,000, the Navy for \$542,000,000, while pensions account for \$215,000,000 and miscellaneous items mount up to \$834,000,000. In the last schedule no less than \$247,000,000 is asked for the Treasury Department, reflecting the enormous costs of collecting federal taxes and enforcing the prohibition law. The Shipping

Board estimates its needs at \$448,000,000 to complete its program for restoring the American flag to the seas. The Federal Board for Vocational Education asks for \$40,000,000 to be expended largely in reconstruction work with soldiers disabled in the World War. A beginning of the process of extinguishing the national debt is shown in a sinking fund item of \$287,500,000. The interest on our public debt is now well over \$1,000,000,000 per year. At the same time that these estimates are published of expenditures for another year comes Commissioner Roper's report on the actual result of our taxing program for the past year. The estimate of the present revenue law's yield during its first year was six billion dollars, and this figure will be closely approached by the actual collections. The first two installments alone of income and excess profits taxes exceeded \$2,600,000,000, and the revenue from tobacco showed an unexpected increase, the total from this source amounting to \$206,000,000. This large tobacco revenue reflected the extraordinary growth in the consumption of cigarettes. The number manufactured last year was eight times as great as the product of the year 1910, and totaled 45,500,000,000.

*Treaty Still
in Partisan
Deadlock*

As the date approached that had been previously fixed for the Christmas recess of Congress, the nation's hope that the peace treaty might first be ratified was extinguished. On December 14, an official statement was issued from the White House in the following language:

It was learned from the highest authority at the Executive Offices today that the hope of the Republican leaders of the Senate that the President would presently make some move which will relieve the situation with regard to the Treaty is entirely without foundation.

He has no compromise or concession of any kind in mind, but intends, so far as he is concerned, that the Republican leaders of the Senate shall continue to bear the undivided responsibility for the fate of the treaty and the present condition of the world in consequence of that fate.

This statement was not well received by the public at large. The issues at stake were too great for the flaunting of partisanship on either side. The Democratic minority in the Senate, which prevented a two-thirds acceptance of reservations, is precisely as responsible for the failure of ratification as the Republican majority which supported the Lodge resolution. Ratification with cer-

tain modifications as set forth in this REVIEW last month would leave the President's treaty unimpaired in value, would lift the great issue of peace above mere partisanship, and would—according to information and belief—be in no manner unacceptable to our Allies and friends in Europe. It would seem to be the clear duty of Senators, regardless of party, to agree upon reservations, and to consolidate that two-thirds majority in favor of the treaty that was shown to exist.

*The
President's
Message*

The country was much relieved last month to be assured of the steadily improving health of President Wilson. This relief was on grounds of personal regard and sympathy, but also on grounds of the public welfare. Situations and measures of the most profound importance at this time turn largely upon White House decisions, and therefore require that the President be mentally and physically able to meet the exacting duties of his office. Following the retirement of Secretary Redfield, and the transfer of Secretary Glass to the Senate, it is expected that there will be other Cabinet changes in the near future. The President's illness has, of necessity, enhanced the importance of the Cabinet as the President's official advisers. The President's message at the opening of Congress was read in both Houses on December 2. It wholly omitted the expected discussion of the ratification of the peace treaty. It also omitted the other issue of pressing importance—that of railroad legislation. A later message on this subject was promised, and it was anxiously awaited as the Senate's debate on the Cummins bill dragged along too slowly. The message advocated a budget system; urged changes in the tax laws to apply after the next fiscal year; argued for a tariff policy based upon our new trade position, that requires imports to pay for exports; outlined a program of help for farmers; asked the extension of the present Food Control Act; referred to labor problems and the Industrial Conference; and extolled the labor principles of the League of Nations as offering the only road to industrial peace. The document is one of President Wilson's best state papers.

*December
Conference
at London*

The tone of some of the speeches on the peace treaty and the attitude of certain newspapers might convey the impression that the Government and people of the United States are drifting



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TWO DEMOCRATIC LEADERS OF THE SENATE

(Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock of Nebraska and Senator Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama are well fitted intellectually and by reason of political skill and experience for leadership of the Democratic minority in the upper house at Washington. Both have been prominent in the struggle to ratify the peace treaty)

from good to bad in their foreign relationships. This impression is helped by the comments of a few British and other European newspapers. But, fortunately, it is not quite justified by the facts. The priceless help rendered by America to Europe will not be forgotten; and thoughtful Europeans understand that post-war adjustments are almost as difficult on this side of the Atlantic as on their own. They know that the United States will, in real emergencies, continue to act in a responsible way toward issues of world peace and of world finance. There was held last month in London a conference of the highest importance, attended by Premier Clemenceau, by a member of the Italian Cabinet, and by the American and Japanese Ambassadors. It is believed that this conference showed European willingness to accept American treaty reservations. Various questions growing out of the Peace Conference were advanced toward settlement by this London meeting. The great countries that fought together to win the war will have to stand together to make the peace valuable and permanent, whether or

not the League of Nations as framed in the Versailles Treaty is inaugurated in the near future. The settling down process is going forward in many parts of Europe more substantially than the news dispatches would indicate to the average reader.

*A Peaceful
Europe
Emerging*

To justify such a statement, one has only to recall many "storm centers" which existed in Europe a few months ago and which have now given way to comparative tranquillity. Rumania has withdrawn her troops from Hungary; Poland has ceased to fight for territorial expansion in various directions; Lithuania has arranged an armistice providing for immediate withdrawal of zealous German troops; Italy and Jugoslavia are reported to be approaching a compromise; and so on. It must not be forgotten, either, that during recent months the peace treaty itself has successfully passed through one threatened crisis after another, and was ready last month for formal exchange of ratifications—the real end of the war. For a time it had seemed that Germany might balk at the protocol presented for signature by the Allies, possibly gaining encouragement in such a stand by the failure of the treaty in the United States Senate. But both Germany and the Allies adopted conciliatory attitudes—in regard to indemnity for interned warships sunk by German crews in

Scapa Flow, and to repatriation of prisoners and surrender of war culprits—and the protocol was about to be signed when these lines were written. Another favorable incident was the signing of the treaty with Bulgaria, at Neuilly, on November 27, leaving only the one with Turkey to be arranged. Mr. Frank L. Polk represented the United States, and soon afterward the American peace delegation left Paris for home. The Russian situation remains an unfathomed mystery, with both Kolchak and Yudenitch apparently in eclipse. The All-Russian government has divorced the military from the civil government and established a new cabinet headed by M. Pepeliaoiff.

*French Politics
and
Government*

The importance of the French elections of November 16 has been gradually impressed upon people in other countries. The governing power in France is exercised by the Chamber of Deputies, very much as British control is vested in the House of Commons. The entire Chamber of Deputies has been renewed, and the new Chamber assembled on December 8. This body will remain in office until May, 1924. In the present month of January a new President of the French Republic is to be elected; but this will not occur until a few days after the election on January 11 of two-thirds of the Senate. There are 300 Senators, elected for nine-year terms, one-third retiring every three years; but, because no election was held during the war period, this month's election finds 200 rather than 100 seats to fill in the upper house. The President is elected for a term of seven years by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies sitting together as a National Assembly. Including the new members from Alsace and Lorraine, there are 616 Deputies, so that the two houses comprise more than 900 men. The former strength of the Socialists in the Chamber under the leadership of Jaurès has almost wholly vanished. The election amounted to a remarkable vote of confidence in Clemenceau, General Foch, and the European policy of these leaders. It is fully expected that Clemenceau will be elected President. The small farmer rose in his strength in the November election; and when he chooses, he can always rule France. He voted overwhelmingly against the labor agitators of industrial communities, and repudiated Bolshevik ideas. The soldiers stood with the peasants against syndicalists and socialistic labor unions.



WILL THEY LET HIM IN?

From the Chronicle (San Francisco)

*Italy's
Hero
Triumphs*

In the Italian elections, the Socialists were much more successful, although they are not in control. The Italian Government seeks social stability through a revival of industry; and to this end is endeavoring to obtain raw materials and supplies from the United States. The adventure of Captain D'Annunzio at Fiume has been completely recognized by the Italian Government, and the hero last month returned to receive the plaudits of his countrymen, having turned over Fiume to the regular military authorities. France and England had, it would seem, given consent to the retention of Fiume by Italy. This undoubtedly was preliminary to a compromise regarding other parts of the Dalmatian coast; but just what ports on the Adriatic are to be reserved for the Jugo-Slavs, Hungarians and Austrians was not clearly stated.

*The Baffling
Mexican
Situation*

The attention of the whole world was attracted by the strain of relations between our Government and that of Mexico in November on account of proceedings that related to an American Consular Agent at Puebla named William O. Jenkins. Mr. Jenkins, earlier in the autumn, had been reported kidnapped and held for ransom by bandits. Money had been advanced and his release obtained. Subsequently he was arrested by the local Puebla authorities on the charge that the kidnapping had been trumped up and collusive. It was the position of our Government at Washington that this arrest was improper and that Mr. Jenkins must be released at once. Carranza's Foreign Office held that Jenkins was properly subject to trial at Puebla on the charges. Secretary Lansing was peremptory, and at length someone gave bail in the small sum required and Jenkins was temporarily released and the crisis was reported as having been averted. We were in imminent danger of having a bloody war precipitated through an incident which would seem to have been unwisely handled on both sides. Mexico under Carranza has been as baffling a problem to the Wilson Administration as Russia under Lenine and Trotzky has been to Western Europe.

*The
Frick
Beneficence*

Early in December the death of Mr. Henry C. Frick led to much discussion in the public press regarding his acquisition of a great



THE LATE HENRY C. FRICK, OF NEW YORK AND PITTSBURGH

(Mr. Frick was a leader in the steel industry and the Pennsylvania Railroad system, and was the largest coke producer in the world.)

fortune, and the disposition of many millions by terms of a will that was promptly made public. Mr. Frick had been associated in business with the late Mr. Carnegie and others, who had acquired wealth through development of the coal and iron resources of Pennsylvania. Whether his estate will have amounted to \$200,000,000 or to a considerably smaller sum is merely a matter of fluctuating valuations. The fortune in any case is a very large one, and about four-fifths of it are given by the will to public objects. Mr. Carnegie's fortune had been twice as large as that of Mr. Frick, and an even greater proportion of it had been given outright or placed in the hands of trustees for the public welfare. The largest single item among the Frick bequests is a magnificent collection of works of art in New York City. These art objects, together with the palatial residence in which they are housed, are given to the public and placed in the hands of a Board of Trustees, together with \$15,000,000 for the maintenance and further enrichment of this "Frick Collection." This is a gift not to one city but to the entire country. In England, France, Germany, Italy and Austria,

there are great governmental collections of art objects. The time will come, doubtless, in this country, when the public will possess immense wealth in art works as well as in libraries. But for a long time to come we shall owe much to the public spirited attitude of private collectors who secure famous art works in Europe and ultimately place them in public museums for the instruction and pleasure of us all. Mr. Frick was a trustee of Princeton and his will provides a large sum for the endowment of that University, with a noble gift also to Harvard and many princely legacies to institutions in the vicinity of Pittsburgh.

*Large Wealth
and
the Public*

A question has arisen, according to the press, regarding the application of national and State inheritance taxes to some of these gifts for public purposes. The moral is that the great fortunes in this country are steadily passing from private control to direct objects of public welfare. In Germany today the necessity of raising money to pay indemnity installments due to Belgium and France requires the taxation of large fortunes at a higher rate than was ever known before in Europe. Yet, it has been pointed out, these new German taxes are not at as high a rate as the surtaxes that are now levied in the United States upon the incomes of the very wealthy. Where it happened that, as in the case of the late Viscount Astor, the owner of property in this country was resident in England, income taxes

are levied and collected in both countries to an aggregate in some cases exceeding the entire income, thus absorbing a part of the principal. The country, from the economic standpoint, is in more danger from a diffused extravagance that wastes resources by consuming what ought to be saved than from the use of great fortunes in private hands. Most of this private wealth is in the form of productive capital, and, as in the case of the railroads, such capital renders public service while securing a low rate of compensation. Whatever truth there might have been at one time in the assertion that the rich were growing richer and the poor were growing poorer, there is no longer much economic significance in such a viewpoint. Captains of industry like the late Mr. Frick have enormously increased the diffused wealth of the country through their power to organize and develop the instrumentalities of large production. It ought not to be so easy in the future as it was in the past for such industrial leaders to make large private fortunes. In the case of Mr. Frick, as in that of Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Rockefeller, the amassing of wealth is made subordinate to the public spirit of the possessor. Workers in the industries controlled by Mr. Frick and his associates have had their hardships and grievances; but they have probably gained more than they have suffered through the higher organization of production at the hands of the leaders of big business, as contrasted with the smaller employers and capitalists of the same period.



THE FRICK MANSION AT FIFTH AVENUE AND 70TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY, WHICH HOUSES THE FRICK COLLECTION AND IS A GIFT TO THE PUBLIC

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From November 25 to December 16, 1919)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

December 1.—The Sixty-sixth Congress meets in its first regular session, after an interval of eleven days from the sudden adjournment of the special session.

December 2.—In both branches, the President's annual message is read; he recommends consideration of tax revision downward, relief for ex-soldiers, and measures to reduce the cost of living; in regard to labor, he urges Congress to "help bring about a genuine democratization of industry." The Senate resumes consideration of the Cummins Railroad bill.

December 5.—The Senate committee of two members, named to discuss the Mexican situation with the President (still confined to his sick room), is received in extended conference.

December 8.—In the Senate, a letter from the President to Mr. Fall (Rep., N. M.) is read, commenting on the pending resolution to break diplomatic relations with Mexico, and declaring that the President should be "gravely concerned" to see the resolution pass.

In the House, Mr. Good (Rep., Ia.), chairman of the Appropriations Committee, estimates that \$5,250,000,000 will be asked of Congress, but declares that appropriations must not exceed \$4,000,000,000. . . . A sub-committee framing an army-reorganization bill decides to recommend a peacetime strength of 300,000.

December 12.—The Senate passes a measure continuing through 1920 the Government's control of the distribution and price of sugar.

December 13.—The Senate debates responsibility for the failure to pass the peace treaty.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 26.—Fuel Administrator Garfield proposes that the coal operators grant a 14 per cent. wage increase without additional cost to the public; the operators accept, but the miners' representatives declare that the plan means starvation wages.

The Treasury Department makes public memorandum of coal operators' profits, based on corporation taxes paid; in 1914 and 1915 they lost money, in 1916 they made from 10 to 35 per cent. profit, in 1917 from 100 to 150 per cent., and in 1918 from 15 to 300 per cent.

November 27.—The coal conference at Washington, in session since November 14, comes to an end without agreement.

November 23.—More than 3500 Kansans respond to Governor Allen's call for 1000 volunteers to work in the coal mines and relieve the fuel shortage.

November 29.—A federal grand jury in Michigan indicts United States Senator Newberry and 133 others on charges relating to illegal expenditure of large sums in the primary and election campaigns of 1918.

December 1.—A second National Industrial

Conference, called by the President, meets in Washington and selects Secretary of Labor Wilson as chairman.

The annual estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury call for appropriations by Congress totaling \$5,000,000,000; \$1,000,000,000 is for interest on the war debt, and \$1,500,000,000 for army and navy.

A report of the Director-General of Railroads shows a net operating loss in the ten months ended with October amounting to \$269,768,000.

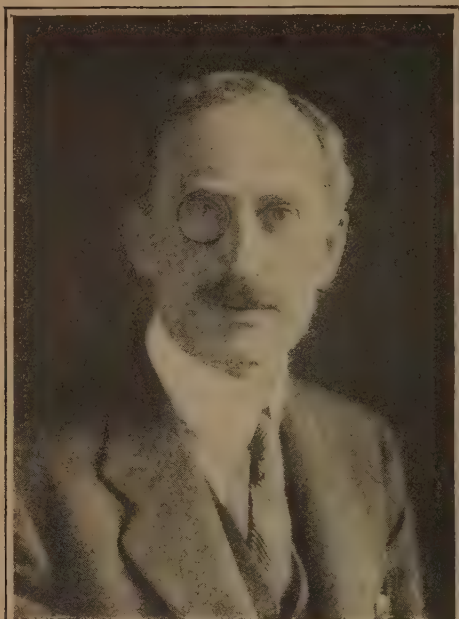
December 2.—Republicans and Democrats in South Dakota—delegates chosen by county conventions on November 18—meet in convention to endorse candidates; for President, the Democrats endorse Woodrow Wilson and the Republicans name Leonard Wood; for Senator, the Republicans select Governor Peter Norbeck and the Democrats renominate Edwin S. Johnson; for Governor, the Democrats name W. W. Howes.

Due to coal shortage, the Director-General of



POORLY CLAD AND UNDER-NOURISHED CHILDREN IN THE STREETS OF VIENNA

(Private and public dispatches from the Austrian capital have indicated that the entire city of two and a half millions faces a winter of intense suffering. Food, clothing, and fuel shortage have already raised the infant mortality to 60 per cent., according to Chancellor Renner, who has appealed frankly to the Allies for help. One of the agencies for relief is conducted by Mrs. Albert Halstead, wife of the American consul-general at Stockholm, through Schenker & Co., of Rotterdam, Holland)



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BARON ROMANO AVEZZANO, NEW ITALIAN
AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

(Who has already won wide approval by expressions of friendship and esteem on the part of his countrymen)

Railroads orders radical restrictions in passenger-train service and directs that no coal be furnished to foreign ships.

December 3-4.—The South Dakota legislature ratifies the woman-suffrage amendment to the federal Constitution.

December 4.—The President nominates Representative Joshua W. Alexander, of Missouri, to be Secretary of Commerce.

Governor Gardner of Missouri takes possession of coal mines, to operate them and relieve the distress of the people.

December 5.—Governor Robertson of Oklahoma declares martial law in the coal regions of the State, and himself leads volunteer miners.

The North Dakota legislature passes a bill empowering the Governor (after July 1, next) to take over any coal mine or other public utility when necessary for the protection of life and property.

December 6.—The President submits in writing a proposal for the settlement of the strike of soft-coal miners, involving immediate return to work, with a 14 per cent. increase in wages and appointment of a commission to consider further questions of wages and conditions.

December 8.—The Fuel Administrator issues regulations restricting the use of power, light, and heat in industrial establishments.

December 10.—The President's proposal is accepted by the miners' leaders, who for a second time call off the strike.

The Republican National Committee meets in

Washington and decides to hold the nominating convention in Chicago on June 8.

Governors of the six New England States meet at Boston and discuss national problems.

December 12.—The annual report of the Chairman of the Shipping Board states that 6,000,000 tons of vessels will have been delivered from American shipyards during 1919.

December 13.—Fuel Administrator Garfield resigns in protest against the coal-strike compromise; he declares that the proposed three-man commission leaves the one representative of the public in a minority.

December 14.—A statement issued from the White House, relative to the peace treaty in the Senate, declares that the President has no compromise in mind and that the Republican leaders "must continue to bear the undivided responsibility."

December 15.—The Supreme Court unanimously upholds the constitutionality of the so-called "war-time prohibition" act.

• FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 26.—Gen. Felipe Angeles, convicted of rebellion by a Mexican military court, is executed by a firing squad at Chihuahua; Angeles had been a supporter of Villa, but was the most popular Mexican leader along the border.

December 1.—Lady Astor, American-born wife of Viscount Astor, takes her seat in the British House of Commons, as the first woman member; as Unionist candidate, she defeated her Labor opponent by 5000 votes in a by-election on November 15.

The Italian Parliament is opened and addressed by King Victor Emmanuel, for the first time since the end of the war; the Socialist and Republican Deputies leave the hall, but the majority members extend enthusiastic greeting.

December 9.—In Costa Rica, Julio Acosta is elected President, to serve for four years from May, 1920.

December 12.—A ministry in Spain is formed by Manuel Allende Salazar, succeeding that of Premier Toca.

December 14.—The Australian elections result in the continuance in power of Premier William M. Hughes, supported by Liberals and National Laborites.

December 15.—Premier Lloyd George announces that no Irish bill will be introduced at this session.

A new Polish cabinet is formed (succeeding that of Premier Paderewski), headed by M. Skulski.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

November 25.—Baron Romano Avezzano arrives in the United States as new Ambassador from Italy.

November 26.—The Mexican Government refuses, on technical grounds, to order the release of William O. Jenkins, American consular agent at Puebla, imprisoned on charges of complicity in his own kidnapping.

November 27.—A treaty of peace with Bulgaria is signed at Neuilly, a suburb of Paris; Premier Clemenceau of France presides at the meeting. M. Stambuliwski signs for Bulgaria, and Frank L. Polk signs for the United States; Rumania and

Serbia, two Balkan kingdoms most vitally concerned, are not permitted to sign until they accept the treaty with Austria.

November 30.—An armistice is signed by Germany and Lithuania, providing for the immediate withdrawal of German troops.

December 1.—The United States, in a note from Secretary Lansing, sweeps aside the Carranza government's defense of Mexican penal laws, declares that there has been a studied effort to ensnare Jenkins, and renews its request for immediate release from imprisonment.

The German Government refuses to sign the protocol which recognizes the fact that Germany has not fulfilled certain provisions of the peace treaty and which fixes additional indemnity for the sinking of the German fleet while interned in a British port.

December 5.—The tense relations between the United States and Mexico are relieved by the release of Consular Agent Jenkins.

December 8.—The Supreme Council informs the German delegation at Paris that it awaits "without delay" the signature of the protocol and the exchange of ratification of the peace treaty.

December 9.—American delegates participate in signing a Rumanian treaty which involves the withdrawal of Rumanian troops from Hungary.

The members of the American peace delegation leave Paris, after a year of participation in European readjustments.

December 11.—Premier Clemenceau of France arrives in London to discuss unsettled European conditions with Premier Lloyd George and with the American Ambassador.

December 13.—The German reply to the Allies, en route, is reported to be conciliatory and yielding.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

November 29.—The first International Labor Conference, meeting at Washington under provisions of the treaty of peace with Germany, comes to an end.

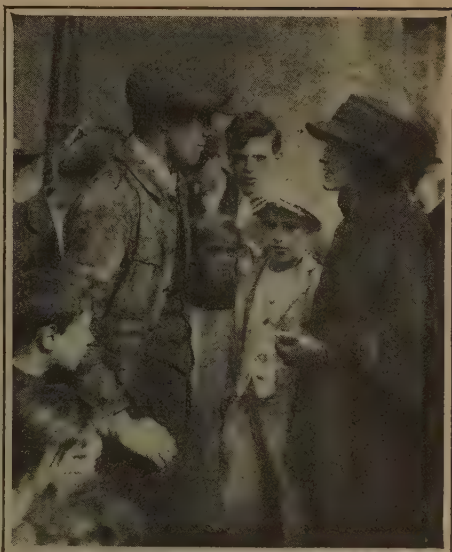
November 30.—Mr. Herbert Hoover, head of the American Relief Administration, makes report on the \$100,000,000 fund; \$12,000,000 in supplies was donated for children's relief, while \$88,000,000 worth of supplies was sold for Government notes in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Armenia, Russia, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland.

December 1.—Department of Commerce reports show that exports to Germany from the United States during the first ten months of the year totaled \$52,420,000, with imports of \$4,914,000; British exports to Germany amounted to \$80,000,000.

December 2.—A mail-carrying airplane of a new type establishes a record flight from Washington to New York, 218 miles in 1 hour and 34 minutes (138 miles per hour).

December 5.—Street-car service in Toledo is resumed after a four-weeks' stoppage due to differences with city officials and voters over fares, the company gaining its point.

December 10.—An airplane flight from England to Australia, for a \$50,000 prize, is completed by Capt. Ross Smith, an Australian; he started from



LADY ASTOR, FIRST WOMAN MEMBER OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT—A CAMPAIGN SNAPSHOT

England on November 12, and flew by way of Egypt, India, the Malay Peninsula, and Java—approximately 11,500 miles.

Floods cause much property damage in low-lying sections of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi.

OBITUARY

November 25.—Countess Primo Magri ("Mrs. Tom Thumb"), the famous midget, 77.

November 26.—Robert R. Meredith, D.D., a widely known pastor of Boston, Brooklyn, and Pasadena, 83.

November 27.—Rev. Aaron Edward Ballard, D.D., for twenty years president of the association which maintains Ocean Grove, N. J., as a religious community, 98.

December 2.—Field Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood, a distinguished British veteran of African and Indian wars, 81. . . . Henry Clay Frick, a pioneer in the coke and steel industries, art collector, and philanthropist, 70 (see page 23).

December 3.—Firmin Auguste Renoir, a distinguished French painter, 78.

December 5.—Prof. Elia Millosevich, director of the Rome Astronomical Observatory.

December 7.—J. Thompson Baker, a former Representative in Congress from New Jersey.

December 8.—Julian Alden Weir, noted American painter and former president of the National Academy of Design, 67. . . . Louis Valentine Pirsson, professor of physical geology at Sheffield Scientific School, 59.

December 10.—Simon Kuhn, a prominent Cincinnati banker and philanthropist, 62.

December 14.—William Salomon, the New York banker and railroad financier, 67.

December 15.—Sir John Jackson, a noted British civil engineer, 63.

THE CARTOONISTS' VIEWS ON CURRENT CONTROVERSIES



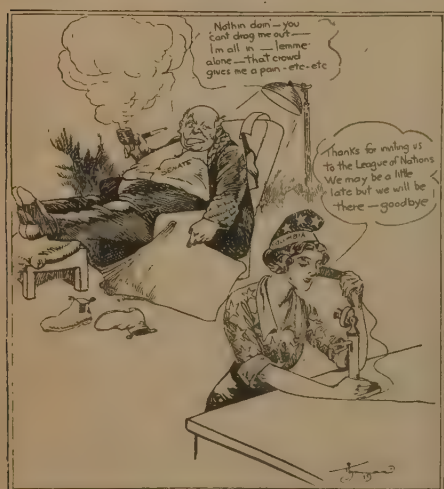
WITHOUT A LEAGUE OF NATIONS
From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)



POLITICS MAKES STRANGE BEDFELLOWS!
From the *Tribune* (Sioux City, Iowa)

AS true interpreters of public opinion, and of the news of the day, the cartoonists find many topics which lend them-

selves to pictorial presentation; but this survey of their work during the past month shows that they have paid by far the most



A NATION'S JUST A FAMILY, AFTER ALL
From the *News* (Detroit, Mich.)



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"STOP PLAYING POLITICS"
From the *Evening World* (New York)



THE PIT OR THE PENDULUM
From the *Bystander* (London)

attention to the sequence of labor controversies which culminated in the coal miners' strike and to the final phases of peace-treaty discussion in the Senate.

It is already evident, however, that these topics in turn give way to others. Cap-

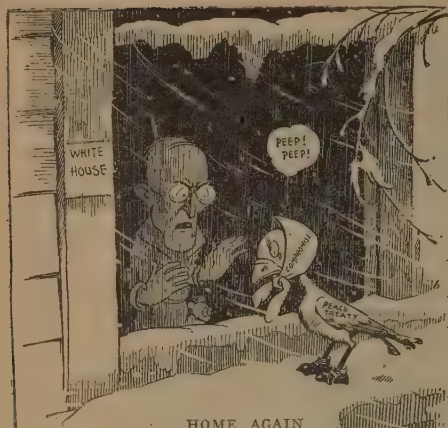
tain Bruce Bairnsfather, in the cartoon above, draws a startling picture—based on Poe's famous story—of the possibilities of Britain's financial situation; but another British cartoonist represented on this page reminds us that John Bull has been much more successful than Uncle Sam in settling labor controversies.



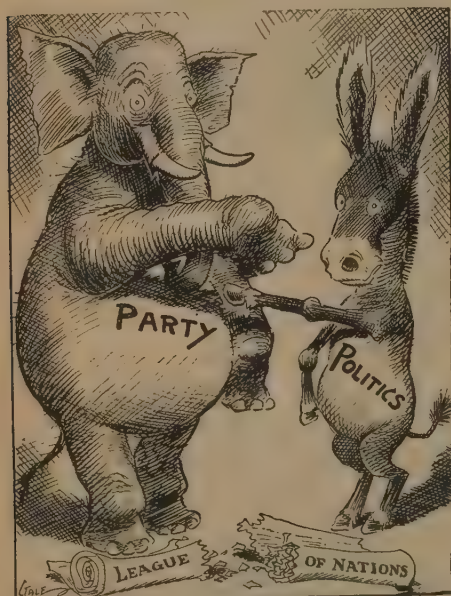
WILSON-JONATHAN'S VIEW OF THE RIGHT OF
SMALL NATIONALITIES
From *Le Charivari* (Paris)



"I'D SOONER WALK!"
From the *Bystander* (London)



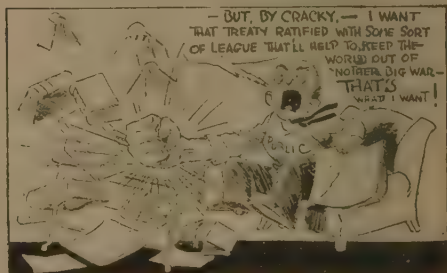
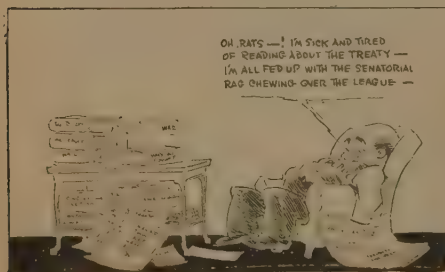
HOME AGAIN

By Satterfield, in *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City, N. J.)THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS A LA U. S. SENATE
From the *Star* (Montreal, Canada).

HE DID IT!

From the *Times* (Los Angeles, Cal.)

THE LIGHT THAT FAILED

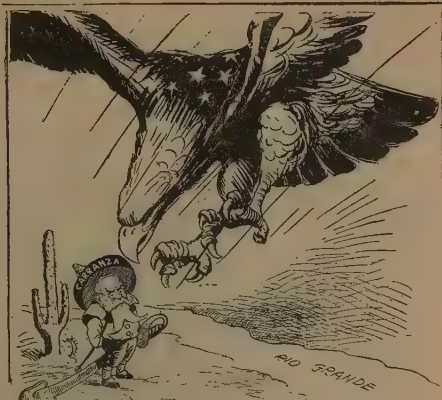
By Reynolds, in the *Ledger* (Tacoma, Wash.)

THE WAY HE FEELS ABOUT IT

From the *Republic* (St. Louis, Mo.)



DOES HE SEE THE POINT?
From the *Republic* (St. Louis, Mo.)



COMING SOONER OR LATER!
From the *Constitution* (Atlanta, Ga.)

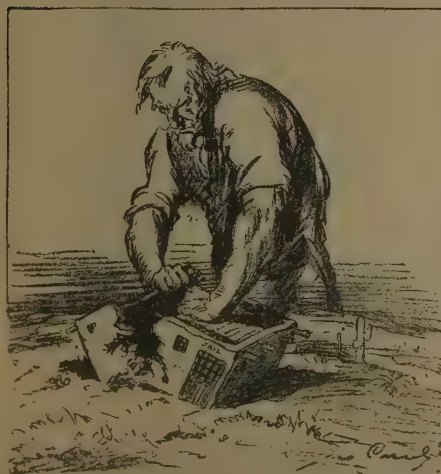


"DON'T LAUGH AT THAT—I MADE A MISTAKE
ONCE"

From the *Times* (New York)

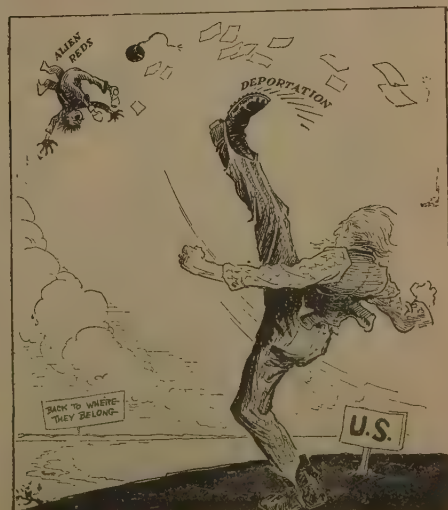


THE MODERN ST. GEORGE
By Armstrong, in the *News-Tribune* (Tacoma, Wash.)



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JENKINS IS RELEASED!
From the *Evening World* (New York)



THE QUICKER AND HARDER, THE BETTER
By Chapin, in the *Republic* (St. Louis, Mo.)



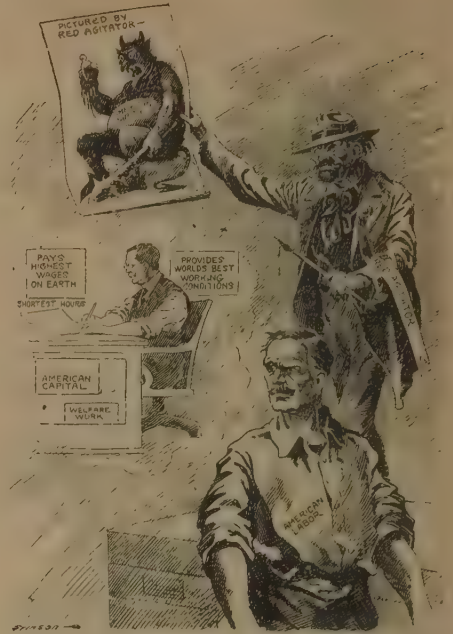
A GOOD BATH WOULDN'T HURT HIM
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



"LET HIM UP, HE'S ALL CUT"
From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City, N. J.)



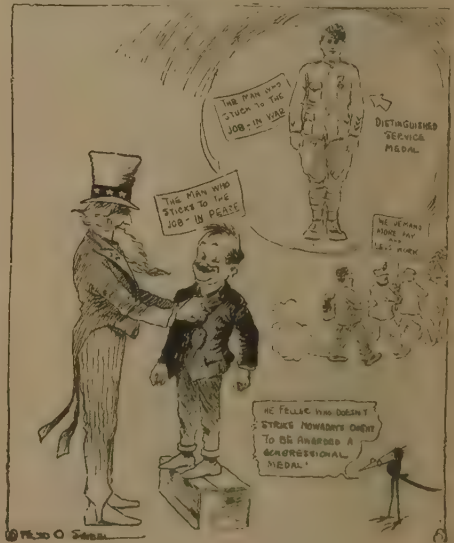
MORE WORK WILL CURE THESE INTERNAL PAINS
From the *Daily Ledger* (Tacoma, Wash.)



LABOR WILL NOT BE FOOLED

[What chance, in the long run, has the alien agitator against the American laborer's high wages, short hours, and improved working conditions?]

From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)



FOR DEVOTION TO DUTY!

[Why not a Distinguished Service Medal for the man who sticks to his job?]

From the *Knickerbocker Press* (Albany, N. Y.)



THE HEIGHT OF IRONY—THE ZERO-HOUR DAY
From the Tribune (Sioux City, Ia.)

In the coal-strike situation last month the cartoonists expressed what all saw and felt—the dominance of American industry by a single group of workers in the soft-coal States, the helplessness of the great public and the possibility of government control and operation of the mines. On the next page Mr. Rogers of the New York *Herald* gives a suggestion of the way Kansas took care of her own coal.



THE POWER BEHIND THE THRONE
From the World (New York)



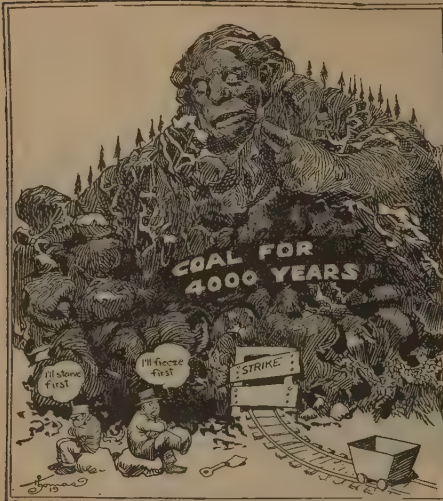
CAVE-MAN COURTSHIP
From the News (Chicago, Ill.)



THE JUDGE GIVING FUEL-CONSERVATION INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CITIZEN
From the Dispatch (Columbus, Ohio)



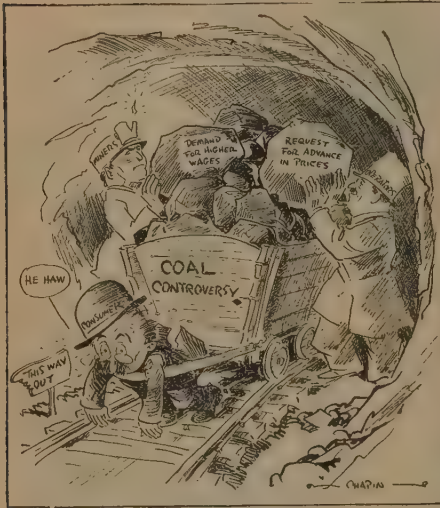
A PICK TO OPEN THE LOCK
From the News (Dayton, Ohio)



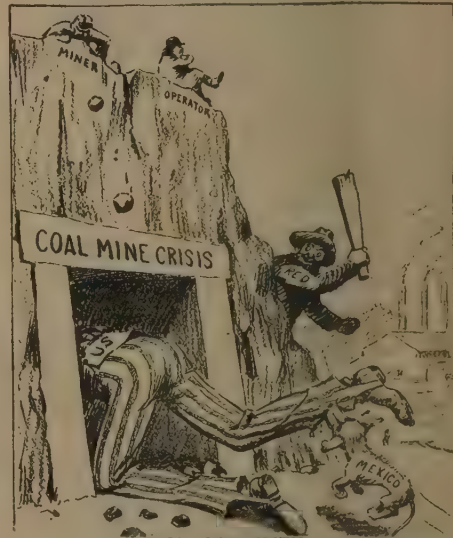
WONDER WHAT MOTHER NATURE THINKS OF
HER KIDS?
From the News (Detroit, Mich.)



THE WAY THEY DO THINGS IN KANSAS
From the Herald (New York)



THE MINE MULE
From the Republic (St. Louis, Mo.)



OPPORTUNITY
By Nelson Harding, in the Eagle (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



A SUCCESSFUL "CLOSED-SHOP" MOVEMENT
From the News (Chicago, Ill.)



POOR SUBSTITUTES
From the Post-Dispatch (St. Louis)

THE "FIGHTING QUAKER" OF THE CABINET

Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, an Idealist
Who Does Not Talk Ideals—A Rooter-out of the
"Reds," and Uncle Sam's Policeman to Arrest H.C.L.

BY WILLIAM T. ELLIS

DECLINING to become Secretary of War in time of peace, and yet refusing to keep out of service when America was at war—such is the characteristic record of A. Mitchell Palmer, the "fighting Quaker" who has within six months become the outstanding member of President Wilson's Cabinet.

The two facts named give the key to Palmer's career. His principles are not in the market place; therefore when President Wilson offered him the post of Minister of War in his original cabinet, Palmer declined, since he is a member of the Society of Friends. After America went to war, however, Palmer became doubtless the most militant official of the Government—certainly the Germans and pro-Germans hated him hardest—as Alien Property Custodian. He remarked to a friend, after entering upon that apparently obscure and perfunctory post, "When America went into the war I made up my mind that I just must get into it somehow, even if I had to carry a gun as a private." The "gun" he made and carried, as Alien Property Custodian, proved far more deadly to the enemy than any of the spectacular weapons used on the western front.

Palmer is no poser, else he would have extracted the pictorial values out of his position as the Quaker who has the heavy fighting of the Government to do. What ordinarily would be his best political assets he ignores: for he holds and practices the ideals of good citizenship which have been the staples of progressive political discussion for two decades. Nevertheless, one searches Palmer's speeches in vain for the ostentatious proclamation of his principles: he is an idealist who does not talk about ideals. His public work, however, is itself eloquent upon the subject of the loftiest type of patriotism. Rather than drag into the forum of discussions the convictions which he inherited as



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HON. A. MITCHELL PALMER, ATTORNEY
GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

a birthright Friend,—he would as soon talk to the reporters about his own idyllic home life—he has let himself be labelled a "practical politician," as if in contradistinction to the "reformer." If, as the apothegm has it, "Some men are discovered, and some are found out," then Palmer is being discovered by the nation as a man of deeds, whose career consistently echoes one lofty message of public service and fidelity to principles.

Two remarkable facts stand out in Palmer's public life: he has not talked or traded on his ideals; and he has never extolled the virtues of the fighting man; but only practiced them. Dramatically, this quality of courage in the Attorney General

was thrust upon public attention last spring when a bomb was exploded on his doorstep; instead of being intimidated, he only redoubled the efforts of the Department of Justice against the "reds," and so effectively that their discovered program of periodic terrorism had to be abandoned.

The placid face of Palmer should not divert the eye from that fighting jaw. He is not bellicose; but he is brave with the courage of a people who for centuries have dared all for conscience's sake. Many a public man has gained a reputation as a fighter for half the reasons possessed by Palmer.

A Fighter Within His Own Party in State Politics

Consider his record. He broke into national prominence by smashing the old Democratic organization in Pennsylvania, which was the appanage of the Republican party. On the simple issue of common honesty, he and Vance McCormick wrested the control of the minority party in their State from the bi-partisan crowd; which act provided them with enough enemies, of both parties, to suffice for a life time. The Wise Man of the Old Testament did not know as much about natural history as is common knowledge to-day; so he understated the case when he wrote, "The righteous are bold as a lion." These two crusading young Pennsylvanians, who had the strength which is "as the strength of ten," further essayed a frontal attack on the triple alliance—big business, booze and bi-partisanship. Imagine the quixoticism of making such a fight in the State of Pennsylvania, where all three forces were entrenched by generations of unchallenged dominance! The young militants nevertheless made the Democratic party in the State the "dry" party and the "reform" party; and so won to place and power in the national councils of Democracy.

A Wilson Leader in 1912

Thus it came about that Palmer had to prove his character and his courage on a veritable Mount of Temptation. Since "like attracts like," the reformed Pennsylvania Democracy threw its support to Woodrow Wilson, the idealist and reformer; and at the Baltimore Convention, Palmer was floor leader of the Wilson forces. That was a regular Belleau Wood battle. A presumably impregnable position was held by the Old Guard of Privilege. For days the fighting raged, without a decision. Then there came

a development of which the general public has not even yet learned. The Old Guard found that it could not defeat the attackers; yet it felt sure that the latter could not capture the stronghold. So negotiations were opened. The "leaders" of the party had come to the point where they were willing to agree to anything, so long as their leadership was recognized. They would give the crown to the man who would take it at their hands. Anything to preserve their hold upon the party.

Long after midnight, in a private house in Baltimore, a critical conference was held by the Old Guard. Palmer was invited and unexpectedly confronted with this amazing proposition: "Your man Wilson cannot win: that is clear. Here are the figures to prove it. But you can keep anybody else from winning. Now we propose what is a substantial victory for your crowd. We won't accept Wilson, but we will take another man, who stands for the same things and is part of the same outfit. We have agreed that you, Palmer, are the man who will make the best appeal to the public: you are young, a reformer, and a fighter. Say the word, and the nomination is yours."

Concededly, in 1912, the Democratic nomination was equivalent to election. So it was a dazzling temptation held up before the eyes of the young Quaker—Palmer is now only forty-seven years old—in the small hours of the night, when a man's stamina is at its lowest ebb. The proposition of the leaders was reenforced by personal solicitation and argument from some of the ablest men in the party.

In vain. Palmer and the Pennsylvania delegation had entered the convention pledged to Wilson, and by Wilson they would stand. That morning Palmer made a stirring speech to his followers—for he is a real orator—and they went into the struggle at Convention Hall with new fire—and Wilson was nominated.

His War Upon the "Reds"

I was writing of Palmer's fighting qualities when I turned aside to tell that Baltimore story. At present, he is America's most conspicuous and effective antagonist of the Bolsheviks. He has been responsible for the deportation of hundreds of the alien agitators; and has been relentless upon the trail of others, even when they have been camouflaged as labor leaders.

In this, "we love him for the enemies he

has made;" for the reds have concentrated upon Palmer as the man they are most determined to "get." With good reason. This born idealist, who presumably should be a twiddler of intellectual thumbs, a friend and abetter of all the forces of discontent, is today the most militant man in the government in rooting out the seditionists. He has opened the road to Russia for "reds." The Attorney General has organized a "radical division" in his office; and also a bureau for collecting and reading and translating all radical publications, wherever in America they appear. There is enough first-class detective work going on under Palmer's direction at this moment to supply grist to the mills of a score of mystery-fictionists. What the serene Attorney General does these days is based upon toilsomely-gathered knowledge, knowledge which has thwarted the Bolsheviks at every turn. Only a few of the sensationally foiled plots of the reds have as yet become public. Enough is known to reassure the nation that Uncle Sam will not be caught napping.

Palmer and the Coal Strike

When the coal strike befell, and the orderly processes of national life were threatened, Palmer did not hesitate to use the odious weapon of the injunction to thwart the scheme to paralyze the nation. He who had been a lifelong champion of the workingman and of the oppressed, instantly saw and made clear the distinction between the basic rights of all the people and the rights of special groups or combinations. The day after the injunction, coal operators were ready to forgive him all his past activities against "big business," while the extreme labor press cursed him as a hireling of plutocracy. Within a few weeks, however, the operators were gnashing their teeth at him because "just as we had got the miners where we want them, and thoroughly licked," Palmer "had to butt in" with a government scheme that exposed the operators to investigation and to reduced profits.

After weeks of futile negotiations, and "remedies" for the strike situation which only made matters worse; and after country-wide traffic and lighting restrictions had been put into operation, and many industries had shut down, with the whole nation facing a cold, dark and gloomy Christmas, Palmer quietly led the way out. His solution set the miners immediately to digging coal, granting them the increased wage indicated by Dr. Garfield, without any increase of



MR. PALMER WITH HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER

cost to the consumer. The one big outcome desired by the public had been achieved by the Attorney General, who became the central figure in the strike only because he is what the coast of China calls a "can do" man.

On the Trail of the Profiteers

With equal impartiality, Palmer has been after the food profiteers, big and little. Upon his broad shoulders the President has shifted the work of the Food Administration, and, in addition to enforcing legislation against hoarders, and securing new laws with teeth in them, he has made clear for the average person the causes and remedies for the high cost of living. As cheerfully as the old-style office-holder met crises with platitudinous evasion, Palmer has run fairly afield against the packers and other food profiteers.

Because he is humanly close to "the folks," Palmer has sensed the preeminence of the cost-of-living issue. As attorney general, he has at one and the same time set his most ponderous machinery at work to catch the profiteering packers (with sensational results that may be known before this article appears), and also taken the housewives of the country into cooperation to force down inflated prices by homely, old fashioned economies, cooperation and counsel. In addition to the hundreds of special agents of the Department of Justice who have been set on

the trail of the H. C. L., the United States district attorneys over the land have also been enlisted. Congress has been persuaded to give biting power to the Lèver Act; and also asked to extend its provisions for six months after the proclamation of peace. Already numerous flagrant food-hoarders and profiteers have been put behind bars; for the Attorney General has taken the stand that justice will not be done to these offenders until the worst of them have been sent to jail, rather than fined. He has gone after the politically powerful "big fellows," as well as the retailers.

These are not the tactics of a politician. They are rather the characteristics of a statesman, who believes something so intensely that he will sacrifice all his personal interests for it. Simple, old-fashioned patriotism, which is devotion to the welfare of the nation at all costs, is the explanation which the average person will find written upon the surface of Palmer's policies.

These qualities go with Palmer's character. He has carried over from college days the loyalties of young manhood—and, incidentally, he is deeply devoted to Swarthmore College, his alma mater, and to the friends of student days. When it came to naming a postmaster for Swarthmore, Palmer (then a Congressman) said that the Republican incumbent, widow of a college professor, should retain the place as long as she desired; and that, in case of her retirement, the Civil War veteran who had been her assistant, should remain under the new appointee. A trifle? Possibly; but also a symptom. The man under Palmer or over him is sure of loyalty.

An Outspoken Campaigner

When President Wilson and other friends wanted Palmer to run for Senator in Pennsylvania in 1914, in opposition to Penrose, he gave up his seat in Congress, and his dominant position on the Ways and Means Committee, and his prospects in national politics, to make the well-nigh hopeless fight against the senior Senator. Sneered at as a "college man in politics," as a "theorist" and "reformer," he risked his all in an attempt to deliver Pennsylvania from the "Organization" and its three masters, "big business," the liquor traffic and corrupt bi-partisanship.

His campaign was a revelation in outspokenness. Palmer is a hard, straight hater. There is something almost brutal as well as noble about the "yea is yea" and "nay is nay" of the Quaker's candor. He carried

this direct form of speech into his campaign. Veteran politicians said he was too stern and too belligerent. Having a clean man's freedom from fear of exposure, he also had the audacity of the champion of a good cause. Therefore his swift, uncompromising combativeness. Palmer lost the race for the senatorship, and retired with good grace to resume the practice of law in the quiet town of Stroudsburg. He knew how to

"Meet with Triumph and Disaster,
And treat those two impostors just the same."

Nobody was far-sighted enough to perceive that by being out of office he was eligible to the emergency appointment of Alien Property Custodianship; and thence to the portfolio of Attorney General. Strange are the roads that go up and the roads that go down. Penrose sits in the Senate, but Palmer is the nation's present leader in its most vital efforts.

When within his own party in Pennsylvania men were named for office who stood for the opposite of the principles upon which the State Democracy had been reorganized, Palmer fought them openly. Without any pious remarks about the relative claims of righteousness versus "regularity," he simply and openly took the stand which is usually suicide to a public career. His recipe for avoiding wrinkles, I suppose, if he were even to think of such a triviality, would be, "Keep in the sunlight, and walk straight ahead."

His Present Tasks

Bolshevism, industrial unrest, the high cost of living, and the prosecution of corporation law-breakers, are the extraordinary tasks at present engaging the Attorney General. Upon him, more than upon any other man except the President, depends the security of the nation and the peace and well-being of the people. I have tried to show that A. Mitchell Palmer has the qualities which his task requires—probity, patriotism, courage and efficiency. He will serve the nation to the best of his ability, even though he earns the antagonism of every special class and group of people, including those powerful aggregations of men who are commonly supposed to be able to "make or break" a public man.

Whether Palmer goes higher in official position, or back to Stroudsburg, he will still be the unboasting, unfearing, untiring servant of the United States whom those who know best most delight to honor.

PROSPECTS AND PROBLEMS OF THE NEW YEAR

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE GENERAL SITUATION

EVERYONE is familiar with the fact that during the years of the recent war each midwinter period was a time of great pessimism and disappointment for the Allies, a season of strain for the publics of the nations in arms against the Germans. Whatever were the failures of the Germans in the major field of operations during each successive campaign, they were able by triumphs over the Serbians, the Rumanians and the Russians, to awaken new hopes among their own masses and sow corresponding fears in the midst of Allied nations.

At the outset of another year, this time marking the second anniversary of the restoration of peace, it is clear that something of the same condition of disappointment and disillusionment prevails. Recalling the war parallels we may hope for solutions more favorable than present conditions seem to warrant; yet it is equally necessary to recognize that the unsettled problems of 1919 cast a portentous shadow over the year that is at hand.

Above all we have to recognize that the Paris Conference is dissolving, if not officially adjourning, leaving behind it many documents duly formulated and bearing witness to the diligence of the Conference itself. But so far it has failed to put into actual operation any one of the treaties it has imposed upon the enemy and has now confronting it in its declining days a challenge of authority from beaten Germany and faces an incoherence and chaos in the world, intensified by certain well-nigh critical situations in regions in which the recent world tragedy had its inception.

In the present article I mean to discuss four or five of the chief problems, namely, the European effects of America's course in temporarily refusing to ratify the Treaty of Versailles; the meaning of the recent German challenge to the Paris Conference, which still stands as I write these lines, at a moment when Allied press and publics are

discussing new military operations against Germany; the Adriatic situation with its Balkan complications; the Russian problem as it has been transformed by the total collapse of Allied hopes placed in Denikine, Kolchak and Yudenitch, and finally the ever-darkening outlook in Asia Minor.

As to the American political aspects of the dispute over the Treaty in the Senate, I shall not speak. The clash between ideas, personalities and political parties, all discoverable in the progress of recent domestic history, lies outside the field of one who has sought through more than five years to set forth in the pages of this magazine European conditions and forces as they affect American interests and are themselves affected by American action.

The rights and wrongs of American action or failure to act are matters which will be discussed by others far more competent to deal with them. What I shall try to do, as in the past, is to explain, so far as I am able, the European reactions. The failure to ratify the treaty is an American matter, a question of domestic politics and policy, but once the treaty has failed of ratification, a whole long series of European consequences remains to be noted.

The course of the Senate may be sound or unsound, a defense of legitimate American interests, or an excursion into partisan politics at a moment when world peace is in the balance. On this point the American debate is only beginning and the decision seems indefinitely postponed, but in Europe the consequences have been immediate, considerable, in a sense permanent.

II. EUROPE AND AMERICA

In understanding the present reaction in Europe one has inevitably to go back to the opening days of the Paris Conference, a year ago. Then the view of Europe, of that portion of Europe associated with us in the war with Germany, was clear. America had become the dominating factor in the war. Our troops had supplied the reserves neces-

sary to furnish the strategy of Foch with the weight essential to its success. We had prevented a moral collapse in 1917 by entering the conflict. We assured a military triumph in 1918 by supplying that man-power, still but roughly trained, which made German victory impossible and assured the exhaustion of German reserves. On a battlefield long contested, when weariness was present on both sides, we contributed just the force needed to decide the issue. Moreover the numbers which we sent were but an earnest of what we could send and our material reserves were even more considerable than the human.

When President Wilson arrived in Europe a year ago the Continent was unmistakably under the American spell. Still exhausted, suddenly made acutely conscious of the extent of its wounds, by the end of the struggle and the arrival of the first hour available for taking account of stock, France, Britain, Italy, the big states and even more completely the little states newly called into existence, recognized their own appalling weakness and saw in America the sole and sufficient guarantee of their future.

The entrance of America into the war, the coming of the President, the presence of millions of American troops on the Continent—all these things were accepted as ultimate evidence of the change in American policy. Europe believed that the United States had broken for all time with its old policy of isolation. And this impression was powerfully fortified by the first words of the President himself, by all the declarations public and private of the Americans who went to Europe to make peace.

Speaking for America the President said in unequivocal language that the United States sought a new ordering of world relations, a new international organization, that if such an organization in accordance with its conceptions were achieved, then all the mighty power of the United States, military as well as financial, would be placed behind the new arrangement. We, the great American nation, at the moment unmistakably the supreme world power, would guarantee the terms of peace and the conditions of settlement.

I wish I could make it clear to my American readers how explicit this affirmation on behalf of the United States was made and how completely it was accepted by Europe. In the presence of this fact the European nations made a peace which was constructed

around the essential premise that America had come to Europe to stay, that the challenge of the principles or applications of principle established at Paris would be automatically taken up by American armies and naval forces.

Europe did not resign all its aspirations, all its own time-honored or dishonored customs, but again and again at a critical moment the decisive factor was the assertion that America would decline to accept such and such solutions. For example, France agreed to surrender the Rhine barrier solely because she was assured that if she did not the United States would not aid her next time and if she did American millions would as a physical barrier replace the geographic bulwark of the Rhine.

With all its compromises and departures from the Fourteen Points, the Treaty of Versailles was built round the single fact that America had come to Europe to stay. To put the thing negatively, a totally different settlement would have been arrived at had the Europeans conceived that the document which would finally be signed in Paris would not automatically receive American endorsement. The smallest suggestion that there was a question as to the action of the Senate when it should have the treaty in its own hands was repulsed in Paris as a mere evidence of partisan spite on the part of its author.

Europe made peace with the President of the United States in the firm conviction that the President spoke for all of America, for the political opposition as well as for his party associates. America was in Paris the expression of a hundred millions of people, all united in a common demand for a certain kind of settlement and prepared to guarantee such a settlement once it had been accepted in its name by the President.

Exactly this circumstance explains to-day why such dispatches as come to us from Paris and London assert that the United States Senate, by refusing to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, has repudiated its obligations. Europe knows that it made a certain kind of an arrangement solely to insure American support, that it was assured of that support by the President, if it made the arrangement, and it reasons that America has repudiated a pledge, after having led Europe to make certain commitments, sacrifices, surrenders, which never would have been made under any other circumstances.

It will not do to assert, as many Americans

now do, that Europe had no right to draw such conclusions. On the side of fact this stands, but it does not help, rather it prevents understanding the present situation. Granted European diplomacy made a supreme blunder, it still made the blunder and finds itself now in the presence of the consequences. It made peace with the President, expecting that this was the same as making peace with the country, and it sees that peace at least temporarily rejected and, what is even more disastrous, assailed by one of the two great American political parties.

III. THE CONSEQUENCES

Now for the consequences of the recent events in the Senate: We see clearly that Europe made a settlement based upon the participation of the United States in the permanent guarantee of that settlement. If we had not participated in the peace negotiations or if we had not assumed a leading rôle and given unmistakable assurances that if our ideas were embodied in the treaty certain results would follow, Europe would have made peace in its own way. It might have been a worse way, it certainly would have been a different way.

Unquestionably the French would have compelled Germany to recognize permanent French military occupation of the Rhine barrier. Great Britain would have been compelled to agree to this, because it is essential to remember that British policy always envisages defending the Straits of Dover against a continental foe and to defend them she must, as the events of 1914 showed, stand with France. Thus British interest demands that the defense of the Straits of Dover shall begin as far away as possible and, since British troops must share with French the burden of the resistance, the British are as interested as the French in having an advantageous and distant line of resistance.

Both the British and the French could agree that American millions were a better guarantee against Germany than the Rhine barrier, provided there was no doubt of having the millions promptly. But a barrier, either geographical or military, there was needed and, with any doubt cast upon the military barrier, constituted by our millions, the reversion to the geographical substitute becomes inevitable.

Again, as to Italy: France and Great Britain could support Mr. Wilson's Fiume policy, absolutely right, in my judgment, on the moral side, because if the United States were committed to European enterprise, to firm

and enduring participation in world affairs, if American troops were certain to come to the aid of British and French, Italian military force was a well-nigh negligible factor. In a word, our armies were so much more considerable an asset that Britain and France could afford to risk losing Italian friendship by supporting Mr. Wilson's Fiume policy.

But if the United States is out of the calculations, or even becomes a doubtful element, Italy becomes a tremendous factor—in truth, the future balance of power in Europe depends upon the direction of Italian policy. If Italy turns to Germany, France and Great Britain are at once in a fatally defective position. Thus Italy resumes the position she occupied when in 1915 the Allies sought to enlist her in the war against Germany. She can fix her price and Britain and France must pay.

The price is plain. If France will now demand the right to stay at the Rhine, as a concession based upon her new situation created by American action, Italy can with equal determination ask for Allied, British and French recognition of her Adriatic claims, of her Asiatic ambitions as well. To deny them is to immobilize French divisions along the Alps, if there is a new German attack, and it was the release of these divisions, following Italy's promise of neutrality, which saved the Battle of the Marne.

The case of Rumania is not less manifest. Rumania is nothing in the European scale when contrasted with the potential resources of the United States. Wise policy, obvious common sense, demanded support of American wishes as contrasted with Rumanian when the reward was the securing of American assistance and the loss, merely the possible hostility of Rumania. But Rumania, while a pigmy, when compared with the United States, is a very considerable figure in a European situation with the United States left out. She holds the lower Danube, is master of a relatively considerable fraction of Europe's most fertile lands, exceeding Italy in area and with a population of 16,000,000 capable of rapid increase, judging from contemporary statistics. When she was less than half as large she was able to demand her price for entrance into the war. With America out she resumes her old value. Does anyone suppose that France or Britain, faced with the solid facts of the situation, of the new situation, will long oppose Rumanian aspirations on the Dneister or even in the angle between the Theiss and the Danube?

Nor is the case of Poland less patent. Despite the French plea, we have made Poland an impossibility by our compromises and calculations at Paris. We have restricted the corridor to the Baltic, denied possession of Danzig, invented plebiscites to meet German objections. We have done all these things in the name of the Fourteen Points and under the guiding impulse of American ideas. But now the situation changes. For France, for Britain, there is no longer a question of the certainty of American millions along the Rhine, if Germany stirs again. Poland like Rumania assumes a totally different value in a European combination in which the United States does not appear.

To satisfy American scruples Poland was refused much territory vital to her military and economic future. Again it was a small price to pay for American aid, but it is a prohibitive price if America disappears and the old danger of Germany remains, as it does. Then the Pole must take the place of the Russian. Then it must be the mission of Polish armies to attack Germany on the east and thus draw off some of the pressure exerted upon France in the west.

And if Poland is to be able to do all this, she must have the best possible frontiers, the largest area she is capable of occupying effectively. Above all she must be assured of the possession of the lower Vistula. The question of Danzig must be reopened and resettled. The plebiscite in Silesia takes on a new significance, because if these lands fall to Germany they can supply the arms and materials necessary for making a new war.

It is not necessary to multiply the examples of the actual effect of the American incidents. The truth stands unmistakable. Europe could make a moderate peace, a peace in accordance with principles of abstract justice, if America were certain to aid in defending it, but if there were a question as to America, then a peace based upon history and military geography was all that could be made. And the action of the Senate has settled the question of certainty, whatever the ultimate result of the debate. Therefore Europe must, and in my judgment will, promptly make its own amendments to the recent treaties—amendments all designed to regain a security lost by American withdrawal. We shall have a new alliance, a new association of nations large and small to guarantee mutual security, and to establish this alliance many problems like those of Fiume, the Banat, Danzig will be reopened.

IV. THE GERMAN REACTION

At the moment when this article is written the Germans have openly refused to sign a protocol putting the Treaty of Versailles into operation because it includes a promise to pay indemnity for the sabotage of the German war fleet in British waters.

This act of defiance has two explanations. It is alleged on one side that it is a direct consequence of the course of the United States Senate. Germany feels herself relieved of the menace of American participation in the enforcement of the terms of the peace. She is regaining something of her old feeling of strength.

A second explanation is found in the reaction within Germany, the ever-growing weakness of the present republican régime, the steady increase in enthusiasm manifested for Hindenburg, Mackensen, even for Ludendorff. The old elements of Germany, the Junkers and the military, the Potsdam gang, are manifestly looking up and stretching forth hands to seize power.

Probably each of the explanations contains a measure of justice. At bottom lies the terrible failure of the victors to put the treaty into actual existence months and months ago. The German is getting out of the mood of despair and hopelessness of last winter. He sees his enemies slowly but surely becoming estranged. American events give him cause for satisfaction, but even more does the break between Italy on the one hand and Britain and France on the other.

Despite all the reports of alarmists I do not believe there is any warrant for believing that Germany is capable of fighting another war in contemporary months. Resistance there might be, a sort of pale repetition of the events of the Napoleonic Hundred Days, but not with the Kaiser in the leading rôle. This is possible, but under the conditions of modern war Germany can raise armies but not equipment. She lacks all the things that make even a brief defense possible—heavy artillery, arsenals, airplanes. Her ports are open, her submarines gone, while her French foes have at least in equipment an advantage beyond compare.

Yet it is not impossible that a Junker cabal, coming to power by overthrowing the present republic, may be forced to seek to repeat the great events of 1813, which ended in the deliverance of Germany and the downfall of France. Such an attempt means swift ruin, unless the French troops refuse to fight and

the British abandon their allies—things totally beyond any reasonable expectation. Foch will moreover begin his action on the east bank of the Rhine and Frankfurt will be his first hostage and Southern Germany an immediate victim.

Probably before this article is in the readers' hands Germany will have bowed again, but this very capitulation may seal the doom of the republican régime. Its single chance lies in getting the war settled and peace restored in the briefest possible time and events have delayed this solution for a year. Meantime the Germans have passed from one humiliation to another and the contrast between the achievement of the old régime before the war and of the new since the defeat stands forth in all German eyes.

Therefore it seems to me entirely likely that we shall see in the next few months a real German reaction, the return of the old gang to control, not impossibly followed by a desperate gamble recalling the Napoleonic epilogue. This is the more likely because the policy of the nations who have fought Germany, a policy imposed by American events, more and more tends to take measures to achieve material and physical guarantees against fresh German attack.

Lacking effective leadership, Germany is drifting back into the hands of her old masters. Such leadership as she has is daily growing more completely discredited by the postponement of peace and the multiplication of humiliations. A *coup d'état* becomes daily more possible and out of a *coup d'état* there would emerge new defiance to the Allies, inevitable military operations, and a total remaking of the terms of peace with Germany.

On the Allied side this would not be an unmixed evil. It would supply the warrant for establishing French garrisons permanently upon the Rhine and remaking the Polish frontier. It would give justification for abolishing League of Nations restrictions and applying purely European principles. In the end, I believe the Germans would play into the hands of their enemies, but in the meantime, the prospect of real peace and orderly adjustment would be mightily hindered. Germany has no Napoleon to come back from Elba. Even recent events have not clothed the Kaiser with dignity nor restored his lost popularity. She lacks the resources to turn out such an army, as Napoleon took to Waterloo, to defeat, as it turned out. But there are many circumstances in 1919 which recall 1815.

Above all else there is in Germany much the same mood as existed in 1815 in France. An army used to victory which does not feel itself defeated, and by army I mean officers and non-commissioned officers, has been thrown out of work, evicted forever, if the treaty of peace prevails. A vast horde of functionaries has similarly been deprived of livelihood and dignities, while the public which welcomed peace a year ago as a relief, after thirteen months finds its condition still difficult. Set over against this is an unmistakable breaking up of the victorious enemy alliance, recalling the situation at Vienna after the defeat and first abdication of Napoleon.

A prompt restoration of actual peace conditions, the ending of all delays, the beginning of commercial exchange, the extension of Allied credits to the Germans, the opening of a prospect of some degree of prosperity attained through industry, may still avail to save Germany from reaction and even revolution, followed by a further Allied occupation and a new set of peace terms, such as were served upon France after Waterloo.

But it seems to me the element of time is running heavily against such a desirable solution.

I do not believe in a restored Germany suddenly leaping to arms and repeating the achievements of Prussia in 1813. To me the military aspects of the German problem are fairly plain, but the chances of success or failure will not necessarily restrain the old gang if it regains control. Just as the same men deliberately ignored certain very obvious and fundamental considerations when they were in supreme control and thus precipitated defeat, they are likely to take equal and greater risks, if they regain control, because no one can read their present utterances without feeling that, like the Bourbons, "they have learned nothing and forgotten nothing." Moreover, for all of them it is a question of life or death and perhaps of now or never, for if Germany ever gets started on a new basis their day is over.

Thus at the turn of the year the situation in Germany seems to me more critical than at any time since the Armistice. One may exaggerate the peril, but one cannot mistake the fact that the country is in full reaction and the success of the reactionaries carries with it almost inevitably the certainty of some military operations and of the upsetting of the Treaty of Versailles, as the Napoleonic return upset the terms of the First Treaty of Paris, a little more than a century ago.

V. RUSSIAN EVENTS

If we have seen our enemies regaining mastery of affairs in Germany, the Russian phenomenon has been practically identical. In a few weeks' time Kolchak's, Denikine's and Yudenivitch's armies have been soundly beaten and the fall of Petrograd and Warsaw, confidently expected comparatively recently, disappears into the background, becomes one of the impossibilities of the contemporary hour.

It is time to recognize clearly that Allied policy with respect of the Bolsheviks has failed. The proof lies in the fact that the border tribes, who have borne the burden of our struggle against the Russian Reds, are to-day talking of truce and peace with the Lenine government. They can do nothing else. Separated themselves by mutual rivalries and jealousies, they could not, even if combined, hope to offer a successful resistance to Russia, if the Bolsheviks were ever able to turn against them the armies which have been occupied against Kolchak and Denikine. And the hour is approaching when such a concentration is no longer unlikely.

If the Allies could send men—money and munitions will no longer suffice—armies numbered by the hundred thousand, the Letts, the Finns, the Lithuanians, the Poles, the Rumanians might consent to fight. But they would only do this if the Allies guaranteed them the frontiers they claim. Such an Allied guarantee would result in the immediate rejection of the contract by Kolchak and Denikine, who are by no means ready to see Russia mutilated, it might mean the end of the domestic revolt by Russian patriotic or nationalistic elements, since otherwise they would become the partners in the dismemberment of their country.

Moreover, the Allies would have to undertake an adjustment of the disputes between the Lithuanians and the Poles, the Poles and the Ukrainians, quarrels which admit of no obvious solution and risk losing one race, whenever its rival's most modest claims are recognized. Finally, the Allies would have to abandon their policy of opposition to Rumania, and modify their attitude toward Polish aspirations. Above all they would have to send armies and, since Allied peoples will not consent to this, all other conditions become relatively unimportant.

Thus we are rapidly approaching a moment when it will become necessary to make a truce with Bolsheviks. We may even have

to recognize the Lenine and Trotzky régime, because not to recognize it would mean to sacrifice the border tribes to the Russian armies, since we will not send armies to defend them. The Bolsheviks are ready, have been ready for months, to make peace. They will consent to terms which will leave the border tribes temporarily free. They will agree to pay the old Russian debt—a condition essential to French financial stability. They will make almost any concession to get what they desire, that is, a period of rest in which to organize their control of Russia.

No one should mistake the danger that this truce carries. Buying off an enemy, who will always remain an enemy, proved of little avail as far back as the Roman era, when the Barbarians took their ransom and departed, only to return. But if one cannot fight there is little real choice and the peoples of the old Alliance are in no mood to embark upon further colossal campaigns.

Conceivably with the menace of foreign war removed Russia will presently fall into more moderate hands and what could not be accomplished by outside force will be achieved by domestic evolution. Yet this seems hardly likely; rather there is reason to dread a renewal by the present Russian régime of the old struggle, once they have consolidated their hold upon the mighty potential resources of the Russian Empire.

But whatever its consequences, the victory of Lenine seems assured. The first and soundest Allied policy, one of immediate and powerful military intervention, broke down when the peoples of the Allied countries declared against a new war and the soldiers of these nations actually mutinied. The second and weaker policy of a *cordon sanitaire*, of a barrier maintained against Russian revolution, until Russians, in revolt against Lenine and supported by allied military resources and small allied contingents, above all fortified by the blockade and the aid of the border races, should gain control of the nation, has failed because these Russian insurgents, reactionaries—the name does not signify—the Kolchaks and the Denikines have been beaten and the small states are in danger and ready to abandon the struggle.

The whole western world stands aghast at the methods and principles of Lenine and Trotzky. It instinctively repulses any idea of making peace and thus recognizing the Bolsheviks. The press continues to decry any suggestion of an arrangement recognizing the men who have undertaken to overturn all the foundations of our civilization.

But the truth cannot be obscured by this sort of denunciation, founded upon sound reasons but turning a blind eye to material considerations.

If we continue the blockade and the state of war with Russia, we shall presently risk the independence of the Poles and the Baltic states. They cannot stand against Russia, once Kolchak and Denikine are completely defeated, unless we send vast armies. If the Reds break through this feeble barrier they will come into contact with the Germans and the consequences may be disastrous in the extreme. At the least all of our liberation of smaller peoples in the Middle of Europe may go for nothing.

In any event the unsolved Russian problem remains one of the most evil of our inheritances in the new year. Recent events all point to the arrival of a situation in which it will no longer be possible to conceal the failure of all our earlier policies and the necessity of taking a final decision for peace or for war. Not to make peace will invite the Russians to invade the Middle of Europe, as the French Revolution was similarly invited into Germany, by opponents who could not fight and would not recognize the French insurgents. We shall, then, have to formulate a policy in the matter of Russia within a brief time, or failing that face new dangers hardly less considerable, in fact much more serious, than those which grow out of recent German developments.

VI. ITALY AND THE ADRIATIC

Turning to the Adriatic crisis, it becomes plain that in this quarter, too, the situation has visibly worsened. The venture of D'Annunzio has brought Italy to the edge of war with the Jugo-Slavs. Only the ever-declining hope of ultimate intervention by the Paris Conference, by Britain and France, by the United States, first of all, has so far kept the Jugo-Slavs from meeting violence with violence. And the next move of D'Annunzio may prove the signal for the explosion.

Meantime behind the new front Italy is seething with unrest and the recent election has enormously increased the strength of the Socialists. The outbreak of hostilities with the Jugo-Slavs, any protracted campaign, any incidental defeat, might prove the signal for revolt at home, for revolution. And despite this unmistakable fact we see the factions which D'Annunzio represents pressing forward to an inevitable conflict.

Nor would the outbreak of hostilities between Slav and Italian be "localized," to use a word of unhappy memories. Balkan disturbances are rarely localized. Thus the Rumanians would seize upon the outbreak of war between Italy and Jugo-Slavia to flood the Banat, that is the Serbian fraction of the Banat, with troops. Rumania has never accepted the division of this province made by the Paris Conference and the Paris Conference in giving Serbia these lands has exposed her to deadly peril. If the claim of the Slavs is sound, viewed from the angle of self-determination, it is no less a claim which wise statesmanship would resign, as Cavour resigned Nice and Savoy to France and made an invaluable ally.

The attack of Rumania would unquestionably release the Bulgar, who similarly rejects the Paris settlement, which, so far from giving him Monastir, deprives him of Strumnitza. As for Greece, the sight of Bulgarian armies in Macedonia again would have for her a deadly significance. She might hesitate to join in the *melee*, but her hesitation would be almost as dangerous as actual participation. Nor is it less plain that Albanians would seize upon the difficulties of Italy to rise against an Italian occupation which has become unpopular in the extreme.

Fiume, then, promises, threatens a new Balkan conflagration. It carries with it the possibility of revolution in Italy, the certainty of risings in many lands occupied by Italians, in Asia Minor as well as Europe. Given the Italian domestic situation, as it exists, what will be the effect of the arrival of a new war, accompanied by troubles in Albania, in Asia Minor, and in Tripoli? What, too, will be the effect upon Italian finance and industry if the prolongation of the Fiume crisis continues to prevent demobilization and augment military expenditure?

The worst phase of the Fiume episode is that, while it is still conceivable that an accommodation can be found for the present dispute, an arrangement which will prevent immediate hostilities, the hatreds engendered between the Southern Slavs and the Italians will hardly disappear in the present generation. The dispute has gone too far, the bitterness aroused has been too acute.

To-day the stature of the Southern Slavs seems too inconsiderable to carry any threat to Italy, but the new Jugo-Slavia is already a country as large as Italy, with a prolific population and a vast extent of fertile territory. Its inhabitants are fighting men from long tradition and they will hardly resign

their claims, not to Fiume and Dalmatia, merely, but to Trieste and to Istria, now that the hour of friendly adjustment is over. What we have seen breaking out is one more of the racial hatreds which have contributed so much to making European conflicts.

The refusal of the United States Government to accept any one of the compromises offered by the Italians is justified in principle, but it is a little less comprehensible in fact. We cannot get Fiume for the Slavs. We could not send a division to aid them if war broke out. We could not protect them from Rumanian or Bulgar attack in the rear. Such attacks would be inevitable.

I know it was the view of certain well-informed Americans in Paris last winter that Italy would have to choose between domestic revolution and compliance with the Paris terms. Events have seemed to point to a possible confirmation of the opinion of those who affirmed that the refusal of the Italian Government to accept President Wilson's policy insured an Italian domestic explosion. But will such a terrible catastrophe be worth while, if the result is the ruin of Modern Italy and the incidental vindication of Slav claims on the Adriatic?

There is only one possible compromise, possible in the sense of offering any promise of permanency. Fiume is lost to the Slavs, for the present, unless they take it by the sword. But to exchange their claims to Fiume for Italian claims to Dalmatia, might prove a reasonable solution. If the Italian Government lacks the authority to enforce such a compromise upon D'Annunzio, then there is no other possible outcome save war. Nor is the immediate crushing of the Slavs over-certain.

But failing a composition of the dispute, a prompt ending of the crisis, war seems to me well-nigh inevitable. And war will involve Rumania and Bulgaria, it may rouse Hungary. Even the German Austrians, a quarter of a million of whom have been forcibly included in the new Italian frontiers against every principle of justice, may at least revive hope of ultimate liberation for their enslaved brethren.

Above all else Americans must understand that the question of Fiume is something more than a dispute over a small town. It has the widest possible influence, it carries with it the immediate possibility of a new Balkan conflagration, it may produce revolution in Italy, it will excite rebellion in Albania, in Tripoli, in Asia Minor, wherever Italian

garrisons hold alien territory against the will of the populations.

VII. SUMMING IT UP

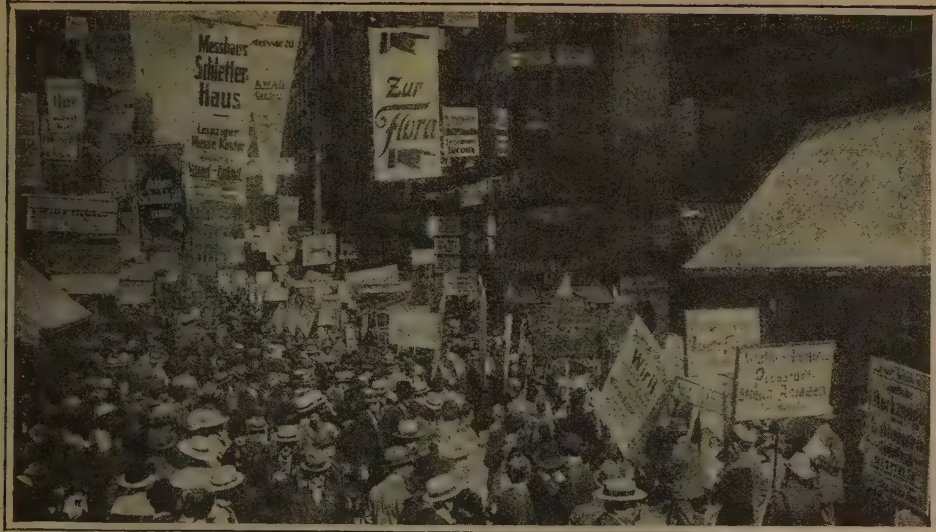
Of the situation in Asia Minor I shall say no more in this article than to point out that there also the conditions are rapidly marching toward anarchy. The Turk, like the German, is getting back a measure of assurance. He sees the enemies of his race revealing the same old rivalries and incoherencies of policy which have saved him again and again. The defeat of the Peace Treaty in Washington carries an almost certain death warrant for the American mandates for Armenia and Constantinople, but if not the United States what nation is to have Constantinople?

To sum up briefly: The action of the American Senate seems to have knocked the foundation out from under the settlement made at Paris. That document becomes "Hamlet" with Hamlet left out. Later ratification will not restore the old character. As a consequence Europe is marching toward a new settlement, made on European lines and on the assumption that America cannot be relied upon to participate in European conflicts.

In the same way the German situation is unmistakably pointing toward domestic upheaval, a reaction to the control which existed before the war and it is at the same time tending toward a new defiance of the orders of the Paris Conference and of the nations allied against Germany which will lead to new military operations, the occupation of more German territory and the transformation of the conditions of peace.

As for the Russian problem, it seems approaching a solution which may well involve a permanent unsettlement of very grave character. We are nearing a moment when we may have to make peace with the Bolsheviks on their terms, because we shall have no weapon available to oppose them with. Such peace, too, means only giving a permanent enemy a respite to organize a fresh attack.

As to the question of the Adriatic, more patently than all other difficulties it is moving toward armed conflict, a conflict which will involve all of the Balkans and may spread to Middle Europe. Grim as the present outlook may seem, it is just to say that only wild optimism could have expected a prompt restoration of health after that long disease which was the World War.



OPENING DAY AT THE FAMOUS LEIPZIG FAIR IN SEPTEMBER LAST

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN GERMANY

BY C. W. A. VEDITZ, Ph. D.

(Former Commercial Attaché of the American Embassy in Paris)

THERE seems to be, in the United States, a widespread belief that Germany is rapidly "getting on her feet again"; that "the chimneys of her industrial plants are again smoking"; and that the German laborer, in order to help meet the economic burdens of the new order of things, works not only the traditional eight hours a day, but ten and twelve hours. There is, indeed, in the parts of Germany held by the Allies—where the presence of foreign troops and officials, and foreign economic influences form a distinct and different régime from that which prevails elsewhere—a semblance of prosperity that is misleading to the observer who is unfamiliar with the remainder of the country.

My own conclusions, based upon six weeks' stay in various parts of Germany during the months of August and September, 1919, by no means bear out this optimistic view. As it is obviously impossible, in so short a time, for a visitor to make anything like a thorough personal investigation, it must be confessed that my testimony represents not so much what I saw myself, as the information that was furnished me by the men with whom it was my privilege to con-

sult—political leaders, government officials, business men and bankers, and trade-union leaders.

My sojourn as a student in Germany from 1891 to 1895, and repeated visits to Germany between 1895 and 1914 as an economic investigator for various branches of the United States Government, made it possible before the war to establish relations of sufficient intimacy with prominent men so that I could solicit their views—now that the war is over—with a reasonable hope of obtaining from them the actual facts of the situation as they see them.

The significant facts which I noted myself during this last trip to Germany, are of little importance except as symptomatic of conditions which appear to be general. Entirely apart, however, from the results of a personal investigation, it is difficult to conceive how any one who is at all familiar with the conditions underlying German prosperity before the war can accept without detailed proof the optimistic views to which reference has been made. The fundamental factor in the economic situation of Germany was her dependence upon foreign trade, both imports and exports. Her principal indus-



FOODSTUFF ISSUED TO LEIPZIG FAIR VISITORS

tries depended upon imported raw material and partly manufactured goods. Her population depended for essential foodstuffs partly upon imports from abroad. Her most profitable and most highly developed industries—such as the chemical industries—depended upon the export market for their continued development.

The Food Shortage—Starvation

Among the essential materials lacking from the start were cereals for bread, and feed for cattle. In normal times Germany consumes about seven million tons of wheat, of which two million are imported from Russia and America. These were cut off by the war.

The shortage of wheat up to the present time is still manifested in the requirement of bread cards, and in the almost complete absence of white bread, which is supposed to be reserved for invalids, although one can usually obtain little white-bread rolls (*Brödchen*) in the more expensive restaurants at a price varying from fifty pfennings to one mark each.¹ At Berlin, the visitor living in a hotel is furnished with daily bread cards, potato cards, and meat cards. He cannot have any butter. The meat cards are not issued on two days in the week.

At the Leipzig Fair (the famous *Leipziger-Messe*) last September, the visitors, who are said to have numbered 130,000, had to report to the *Messamt*, where they received a meat card and a foodstuff card, valid for the duration of their stay. The

foodstuff card was subdivided into a cheese card, a butter card, and a bread-spreading-material card (*Brotaufstrichmittlekarte*) which presumably relates to goose grease and other substitutes for butter. The visitor was also provided with a list of the shops where these cards may be presented.

The evolution of the food situation from the beginning of the war to the present time, shows repeated miscalculations on the part of the German Government, and an almost uninterrupted decline in the daily ration of essential foods. At the outset, cereals for making bread—wheat and rye—were available in quantities, respectively, of 8,760,000 tons, and 3,150,000 tons. But at the present time the Government ration is 119 kilograms per annum, whereas in the judgment of food experts the minimum requirement per capita is 180 kilograms.

An article of food on which Germany counted, and was entitled to count, was her potato crop. On the average, Germany raises three times as many potatoes as France and four times as many as Austria-Hungary. In 1913 the German potato crop furnished 800 grammes per day per capital of the population, but at the present time the ration is 215 grammes.

The German was also a large consumer of meats. He ate more meat than even the Englishman, twice as much as the Russian, and six times as much as the Italian. But although the number of cattle for a time sufficed for Germany's meat requirements, the lack of available cattle food became a serious problem. The national supply of meats (beef, veal, pork, mutton, and goat's meat) in 1913 represented 88.7 kilograms per capita per year, or 250 grammes per day, whereas the present ration is only 36.

In the season of 1917-'18 the Government found it necessary to increase the price, per *Doppelzentner* (200 pounds) of rye, from 220 marks to 270 marks, of wheat from 260 marks to 290 marks, of potatoes from 90 marks to 100 marks, and of sugar beets from 30 marks to 50 marks.

From the summer of 1916 to June, 1917, the rationing of bread, potatoes, butter, milk, meat, eggs and sugar was lowered from a nutritive value of 1983 calories, and an albuminous content of 53.8 grammes, to 1100 calories and 30.1 grammes of albuminous content. The system of June, 1917, moreover, with but slight changes from time to time, continued to prevail through the war and after the war. The occasional modifications involved a total of between 1000 and



Wide World Photos.

GERMAN SOLDIER, HOME FROM A PRISON CAMP, STARTING TO WORK HIS FARM
(Note the home-made form of the plow)

1300 calories. In the opinion of food experts, however, a ration of 1344 calories is insufficient to maintain life.

The consequence was a notable increase in the death rate among the civil population. According to the national Health Office the increased mortality of the years 1915 to 1918, over that of 1913, was as follows:

1915.....	88,235, or	9.54 per cent above	1913
1916.....	121,174, or	14.3 per cent above	1913
1917.....	259,627, or	32.2 per cent above	1913
1918.....	293,760, or	37 per cent above	1913

A prominent official of the organization at Berlin that corresponds to an American Chamber of Commerce, after consulting with social workers and physicians in the poorer quarters of Berlin, expressed the conviction that there were in Berlin alone last August no less than 200,000 persons in the process of starvation—not actually falling over in the streets and dying from hunger, but physically so weak from malnutrition that they easily became the quick prey of a variety of diseases.

Raw Materials for Industries

Quite as dependent as she was upon the imports of foodstuffs, Germany needed to obtain from foreign countries some of the essential raw materials of her important industries. The textile industries, upon which Saxony depends to so large a degree, employed at the outbreak of the war approximately 1,300,000 workers, male and female—that is to say, one-fifteenth of the population engaged in gainful occupations. But these industries were almost entirely dependent for their raw materials upon imports.

For cotton, she depended mainly upon the United States; and it is difficult to conceive of a method whereby Germany can afford to buy an adequate supply of cotton at the present rate of exchange, with the mark worth a little over two cents instead of twenty-four cents. Of wool alone, Germany furnished scarcely one-tenth of the amount she required. Flax and hemp came from Russia. Practically all of the jute needed in German mills had also to be imported. Silk was obtained from Italy and France, and in part from Japan and China.

The shortage of wool reveals itself in the unusually small stocks of cloth exhibited by the custom tailors, and in the unusually small supply of ready-made suits in the shops that deal in such goods. An American business man visiting Germany in August told me that, having taken into his service a Danish officer who had no civilian clothes, he visited the leading men's furnishing shops in Berlin to purchase a ready-made business suit. In three large establishments, less than a dozen suits were offered.

The leather industry, which gave employment to at least half a million laborers before the war, had to import between five hundred million and six hundred million marks' worth of raw hides and skins. At the present time the cheapest shoes of leather retail at 75 marks per pair, and those made of good leather, and made to order, cost from 400 to 500 marks. In the fashionable shoe shops of the Friedrichstrasse and the Leipzigerstrasse are displayed, in the show-windows, sandals with wooden soles and straps of canvas, together with footgear made of various substitutes for leather.

Another of the great German industries which depended upon foreign trade, is the working up of metals and the manufacture of machinery and implements of all sorts. In these operations the total number of laborers exceeded two and a half million when the war began. Whereas Germany possessed a sufficient supply of coal, upon which, together with iron, the metallurgical industries most largely depend, it was necessary for her to import a large part of her requirements in iron ore. Her claim to the ore of Luxemburg has been taken away by the treaty of peace. Her supplies of iron ore from Lorraine have gone over to France. Of the 28,607,000 tons of iron ore used in 1913 in Germany, 21,135,000 tons came from this annexed territory of Lorraine.

As for the other metals, Germany has to import eight-ninths of her copper requirements, seven-eighths of the lead and nickel required by her industrial plants, and almost all of her needs in manganese ore. On the first of August, the bureau in charge of controlling the insufficient supply of metals fixed the price for 100 kilograms of electrolytic copper at 600 marks; bronze, 600 marks; cast brass, 300 marks; lead, 140 marks; and aluminum, 1200 marks.

In the chemical industries, in which Germany occupied a position of leadership, she depended largely upon exports, for in 1913 the export trade of Germany in chemical materials amounted to 956,000,000 marks, or nearly a quarter of a billion of dollars. Moreover, these industries had to import such accessory materials as turpentine oil, raw benzine, iodine, saltpeter, camphor, and sulphur.

The shortage of rubber, so serious during the war, seems to continue, for rubber auto tires sell for as much as 2000 marks. Hence a large proportion of both automobiles and bicycles are provided, instead of pneumatic rubber tires, with double solid tires of metal, one within the other, and connected by a series of wire springs between the two tires.

The absence of linen, and the high cost of laundering on account of the shortage of coal, still manifest themselves by the entire absence of table cloths, except those made of crimped paper, resembling the tissue of which a well-known American paper towel is made. Paper is also used for making cord in the absence of hemp and similar fibres.

It could be said in 1914 with a considerable degree of truth that there were no beggars in Berlin. Now, however, in the

frequented parts of the town, no city block is without its beggars. Not all of them are injured soldiers. Bordering closely upon the avowed beggars are scores of men, women, and children selling cigarettes, cigars, and chocolate. Quite frequently these vendors sold English and American cigarettes, and American chocolate. Between the Friedrich Street railway station, in the heart of Berlin, and four city blocks in the direction of Unter den Linden, I counted at one time twenty-three of these vendors, standing on the sidewalks and accosting the passersby. The chocolate sold generally for ten marks a tablet. The minimum rate for a so-called cigar, the composition of which was highly problematical, was usually one mark or one mark fifty pfennings; and smokers familiar with real tobacco could find nothing fit to smoke under three or four marks.

The Currency and Prices

The most important factor underlying the continued decline in the value of the mark is to be found in the increased issue of German paper money, unaccompanied by corresponding increases in the production of goods. If the quantity of purchasable goods in a country remains stationary, or decreases, while the paper money in circulation increases, there must be a general rise in the level of prices. Paper money, if it is made legal tender, must be accepted within the country; but there is of course no way of forcing its acceptance abroad.

The rise of prices in Germany is of course not uniformly the same for all classes of commodities. At the Leipzig Fair, for example, many exhibitors made use of their pre-war price lists, and simply added 300 per cent. or 400 per cent. to the pre-war price. Others added only 100 per cent. In the case of books the addition to pre-war prices was in some instances only 10 or 20 per cent.

Obviously, American purchasers find advantage in buying German goods whose price had not been increased in inverse proportion to the decline in the exchange value of the mark. Roughly speaking, the dollar, which used to equal four marks, now equals forty marks. For the American purchaser therefore, all German articles which have not been increased ten times in price (in marks) are cheaper than they were before the war. This situation should furnish powerful stimulus to the development of export trade from Germany, if the difficulties of trans-

portation could be overcome and if Germany could acquire the necessary raw materials upon which her surplus production depends. For it is obvious that she will not permit the exportation of goods which she requires for her own essential needs.

At the Leipzig Fair, several exhibitors sought to handicap the advantage which the international rate of exchange gives to most foreign buyers, by openly fixing an export price in excess of the price for domestic buyers. A well-known book-dealer in Leipzig, with whom I tried to make arrangements for the purchase of German books, and with whom I had dealings before the war, frankly wrote me that several publishers had agreed to increase the prices of their publications for export trade by a higher percentage than that made for domestic sales.

The National Debt

No appraisal of the real economic situation of Germany after the war is complete without considering the national debt, and the new and colossal expenditures which Germany will be obliged to make for a very long period to come.

In the middle of July, 1919, the German national debt was 165 billion marks, of which 140 billions were added during the fifty-one months of the war, and about 25



Wide World Photos.

PEDDLING WOODEN SHOES IN BERLIN BECAUSE OF THE LEATHER SHORTAGE

billions were added by the revolutionary governments. As the total national wealth of Germany at the outbreak of the war was estimated at 315 billion marks (Helfferich's estimate, generally considered too high), the debt already amounted in July to more than half of the national wealth. The annual interest alone on the war debt and the revolutionary government's additions, means about $8\frac{1}{4}$ billion marks. There must be added the gratuities and pensions paid to the disabled and dependents of the war, which the Minister of Finance has estimated at $4\frac{1}{4}$ billion marks. These new charges together involve an annual burden of $12\frac{1}{2}$ million marks—as compared with the current charges of the Empire before the war (1913), of 2,400,000,000 marks.

In spite of the great reduction of the army and navy imposed by the peace treaty, there will undoubtedly be a considerable increase in the current expenses of the nation as a consequence of increased salaries and wages, and the upward trend of prices.

Inasmuch as the revolutionary government continued for a time after the above totals were reached, and increased the debt by billions of marks each month, Dr. Helfferich, former Minister of Finance, estimates that the annual current charges, apart from any notable amortization of the debt, will amount to 17 or $17\frac{1}{2}$ billion marks. If to these figures we add the current expenditures of the several German states and municipalities, which before the war amounted to more than three billion marks a year, and which will certainly continue to increase in consequence of rising wages and prices



Wide World Photos.

ACTIVITY IN A LARGE GERMAN MARKET

(amounting to at least twice the pre-war level), it follows that the annual expenditures in Germany for public purposes will reach a grand total of 24 to 25 billion marks. Before the war, the total expenditure for public purposes was six billion marks.

"We shall," says Helfferich, "exclusively for our own interior needs in the future have to make greatly increased provision out of the total national income, which before the war amounted to forty-two billion marks. That is to say, solely for our own internal requirements, we shall have to devise methods for obtaining about four times as much revenue by means of taxation and other charges. Whereas before the war about one-seventh of the national income public purposes, we shall hereafter have to had to be turned over to the Government for give up an amount equal to more than half the pre-war national income. What fraction this may be of our future national income, under the effects of war and revolution, the Gods only know."

All of the above computations, however, have left out of account the payments of billions of marks to the Allied governments throughout a long series of years. "These contributions," says Helfferich, "must be made, not in our depreciated money, but at the gold value of our mark, which to-day is worth in foreign countries about three times as much as our paper mark, and which . . . if the increase of our paper money circulation continues, may ultimately amount to ten times as much. At the end of June, 1919, the annual issue of Reichs bank-notes was 30 billion marks a year, compared with 12½ of just the year before. This amounts to a new issue of about 1½ billion marks per month or 50 million marks per day."

The enormous economic burden falls upon a greatly weakened and mutilated Germany. The precipitate demobilization after the armistice led to serious disturbances in industry, trade, and transportation. More than eight million men were demobilized, and in May, 1919, more than one million persons incapable of work became a burden upon the public treasury.

The armistice, while it caused the arrest of many branches of economic activity, caused no cessation of expenditures. With the disbanding of the army, the immediate costs of demobilization were at the outset as high as those of active warfare. They declined only after some time. More than five billion marks' worth of army stores disappeared in the chaos of retreat and revolu-

tion. Illegal withdrawals from the store-houses reduced the supplies that would otherwise have been available.

Germany's Economic Sickness

The war mortality of 1,600,000 men meant the loss of 8 per cent. of the working population and 16 per cent. of the male workers, in the most productive years of life. There were also, at the close of the war, more than 800,000 war and civilian prisoners. Millions of crippled and diseased men returned unable to give the full quota of work performed before the war. Nor should it be overlooked in connection with an estimation of the productive capacities of present Germany, that the more than four years of war, with an almost corresponding period of under-nutrition for the bulk of the civil population, inevitably curtailed the productive powers of the people as a whole.

The territorial losses of Germany involve Alsace Lorraine, the control of the Sarre region, parts of East and West Prussia, Posen and Upper Silesia. The Allies have also preempted the raw material supply from Luxemburg, upon which German industry so largely depended.

The revenue from the "occupied" regions along the Rhine has undergone grave reductions, and it may be said that the German customs frontier has in some respects been shifted to the Rhine. The out-reaching "têtes de pont" of the Allies have drawn still further sections out of economic harmony with the rest of Germany, depriving many Western towns of their normal hinterland.

"Germany," said Dernberg in his speech before the Berlin Chamber "lacks not only the iron from Luxemburg, the coal of the Sarre basin, and the potash from Alsace-Lorraine; but the means of transportation also, the very arteries of the economic body, have been greatly impaired. . . . By the cession of 5,000 locomotives, and the delivery of the German commercial marine to an international pool, Germany has been deprived of most important means of trade in her possession. . . . Our recent industrial catastrophes are not so much the direct consequences of the war, as of the conditions imposed by the armistice."

The German railway system, which in peace times was noted for its efficiency, and whose importance for the economic development of the nation could hardly be overestimated, is in a deplorable condition. The *Vossische Zeitung* of September 9, 1919, points out that the railroads, in spite of in-

creased rates, are confronted by a steady growth of the accumulated deficit piled up during the war and after the war. There was a surplus of nearly 700,000,000 marks in peace times, whereas now the total deficit amounts to *thirteen and one half billion marks*. The terms of the armistice involved not only the cession of 5000 of the best locomotives, but also 150,000 cars.

The Allied occupation of the Rhine region interfered in these regions with the most efficient of the railway systems. In addition, came the labor unrest, which in the railroads led to thirty-three strikes from January to the beginning of July, 1919,—strikes which greatly disturbed traffic not only in the localities immediately affected, but in much larger surrounding regions.

Condition of the Railroads

Even in the summer season, when there is generally an increase in the railway travel facilities, there were only 42 per cent. of the usual number of passenger trains. Passenger trains neither leave on time nor arrive on time. The freight-car service has been reduced to half the normal level. In the Ruhr coal region, where in normal times 30,000 cars are loaded per day, not more than 16,000 are now available. In Upper Silesia, where the normal capacity per day in peace times was over 12,000 cars, now it is less than 5000.

The present financial losses of the railroads indicated by the total deficit given above, would mean that in order simply to meet current expenses the railroads would require a subvention of *ten million marks per day*.

Despite the harmful effect that it was bound to have upon commerce and industry, the rates have been increased on account of dearer coal, iron, and other materials, and especially the increased wages of railway employees, whose pay was notoriously low in comparison with that of other classes of labor.

The article from which the above information was obtained states furthermore:

Unfortunately there is no prospect that the financial situation of the railroads will improve in the calculable future. . . . Whereas the kilometric yield of a serviceable locomotive in October, 1916, was about 200 kilometers, the monthly average in May, 1919, was 153 kilometers. More locomotives have to be sent to the repair shops than are delivered by these shops. The number of locomotives under repair in peace times was about 20 per cent.; now it is over 40 per cent. . . . A middle-



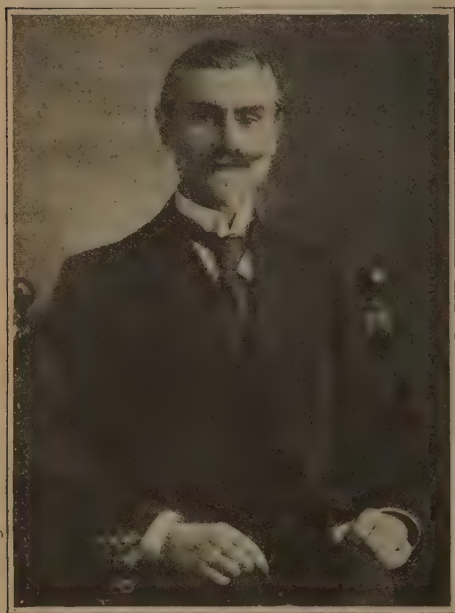
A GERMAN WAR "CATERPILLAR" NOW USED FOR HAULING HEAVY CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS

sized locomotive repair shop, in 1916, with an average of 417 employees, turned out 484 locomotives. After the armistice, the labor force was increased to 1187, but the number of locomotives turned out was 411. From the first of April, 1919, the number of laborers rose to 1253, but the rate of delivery fell to 353.

Viewed as a whole, the economic situation of Germany seems to justify the expression of Dr. Dernburg, in the speech we have quoted, that "German economic life is sick, very sick." This situation grows out of her losses of population and territory, out of her dependence upon international trade (mainly with her late enemies), the diminished vitality of her underfed population, the enormous debt accumulated by the war and the revolutionary period which succeeded it, the wholesale transfer of productive materials and the payment of large indemnities and money contributions to the Allied nations, the constant surveillance to which she will be subjected by her victors during years to come, and her lost prestige among the nations of the world.

Nothing can save her from collapse but the speedy manifestation of those qualities of persevering work, intelligent economy, and productive ingenuity, for which the German was once reputed. If an increasing number of the working classes reach the conviction that the lion's share of what they produce will be taken by the State in the form of taxes, and a large part of it will in turn be handed over to the French and the British in the form of indemnities, there is no stop on the road to Bolshevism—a Bolshevism which might not be confined to Germany, and perhaps not even to Europe.

CHARLES CESTRE, A STUDENT OF AMERICAN CONDITIONS



PROFESSOR CESTRE OF BORDEAUX
(See article beginning on opposite page)

I MET Professor Cestre by pure chance; and acquaintance quickly ripened into an understanding friendship. An exigency of the Great War made us fellow-travelers on shipboard, through mine and submarine zones, during the under-sea campaign.

It was to him that I first poured out my soul concerning the possibility of educational relationship between America and France. Professor Cestre brought over a group of five young French women—three of whom had been in his classrooms at the University of Bordeaux, where he held the professorship of English Literature—to study at Bryn Mawr. In the months that followed, both of us presented before many American institutions the case of young French women who wished to study over here; and more than sixty institutions immediately responded.

No one who came to know him in the winter and the spring of 1918 was surprised that, when he returned to France, Professor Cestre was chosen to be the first lecturer

at the Sorbonne on American Literature and Civilization. He also lectured throughout France on the same subject, and was recalled to us last summer to speak for the University of California which already had conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

In the months that followed he traveled far and wide, studying industrial and social unrest in America, collecting new materials for the lectures he is giving in France this winter, and preparing for the writing of the book on American conditions to-day which, in the light of the article that follows, will put him in line with Tocqueville and Bryce.

The writings of de Tocqueville and Prof. Charles Cestre curiously and continually reveal the personality back of the pen. Acuteness of observation, swift and sure generalizing genius and intellectual integrity characterize both. But de Tocqueville's background was largely legalistic, while Professor Cestre has the widest setting for his observations, ranging from politics to labor.

Both came to this country first when they were young; de Tocqueville never to return. Professor Cestre first to spend a year of graduate study at Harvard, then years later (after America entered the war) to be Exchange Professor at Harvard, and afterwards to travel throughout the land lecturing at many institutions and observing conditions during our world-war crisis.

Of the man it is only necessary to say that he is the finest product of French culture. He has heart as well as head. He enters with a gentleness and unerring intuition into simple human relationships, with an abandon that wins for him good friends of every type. He is both an expert in his chosen field and also ranges far and wide among the many interests of mankind. He knows facts and how to generalize concerning them without hurt to the truth.

France will do well to cherish and appreciate a man who can commend his country to the English-speaking world with singular success, and for the following article as well as for the book, whose plan I know, America will owe him a greater debt than she is already paying by confidence and friendship.

—LYMAN P. POWELL.

OUR LABOR SITUATION— A FRENCHMAN'S VIEW

BY CHARLES CESTRE

WHEN I left America, in October, after a four months' *voyage d'études* throughout the country, the Boston policemen's strike was reluctantly dragging to an end, the steel strike was raging on to the grand orchestra accompaniment of bomb outrages and cavalry charges, the strike of the building trades seemed to be crystallizing to a fixture, the pressmen and pressfeeders had just walked out, our steamer had to be loaded by her crew because of a strike of the 'long-shoremen, and about a dozen other trades were tied up in various places. But I bade good-bye to New York with pretty sure confidence that those labor troubles were essentially surface agitations, and that America, the America I have known and trusted for twenty years, would soon emerge out of the temporary welter, whole, composed, self-reconciled, more fit than ever to play her part in the evolution of the modern world.

Humanizing of Industrial Relationships

My hopeful expectation is based upon a careful study of industrial conditions in America and an enquiry into the efforts made and the means taken by the more thoughtful, far-seeing and enterprising manufacturers to meet the demands of the hour, reverse the maladjustments of the past and prepare the developments of the future. I have conversed as well with workingmen and workingmen's leaders enough to ascertain that the more intelligent among them, and the more prompt to perceive the signs of the time, begin to realize there is a new spirit abroad that calls for constructive policy on their part and entails duties as the necessary consequence of rights. To my admiring surprise, I seemed to detect, in the ruffled stream of American life, nascent steady currents of social reform, that intimate the greatest change history has recorded since the establishment of the factory system, namely, the rise, in the country richest in material resources, of forces which bid fair to husband the greatest wealth of all, the wealth of human values.

The whole world is preparing for a similar change, as the outcome of a century of humane and Christian endeavor in the circles where the full results of heartless economic competition appeared in their ghastly horror. What if America, buffeting her way through all obstacles, were to rise in the field of moral and social action as the pioneer nation, thus continuing the work she did in the conquest of the wilderness? The world cannot afford to stand indifferent.

In the accomplishment of this reform, America will be indebted to currents of thought from the Old World. In England, Carlyle, Ruskin and more recent schools of philosophical and Christian socialists denounced the ruthless disregard by captains of industry of the sanctity of human life. In France, thinkers like St-Simon, Fourier, Proudhon, Jaurès launched forward the notions of "justice," of "service," of "work accomplished in joy," of "coöperation," of "solidarity." They have founded a social doctrine, resting not, like Marxian socialism, on the fierce imperialism of material greed and on the false scientism of spurious economics but on the sacredness of the individual and on the right of all to reach autonomy and the full development of their personality. England and France have passed labor laws that protect the workers from the worst evils of the factory system.

But state legislation, however beneficial (and indispensable), changes the institutions without changing the feelings. It is a far cry from justice inscribed at the frontispiece of the code of humanity engraven in the hearts. The relations between employers and employees are still far from what they ought to be in England and in France. Autocratic individualism is still too often the attitude of the employers, and, in reaction to the unpromisingness, radical socialism, the doctrine of total subversion, the frenzy of class-struggle is still too often the attitude of the workingman. America has always had less of either folly. Of late, although she is still far from cured of all injustice or all unrest,

she has taken, or rather her enlightened citizens have taken, important steps which bring her nearer, perhaps, than any other country to the removal of the social dis-temper, plague and shame of modern times.

America's Genuine Democracy

America—the New World—has developed a daring spirit, as well in the realm of moral and social improvement as in the field of enterprise. America is not hampered by clogging traditions or ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~hard~~ ^{hard} prejudices. She has been so constantly favored by exceptional circumstances, and has so steadily turned them to account by her skill and energy, that she is entitled to look forward with confidence to a future of successful undertaking. As a democracy, she associates all her children in her achievements and her hopes. Indeed, she is the only true democracy, that is, the only country where equality has more than a political meaning and has begun partially to rule the feelings and timidly to creep into the domain of facts. To this democratic spirit I attribute, in part, the social advance that America has already made ahead of the rest of the world. Another precious trait of hers is her genius for organization, her rare ability to apply scientific knowledge to the activities of practical life.

Lastly, I shall mention her imagination, of such quality that it unites boldness and generosity of vision with a keen and sure sense of actual results. Of all nations, America (if we except the reactionary element and the radical faction, of which she cannot be wholly free) stands for integral democracy, well-regulated progress, humanity combined with sound business administration, the square deal harmonized with square profits, in virtue of that doctrine of hers, the very life-spring of her excellences, which I should call *the idealism of action*.

The American Workingman's Improved Environment

America has outgrown the economic superstitions of the Old World enough already to regard with disapproval, on the employers' side, the autocratic mastership of industry, and, on the employees' side, the Marxian fallacy of class-struggle. Saying so much is not exaggerating facts, if one judges the recent strikes (as they are) for the last spasmodic outbursts of the old obstinacy and pugnacity (on both sides), that cannot die out without a final hand-to-hand scuffle. The progressive

spirit, on the other hand, has manifested itself in so many places, assumed so rich and promising forms, and, within a short time, gathered so much momentum, as to justify in all sane reason the most promising hopes.

When I started from France I knew that the American workman received higher wages, enjoyed a broader scope of life, had secured greater physical and mental comforts, than the European worker. Indeed I had heard and read so much about the transformation of the environment and of the living conditions of the laborers, that I purposed especially to investigate safety, housing and welfare work. But I had scarcely begun my inquiry when I discovered that welfare work was almost a thing taken for granted, actually a thing which the worker hardly cared to receive unless it should be part of the regular equipment of the plant and should not be tendered to him as an especial mark of benevolence.

I realized that the reform of the industrial régime in America had proceeded far beyond the stage of material amelioration towards the *humanization* of industry, had outreached the effort at outward betterment to strain—already with considerable success—at *inward* progress. The former movement (valuable, in itself and for its possibilities) dwindled in importance beside the latter movement that tended to free from bondage the deeper forces of human nature, to release the hidden energies of the soul, and, as a consequence, to strike loose the pregnant and permanent sources of creative power and of happiness.

I went about visiting factories and questioning men, eager to learn how far the new principle was understood, how fully carried out. Indeed, I came across employers who had not so much as awaked to the idea, and workers who stuck so narrowly to old prejudices as to distrust the idea. But I also met employers thrilled with the consciousness of the new duty, and workmen already embracing the full width of the new horizon opened to their ken.

The movement was well on, and, on the whole, proceeding along the line of the most enlightened social idealism, while sanely keeping pace with the best methods of profitable business. The significance of it was that it grew from private initiative and developed on the strength of personal conviction. It was not imposed from above by a party temporarily possessed of the instrumentality of government; it was not reluc-

tantly carried out in grudging submission to decreed statute and law. It grew out of voluntary reasoned acceptance of a new truth, out of a sincere, active conversion to a new humane sympathy, out of a faith in the triumph of justice, sanity, mutual respect and coöperative action. America, approaching the solution of the social problem after the method in which she had always been supreme, remained true to *individualism*, but individualism touched to nobler issues by the facts of recent history, vitalized by disinterestedness, humanized by a new sense of solidarity.

'Idealism of Action'

The Americans have always been intensely capable of enthusiasm, and, at the same time, sanely able to control the heat of their feelings. In the present case, I have found them realizing the full human import of the reform, but resolved as well to justify it by its practical and tangible results. To fit the man to the job and adapt the job to the man, to restore in the workman's consciousness the pride and the joy of work well done and of a fair day's work, to diminish the fatigue and to increase the output, to reward every effort at quantity or quality by praise and a raise of the wage, to enlarge the workman's outlook on his work and on life—all this implies the growth of the human faculties in the worker, along with the growth of the profits, both a moral gain for the individual and for the nation, and a material gain in which employers, employees and the public alike will share. Idealism of action! Achievements that are of the matter and of the spirit, as they ought to be in a universe which is body and soul. Industry cannot fail to conform to the general law of dualism that regulates the destiny of man and conditions man's mastery over the forces of nature. In this conformity truth lies.

Not all the employers have seen the light, nor the employees proved capable of profiting by it. All great social changes are of slow growth. But the war has kneaded the minds of men to unusual pliability, and made the feelings of men receptive to novelties. In the desire to ward off from the inner life of the nation the blindness and folly that wrought such havoc in the outward relation of peoples. There is hardly a sensible observer of social conditions but realizes how conscious the labor world has become of its power as one of the agencies contributing to the wealth of the nation. The masses will

not be satisfied now unless political democracy develops into social democracy, and includes some form of industrial democracy. The workers will not receive the essential prerogatives of the new freedom from the paternalism of some well-intentioned employers. They claim a new status, which must be based upon the decided recognition of their right as producers, as intelligent and sentient beings, and as autonomous persons.

The reform movement, initiated before the war, has received an increased impetus from the abnormal conditions of war-time. The Government of the United States, as war-time employer, made itself opportunely instrumental in bringing about a spirit of conciliation and coöperation, and in shaping some of the policies and institutions that might embody it in facts, yet without resorting to the irrevocable compulsion of law. Example and suggestion came from the government plants, giving force to the most fruitful principles and the most constructive plans of industrial reform, still leaving to *individual* initiative its spontaneity and strength of inner motive.

Devotion to the cause manifests itself in active propaganda, setting forth not only doctrinal truth, but the highly satisfactory results already secured by its applications. The moment is favorable to the onrush of one of those great fertilizing floods of ideas, that at long intervals sweep the country. A vague unrest in the national atmosphere exerts its latent pressure on the mind; notions that have been slowly ripening in the womb of time are nearing fruition. The path is cleared; far-sighted men are leading onward. A timely reform, voluntarily arrived at, will enable America to tide over the crisis by an *evolutionary* process, keeping off and forestalling revolution.

Capitalists already declare their conviction that the time is past when large fortunes could be built in a short time by fair or foul means. Public control will more and more be set up against it. Labor will not allow it. The new social justice has impressed capital and management with a sense of responsibility towards others.

Labor is no longer looked upon as a commodity, submitted to the iron law of supply and demand. A fair wage, covering not only the bare necessities of life but a margin for education, recreation, the bringing up of a family, the mental growth of the individual and his dependents, is the least that the workman can receive. Growing rich out of starv-

ation wages appears now as a crime. The only legitimate way of building a prosperous industry is by improving the machinery and the management, eliminating the waste, and serving the interests of the consumers as well as the producers! Manufacturing will thrive on high wages and low sale-prices, provided it has the proper leading ability.

The workingman is no longer treated as a piece of machinery, only less to be cared for than steel or brass, because it repairs itself. A new respect for the man in the workman has set in.

Dealing with the Individual Workingman

Hiring the workman has become a delicate task, tactfully and thoughtfully performed. The greatest care is taken to assign the man to the job for which he is fitted by his physical constitution, his aptitudes, his previous training. Every precaution is taken, from the very start, to give him all means to make good and all reasons to be satisfied. Instead of being put brutally to work and left to shift for himself, sink or swim, he is gradually broken in, shown the characteristics of his machine and the peculiarities of his work, kindly supervised, warned or directed by an instructor, who no longer drives but teaches. The green hand, the while, receives his pay—the minimum living wage below which the company makes it a point not to let the remuneration fall.

The workman is started now, and begins doing piece-work—not the old piece-work, the rate of which was arbitrarily set and too often "cut" as soon as the worker was beginning to make a decent day wage; but the new piece-work, with a handsome bonus above the standard, whenever the man makes an effort to acquire skill or to gain time. The standard is established by scientific time studies, with the collaboration of the workmen, and finally approved by the workmen. The bonus rate is fixed *ne varietur*, should even (in case an error had been committed) the day wage rise to an unprecedented figure. Indeed, the new spirit thus created has often improved the tone of mutual relations to the point that workers were seen to come, of their own accord, to the manager and tell him that the rate had been fixed too high.

The workman is followed up; his doings from day to day are carefully recorded—not with any intention of suspicion, but out of solicitude, in order to do him full justice. He is expected, within the first two or three weeks, as he gets more and more used to his

work, to do better, both to the advantage of the firm and to his own, his share of surplus wage being strictly proportionate to the surplus output. If he has not increased his production or improved the quality of his product, after a reasonable delay, he is not blamed, or bullied, or left to rot in mediocrity, or summarily dismissed (which were the only alternatives of old), but the management consider themselves as responsible for his lesser efficiency, until they have exhausted all the means of remedying it. Either the man was insufficiently taught, or there was something wrong in the machinery, or in the planning of the work, or in the materials. After all the causes have been investigated, if it is proved the fault lies with the man he is not "fired," but transferred to another department, where he may be better able to give the full measure of his quality.

If the workman, during the first weeks, brings out a record of steady improvement, the management, far from ignoring it or taking it as a matter of course, forestalls the desires of the worker by promoting him to a better job or a higher pay. The promotion is not granted mechanically by the shifting of the man's name from one list to another, or the slipping of a ticket in his pay-envelope; he is called up by the "boss," in all simplicity and cordiality, and praised for his zeal, while the reward is announced to him.

Schooling for the Workers

The human factor is now foremost. The appeal to the higher motives becomes the chief object of attention. The workman is no longer riveted to his machine, like the convict to his chain, with that most oppressive of burdens weighing on him—the lack of any opening on a better future, the stifling sense of a confined atmosphere that will never admit of a breath of purer air. Now, the workman has a prospect before him that will expand wider, fairer, more rich with opportunities, as he exerts himself more strenuously.

Many plants have established schools and training shops, where technical instruction is given, free of charge, with the wage paid during school hours, to the men who have the capacity and the will to learn. In those plants, the highly skilled workers, the draftsmen, the foremen, even when occasion offers an engineer, a superintendent or a manager, are recruited from the working force. More and more, modern industrialists realize that

money and material welfare are not the one and all of life for the workingman any more than for the *bourgeois*. A century of liberty, of education, of constant social progress under democratic laws has brought forth the fact that a man's personality remains cramped and stunted, unless it can reach its full development in the mental and moral sphere, as well as in the physical. Give all a chance to attain man's full stature, recognize for all the right to self-expression—such is the watchword that cannot be silenced again by any clamor of selfish gain, unfeeling greed, or would-be irrefragable economic law.

True Industrial Democracy

The next step has been to give labor a share in the management, at first in advisory, and then, to some extent in a controlling capacity. Shop regulations, labor conditions, mental and physical welfare, industrial relations, even hours, wages, profit-sharing and the broader policies of management are brought under discussion in joint committees of employers and employed. Shop-committees (as they are called) have made so rapid progress that they may be considered as one of the most promising features of the new régime of industry.

Arbitration is but a makeshift, in so far as it comes into action only after a conflict has broken out and embittered feelings have already risen. Of greater import is a permanent board, which takes up litigious questions as they dawn, before unpleasant encounters have bred irreparable enmity. Broad lines of agreement on vital points forestall serious clashes; friendly discussions from week to week constantly readjust the workaday practice. Provided the spirit in which the joint meetings are conducted answer to the new conception of social inter-aid and willing coöperation, the results cannot fail to be mutually educative, conducive as well to industrial peace as to enlarged production. Here is the true field for the full expansion of man's personality; here is the *locus* where the consummation of material and mental advancement will be effected! Industrial democracy, indeed! but without some of the drawbacks of political democracy, and with some of its more beneficent features: a strong executive invested with both authority and responsibility, and a respected legislative, elected on the basis of professional competence, with the power of counsel and control, in a sphere of limited

attributions (perhaps soon to enlarge) and with the charge of keeping discipline, loyalty and truthfulness to the worker's duty.

The Attitude of Trade-Unionism

The Trade Unions have not yet fully realized the great, noble possibilities of the new régime. They were formed at a time when warfare raged through the world of industry and capital was not disposed to let go any particle of its autocratic sway. Their regulations, many of which are tyrannical, un-economic and anti-social, were aggressive or defensive measures, called forth by the needs of the struggle. Yet American trade-unionism firmly took its stand on the ground of professional claims, closing its ears to the suggestions of socialistic revolutionary doctrines, sounded from abroad. The present wave of radicalism is but the turbid backwater of the Bolshevik tide, a sorry aftermath of the moral disintegration wrought by the war. It will not have a lasting influence on America—nor, as we can see now, on Western Europe. Radicalism will subside.

The narrow, clogging, merely negative prejudices of the older trade-unionism, on the other hand, will wear away in time. Already there are signs of a change. Union men, in the open shops that have instituted joint committees, have been elected as the representatives of the workers, and, face to face with facts and responsibilities, have adopted the constructive policy of coöperation with capital. A few unions have become reconciled to scientific management, in view of its incontestably advantageous results. Some trades have organized after new principles that bring them nearer to the progressive employers than to the retrogressive old-time unions. It is not rash to foresee, in the near future, the triumph of the joint committees of employers and employed, formed not against but in coöperation with the renovated trade unions. An opportune inner regeneration of the A. F. of L. may then maintain it as the great unifying organ of the general policies of labor, no longer to restrict output and level down capacities, but to further larger production.

It is no Utopia to picture such future realizations in America, in the light of the progressive institutions already in existence, and in presence of the successful efforts at humane reform combined with intelligent business, under the aegis of the "idealism of action."

AMERICA'S PRECEDENT FOR MANDATES

BY CHARLES SUMNER LOBINGIER

(Judge of the United States Court for China)

THOSE who urge that our government should accept the proffered mandate of Armenia and Anatolia may find an illuminating precedent in the Philippine experiment. We did not call our nation a "mandatory" there. Indeed the term had never been so used at the time we took over the archipelago. But the reader of President McKinley's instructions of April 7, 1900, to the Philippine Commission—the basis of our whole subsequent policy in the islands—will find a strange anticipation of the mandate idea as set forth in the League of Nations Covenant. President McKinley told the Philippine Commission:

In all the forms of government and administrative provisions which they are authorized to prescribe, the Commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands, and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits, and even their prejudices, to the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government.

Emphasizing the inviolability of private property he declared:

That the welfare of the people of the Islands, which should be a paramount consideration, shall be attained consistently with this rule of property right.

Regarding the system of law, President McKinley said:

The main body of the laws which regulate the rights and obligations of the people should be maintained with as little interference as possible.

And as regards one other important though delicate question he directed:

That no form of religion and no minister of religion shall be forced upon any community or

upon any citizen of the Islands; that, upon the other hand, no minister of religion shall be interfered with or molested in following his calling, and that the separation between state and church shall be real, entire and absolute.

Turning now to the League of Nations Covenant, we find Article 22 reciting:

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this covenant.

Lessons from the Philippine Experiment

That President McKinley's instructions to the Philippine Commission have been carried out, both in the spirit and the letter, no fair and well-informed observer of Philippine events during the past two decades will question. The spirit of those instructions animated what was, on the whole, the most efficient and highly trained Civil Service which ever functioned under American sovereignty, and it made possible the attainment there of marvelous results along the lines of sanitation, education, justice, police, finance, and various phases of social and industrial activity.

It is an interesting fact, and not necessarily a mere coincidence, that American interests in Armenia are now represented by one who bore an important and highly creditable part in the practical working out of our Philippine policy. Major-General James G. Harbord is, at the present writing, in charge of a mission which is investigating conditions in part of what once was Turkey, with a view to taking it over. And General Harbord was one of the organizers, and long the Assistant Chief, of the Philippines Constabulary, that interesting and efficient

body of native police under American officers which for years maintained the *Pax Americana* in that distant and then disturbed archipelago.

The Philippine experiment, indeed, has enabled us to write one of the most creditable chapters in our national history. But it is well to remember at this time that the experiment was entered upon against great opposition and amid many prophecies of evil and failure. Our national disinclination to undertake tasks outside our immediate geographical sphere would, if yielded to in that instance, have prevented us from meeting a crisis in far eastern affairs and doing worthily a great piece of world work.

And it is remarkable how closely the situation then existing is paralleled by the present one in Turkey. In both instances a long war had practically destroyed the pre-existing government, and anarchy was imminent unless a stronger power should intervene to restore order and promote the progress of the inhabitants.

Why the Turkish Mandate Should Be Easier

Contrary to an apparently prevalent impression, a close analysis fails to show where the present Turkish situation offers greater obstacles to a mandate than did the Philippines of twenty years ago. Indeed, there are several important considerations which should make the Turkish problem an easier one to solve. American philanthropic effort is not new in Turkey. What little of light and hope has come to the oppressed inhabitants of that unfortunate realm in recent years has had its source in America. The two foremost educational institutions of the Sultan's empire—Robert College in Constantinople and the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut—were both founded and maintained by Americans.

In Armenia especially the educational effort has been almost wholly American, and, thanks to generations of self-sacrificing missionaries, educational and otherwise, our countrymen are chiefly known throughout the old empire for their good works and their desire to advance the people. Even the Turks announce that they will not "offer any resistance to the assumption by America of her mandatorial responsibility." And this announcement loses little of its significance because the Turks hope to preserve more of their domain.

In what unfortunate contrast to this at-

titude of welcome was our countrymen's reception in the Philippines! There America and Americans were then unknown, and the most grotesque ideas—a product of enemy propaganda—were widely entertained as to the insignificance of our country and the baseness of our designs. Formerly, indeed, it had been different, for we once had important commercial relations with the Philippines and sent a consul there as early as 1821. But after our flag was driven from the Pacific during the Civil War, few Americans visited the Philippines and we had no missionaries there, for Spain excluded practically all such except her own subjects. It was easy, therefore, to create suspicion of Americans; and suspicion was largely the cause of the Filipino uprising against America. In fact, it has only been within recent years that the effect of those early misrepresentations was overcome and cordial relations established between Americans and Filipinos generally.

With the different attitude of the inhabitants of Turkey that catastrophe should be avoided and fears of needing to keep a large standing army there seem groundless. A commission of Armenian generals of the former Russian army recently reported:

That, in the absence of any preliminary organization work among the Armenians, a maximum of 30,000 men may be required to occupy Armenia, and that 15,000 of these men may be withdrawn in the course of a few months—that is, following the beginning of the organization of Armenian contingents.

The problem there as in other parts of Turkey is largely one of internal order; and for maintaining that there could be no more effective force than one recruited from the best of the natives on the model of the Philippines Constabulary, which General Harbord helped so largely to build. Such a force would need no Americans except as commissioned officers. Even they would not be paid from American funds. For the expenses of the Philippines Constabulary, including its American officers, have always been defrayed from the insular treasury, and an honest and efficient fiscal administration in Turkey would render possible similar results there. Any soldiers who might be needed at first are already in Europe; and in any event the transportation of troops and supplies to Turkey is a much simpler problem than that to the Philippines a score of years ago. For Constantinople is hardly half the distance to Manila.

The religious differences between Christian and Moslem would doubtless afford the most difficult problem in Turkey; but for that also our Philippine experience has prepared us. The Mohammedan Moros and the Christian Filipinos were hereditary enemies for centuries, and the constant fear in which the latter lived is attested by the numerous watch towers along the coasts of the northern Philippines where the inhabitants anxiously awaited the first sight of the marauders from the south. The long rule of Spain served little if any to allay that strife. But in America's brief régime it has almost entirely disappeared.

Thanks to an unusually able group of military administrators of Mindanao, including Generals Wood, Bliss, and Pershing, followed by the signally successful administration of civilian Governor Carpenter, these two segments of the Filipino race have come at last to know each other better; and in the Philippine Legislature at Manila, Moro and Igorot members mingle with those from the Christian provinces on a friendly and equal footing. Their medium of communication is not the native dialects, which differ from province to province, nor yet the language of old Spain, but the English which the American-initiated public school has made accessible to the humblest of the new generation.

What American is not proud of such an achievement or would not be prouder of seeing it repeated, on a larger scale, in Turkey?

An Opportunity for Service

In the Philippines we have lent our help to what is often called the only native Christian people in Asia. But in Turkey we have the greater opportunity of saving from utter extinction the remnant of the oldest Christian nation in the world—the Armenians. And recent reports indicate that the opportunity may long continue. Can we fail to regret it if this persecuted and long-suffering people is permitted to perish for want of assistance which we might so easily supply?

Nor are the other inhabitants of even the so-called "Turkish portions" of Asia Minor unworthy of our interest and aid. The Turk has imposed upon them his religion and his language and these artificial features have made them seem like Turks. But the best authorities on the ethnology of that

region now agree that for the most part they are not Turks at all but autochthonous inhabitants, descending in direct line from people of prehistoric times. There are signs, too, that they would welcome the chance to throw off the fetters which the savage Turanian invader once riveted upon them. What an opportunity for our country to help undo the cruel wrong of centuries!

America has cleansed and beautified Manila, the Pearl of the Far East. It could do more—the field is larger—for the historic city of Constantine. What a chance for our sanitary engineers, our architects and our city-builders, as well as our archaeologists and scholars! What an opportunity to restore that proud Queen of the Bosphorus and make it once more what for nearly eleven centuries it was—a world capital!

We have benefited the Filipinos and we can benefit the Armenians and the Anatolians. But the greatest benefit from such undertaking comes back to ourselves. "Teaching we learn, and giving we receive."

And our Philippine experiment has broadened and bettered us far more than we yet realize. Our national horizon is larger and our knowledge of, and respect for, the institutions of other countries has increased. Our own public service has been improved by the experience. Many a young American who found his vocation in the Philippines is now utilizing what he learned there for the benefit of his government in some more important post. Experts in tropical medicine, agricultural experts, foresters, as well as civil administrators and teachers, may trace the beginnings of their careers to the Philippines. Many of the commanding figures in our military service during the late war began their real work in the archipelago. In addition to those already mentioned it is sufficient to cite names like that of Gen. Enoch H. Crowder, now about to be elevated to the rank of Lieutenant-General for phenomenal services in making possible our great and efficient army; Gen. Hunter Liggett, whose brilliant operations in the field were so striking a feature of the closing months of the war; Bishop Charles H. Brent, head of the chaplains; and Dr. Richard P. Strong, who did so much for the Serbians.

The Philippines have provided us a training school, and there is no reason to suppose that Turkey will afford less. Is it the part of wisdom to reject an opportunity which offers so much for all concerned?

CANADA'S MEMORABLE YEAR

BY J. P. GERRIE

NINETEEN hundred and nineteen will always be a memorable year in Canada. Privately and publicly it will take an unforgettable place. It stands linked to the whole war period as no other twelve months can ever be. It presages the future with vision both significant and vital. In a very far reaching and momentous sense 1919 will be the great Divide.

The Soldier's Civil Reestablishment

The home-coming of the soldiers was speeded beyond expectation, and Canada's large contributions of men to the war are practically all returned. Back they are after varying periods of service reaching up over five years. They are home from Ypres, Zillebeke, Passchendale, Courcellete, Vimy, Lens, the Somme, and a score of the sorest battlefields of the war, where they and their fallen comrades fought for democracy with devotion and heroism unsurpassed. They are again in their homeland, lifted to a foremost place among all lands through their valor and triumph in arms.

And now at home again comes the ever-growing realization that there is a tremendous bit to be done in ways of peace, as there was in ways of war. There is before them an idealism in citizenship urgent and insistent for the fullest realism. But the settling-down process, after years of army life, is far from easy.

Vocational training is opening a wide door for many thousands. Large numbers are found in the universities and colleges, whose registers show twice the number of names of one year ago. The government land and loan schemes are finding wide acceptance. Multitudes are back in their old callings, or are in other employments.

Building Up a Sober Land

Years before the war the trend of action in prohibiting the liquor traffic was most pronounced. In many places the results of local option were completed with war-time prohibition. In this way nearly the whole of Canada had become dry. It was then claimed by the opponents of prohibition that with the return of the soldiers there would

be an emphatic reversion to the old order. Indications now point to the very opposite.

The province of Ontario has just shown at the polls what may be expected throughout all Canada. The war-time measure had run its course, and four questions were submitted to the electors.

1. Are you in favor of the repeal of the Ontario Temperance Act? This is the war-time prohibition measure.

2. Are you in favor of the sale of light beer containing not more than 2.51 per cent. alcohol, weight measure, through Government agencies?

3. Are you in favor of the sale of light beer containing not more than 2.51 per cent. alcohol, weight measure, in standard hotels in municipalities that by majority vote in favor of such sale?

4. Are you in favor of the sale of spirituous and malt liquor through Government agencies?

The vote was an overwhelming negative on all four counts, and what has happened in Ontario will undoubtedly happen in all Canada.

One weakness in provincial legislation has been the constitutional inability to prohibit the manufacture and importation of intoxicating liquors. The importation difficulty was taken up in the recent sitting of the Federal Parliament, when the machinery to deal with the matter was placed in the hands of the provincial legislatures. Canada will not go back to the bar room and the saloon. 1919 has given the answer to this.

New Forces at the Front

It was further claimed that with the return of the soldiers there would come a political upheaval. A political upheaval there has come in Ontario, which bids fair to extend to the whole of Canada. The upheaval was not, however, at the hands of the soldiers, but from the farmers, who overthrew the Conservative administration and defeated the other old-time Liberal party. The vote was 45 United Farmers, 28 Liberals, 25 Conservatives, 11 Labor, 1 Independent Labor, and 1 Soldier. The result is a United Farmers administration under the Premiership of Mr. E. C. Dury, a large and successful farmer at Crownhill near the town of Barrie. Perhaps nowhere else in the world is there a similar situation.

The upheaval is the more remarkable when it is recalled that for three and thirty years the Liberals guided the affairs of the province and were followed by the Conservatives for fourteen years until the recent fateful day when they were defeated at the polls by the United Farmers.

The old-time Conservatism, it would seem, is a matter of the past. Eight provinces are now under Liberal rule, while the ninth has a United Farmers' administration whose program is so closely allied to the Liberal platform that the Hon. Mackenzie King, the new Liberal leader in the House of Commons, when in search of a seat refused to contest a constituency where a United Farmer was the candidate.

The new Ontario government will be watched with great interest, and if successful in its administration a great Dominion sweep may be expected by the United Farmers, inasmuch as among the farmers everywhere, particularly in the West, the demand has been insistent for a lower tariff. This was most apparent in the reciprocity issue of 1911, when Saskatchewan and Alberta each sent but one member to Ottawa who was opposed to the measure.

New forces are at work in Canada, and old time reactionary parties and measures will get short shrift from the electors in time to come. The new forces, however, must see that their work is not along class lines, or they too will come to grief at the polls.

Strengthening British Ties

Several occurrences of the year might indicate the weakening of Canadian ties as far as the mother land is concerned. One of these was the discontinuance of all further titles of knighthood. Among the very few comments by the British press was one claiming that this action of the Canadian Parliament would not make for the solidarity of the British Empire. There was, however, no thought of breaking British ties in doing away with titles. Knighthood in Canada had become hopelessly cheapened, particularly since the advent of the former Dominion government. Some English papers saw in the Canadian action a movement which might help to right matters in their own land. But apart from all this, it is felt that titles and class distinctions are ill-fitting in the thoroughgoing democracy of the young Dominion.

There is an undoubted admiration for English thoroughness and scholarship as seen

in the editorials of the great journals, the public platform, and the pulpit. Canada's soldiers have also returned proud of the motherland for stepping so promptly into the breach for humanity, and doing a part so bravely, uncomplainingly, and with untold sacrifices in the long years of the world's war. Canadians cannot but feel that, but for the Old Land, Germany would have been triumphant in her world's designs.

The visit of the Prince of Wales, heir to the Empire's throne, has also incalculably strengthened British ties. From the Atlantic to the Pacific his tour everywhere was one great ovation. Nor was there in any place fawning to mere royalty. Greetings and acclamations were such as are frequently given to statesmen and public leaders in the United States and Canada. Yet the reception had a character peculiarly its own. The fact that the visitor was heir to the throne had its undoubted place; but the fact that he was likable, democratic, open-minded, a man (or, perhaps better, a boy) of the people, gave him his tremendous grip on the Canadian heart. Had he been of another type his tour would have undoubtedly been different. Canada, therefore, sees in him not merely a symbol of a united Empire, but a potentiality which will tell for good in this union, and in the great sisterhood of nations.

Land Taxation in Alberta

With the beginning of 1920, a new system of taxation comes into operation in the province of Alberta, Canada. Prior to this the single tax prevailed on the basis of acreage. That is, adjoining farms of equal acreage carried equal taxation. One might be of greater value in productiveness, yet the tax rate would be the same. Nor did improvements, no matter how extensive, change this rate. In reality the unimproved land carried the higher taxation by reason of a wild land tax.

The new system will continue this recognition of improvements, but the essential difference will be taxes according to raw land values. The two adjoining farms just alluded to will vary in taxation according to natural productiveness. The character of the soil will be considered as well as coulees, ravines, and other conditions which impair cultivation. A general valuation will be made every five years, though provision is made for special valuation for changed conditions through the building of public works.

SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES

BY FRANK DILNOT

AMONG the many upheavals, personal and political, produced by the war in Britain, no individual occurrence has been more humanly interesting than the fact that a Scotch professor of thirty-six at McGill University, Montreal, has, by a mixture of circumstances and his own character and fibre, been thrust upward and onward until at the present moment he occupies a position in the government of Britain second only to that of Mr. Lloyd George himself.

Sir Auckland Geddes—he was plain Auckland Geddes in those far-off days before the war—from being a soldier, then an organizer on the Western Front, was subsequently entrusted with the mobilization and utilization of the entire man power of the British Isles, military and civil. He now has the Cabinet position of President of the Board of Trade, with powers unheard-of in the department before he took control. He can put duties on imports or take them off, he is one of the high arbiters in labor disputes. He is not only the Government administrator, but the author and framer of legislation on coal, canals, wool, company laws, shipping, electricity, patents, profiteering, and a hundred domestic matters ranging down to the regulations regarding weights and measures. It is not too much to say that on him more than on any other single man depends the new productivity of Britain for world trade which will once more make her a prosperous nation. It is equally a fact that his daily work and his edicts affect the family life of practically all the inhabitants of the British Isles.

Britain with the war legacy of overwrought nerves, with its accompaniment of mingled lassitude and irritableness, is not paying her way but is living partly on borrowed funds. Money has shifted in bulk from one class to another. The cost of living is double what it was in pre-war times. Labor is rebellious, and is threatening to take control. Many industries have been disrupted, many entirely destroyed, and though new activities are in project and reconstruction in a dozen directions is being pushed ahead, it will be many months—pos-



SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES, A BRITISH ADMINISTRATOR WITH FAR REACHING POWERS

sibly years—before anything like the Britain of the old peace days is restored. True, the calibre of the nation is beginning slowly to assert itself, but at present there is something like chaos.

To guide the British people safely through that chaos is the task laid on Sir Auckland Geddes. He is doing amazingly well in the presence of complications and obstacles which no statesman has ever before had to encounter in peace-time. In other words, he is a phenomenon. I have a pretty good knowledge of English public life, and I am confident that within five years if Sir Auckland liked to continue his devotion to public work he could be Prime Minister. But I can state definitely that in spite of the inevitable inducements, Sir Auckland intends to change from this new life back into the old one. He will return to McGill University, not as a professor, but as Principal, the University authorities having appointed

him to that post during his absence on war work in Europe.

It is breaking no confidence to state that Sir Auckland Geddes feels he can do wider, deeper, and more permanent work for the common good as the chief director of a great university, forming the minds and moods of educated young men in a new continent, than in carrying out the executive and legislative functions of the moment in the government even of a great country like Britain. In that fact alone one gets a glimpse of the man. He is going to McGill University as soon as the British Prime Minister can release him, certainly during the next year, it may be within the next six months.

The development of a masterly personality always has a touch of drama when, as does not always happen, opportunity for great and famous achievement breaks forth and is seized upon. But for the war, Auckland Geddes would have been known to educational circles as a clever specialist in certain branches of physiology and as an accomplished student in sociology; but to the outside world he would not have been known at all. His swift grasp, his iron will, his stupendous capacity for work and responsibility, his sweeping vision, and—marvelous to relate—the irradiating sunniness of the man through it all, these things in the wider sense would have been lost, unrecognized. It just so happens, however, that at the age of forty his name has become one of national eminence. More even than that, because other countries besides his own are watching his actions and dwelling on his words, for his policies have their effect across the oceans.

I knew what Sir Auckland Geddes was like in Parliament, and in September I went up to the Board of Trade to see what kind of man he was face to face in his office in private talk. But before I give an indication of his personality it would be well to sketch the sources from which he sprang and the conditions which molded him.

His Pre-War Record

The Geddes are a very old Scottish family. Auckland Geddes, father of the present bearer of the name, was a railway engineer, and from the middle of last century onward was engaged in one of the biggest undertakings in India. He had three children, each of whom was fated to attract notice, two boys and one girl, the latter now Mrs. Chalmers Watson, who has done much public work. She and her brother Eric (the

latter also a Cabinet Minister) were born in India; but young Auckland's birthplace was the pleasant suburb of Hampstead in the north of London. At six years of age he went to Edinburgh to school, and from that time onward through his formative years up to manhood he was associated with the Scottish capital, gaining distinction in the university there.

In his college career he was drawn specially to the study of physiology. Probing deep into the special subjects he was more or less an expert, in his early twenties, in recondite sciences such as biology, anthropology, and embryology. When now you meet this very human, vivacious, and virile man, it is a little hard to realize that he was once the winner of a gold medal for a treatise on special physiological growths.

It should be added, therefore, that he was pretty much like every other healthy and active university student in his likes and dislikes and social inclinations. He revelled in outdoor life, and was a star at football, representing his university in the Rugby game. He sang a good rollicking song, too. He was just a human, popular fellow. The other side of him was his remarkable avidity of mind. He did not seek distinction; he sought knowledge. That was one of the curious things about this young student. To master a subject was to him like taking a refreshing drink. One wonders how he had time for an enthusiastic membership in the Volunteers, but at any rate he had, and he developed considerable aptitude for military work.

When the South African war broke out he joined the Highland Light Infantry for the fighting, although as it so happened his regiment did not land in South Africa until the closing stages of the war, in 1901. In that period, however, he had learned thoroughly the duties of a soldier.

Leaving the army, he went back to his studies and finding that special experience was necessary, he toured various seats of learning in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria. He gathered many impressions about Germany in that tour, and he never afterwards lost the conviction that the Germans had war aspirations which could not be satisfied with anything less than a conflict that would make or break them.

It was no doubt as a result, to some extent, of his German visit that he took up the study of military strategy, which from that time onwards has had the greatest

interest for him. He had no intention of becoming a soldier, but military problems and military achievements of the past opened the way for vision upon national growth and temperament—for instance, as to the effect of the imposition of alien populations upon each other, and kindred problems. From various educational positions he presently went to Canada as Professor of Anatomy at McGill University.

His Early Part in the War.

It is related that when the news of the war came he was just starting from Montreal for a holiday in Nova Scotia. He gave up his holiday and telegraphed an offer of his services to the War Office in London. A few weeks later he received a summons to report at Whitehall. It is safe to say that at this time Auckland Geddes had put behind him his intellectual life as such, and remembered nothing but that he was a trained soldier, likely to be of service to his country.

On arrival in England he was appointed to a battalion of the Northumberland Fusiliers, at that time and for some few years afterwards engaged in guarding a section of the Yorkshire coast. His ability soon made its mark, and he became second in command of the battalion. While he was Major Geddes he had a fall from his horse, which incapacitated him from that service on the fighting line to which he was so greatly looking forward. When he recovered, however, although still unfit for trench duty, he was sent to the front for staff training; and here again his quick comprehension and capacity for results led to early promotion, and he became Deputy Assistant Adjutant General.

As an organizer he was found so effective that when the second Conscription Act was passed by Parliament the War Office brought him home to administer it, and made him a Brigadier General. Once more he did well, and when the Recruiting Department was transferred from military to civil control Geddes went with it as its head. He took the position on his own terms, namely, that he should be given entire administration of the man-power of the country, civil and military. He felt that industrial and military effort were interdependent, and that problems were easier of solution in mass than they would have been if tackled separately.

When Mr. Lloyd George appointed his new assistant to the post of Minister of

National Service, with a seat in the Cabinet, Sir Auckland had, of course, to become a Member of Parliament. A constituency was found for him, he went into the House of Commons, and—almost unheard of in Parliament history—he at once took a seat on the Front Bench with the rest of the Cabinet. Usually from ten to twenty years as a fighting private member of the House of Commons is the preface to securing a place on the Front Bench as a member of the government.

In the House of Commons

There was a good deal of curiosity as to how he would shape, because the Commons has a high standard for speakers as well as a special brand of manners, and it expects from Ministers the best the House is capable of producing. It must have been a strange experience for a man who had no previous experience in politics. He described his feelings as "quaint" when he first entered and took his seat. He had the kindly reception which is always given to new Ministers, and then the House settled down to study him and weigh him up. On the whole their verdict was favorable—which is saying a lot for a new Minister in troublous times, faced each day with professional critics.

His professorial experience stood him in good stead, for he was used to explaining matters clearly and precisely and persuasively. He had one little drawback, which still persists, and that is an occasional trace of the schoolmaster manner in the way he repeats elemental facts with a view to driving them home into the minds of his hearers. The House of Commons is a fastidious assembly. It has been, and still is, a little inclined to smile at Sir Auckland's pedagogic ways. But when this is said one has exhausted criticism of him. He won the esteem and admiration of the majority of members, not only on his own side but among opponents.

It was obvious that he was a tremendously hard worker, which is always a recommendation in the British Parliament. He was honest, manly, and lucid. He never burked difficulties, never evaded criticism, but flung the whole powers of his mind into answering and conferring with his opponents and did not descend ever to verbal tricks or skillful evasions.

A tall, clean-shaven, powerful, able man, with a suggestion in his face of Sherlock Holmes, he had a personality which impressed

itself on all who saw and heard him. A little nervous at his own surroundings at the start, he grew rapidly at home on the Treasury Bench. Not perhaps quite so agile in words as the old parliamentarian, he was frequently more convincing by reason of his very directness. Only a man of the strongest nerves as well as of physique could have stood, week after week, month after month, the effect of harassment not only of his department administration but also of the daily badgering in the Commons.

Sometimes it was one section, sometimes another. Labor was always on his track for one thing and another, while spasmodic strikes were breaking out all over the country. "You are faced with some difficulties," interrupted a Labor leader challengingly one day in debate. "Faced with them," cried Sir Auckland, "they surround me, they encircle me everywhere." Gesture emphasized his outburst. There was a fierce, almost passionate accent in his words. For one fleeting moment the Commons had a glimpse of a strong man struggling as it were with the very forces of evil. Members present had a passing thrill in the incident.

At the Board of Trade

When I went to see him at the Board of Trade I remembered that he was described as the busiest man in England. This had been given me as a sample schedule of his day:

- 9 a. m. Arrives at office. Deals with correspondence.
- 11 a. m. Cabinet Council.
- 1 p. m. Luncheon at his desk. More correspondence. Discusses policies with officials and ministers calling on him. Engaged with difficulties in bills before the House in his charge and details all bills to be brought on.
- 2 p. m. Staff conference.
- 3 p. m. Answers questions of the House of Commons.
- 4 p. m. Returns to office. Interviews callers.
- 5 p. m. Speech in Parliament.
- 6 p. m. Returns to office. More correspondence, more interviews, details of administration work. More working out of policies.
- 8 p. m. At House of Commons again. Informal Cabinet Council. Conference with Members.
- 11 p. m. Parliament rises. Goes home to bed.

It was described how on Saturdays he worked at his office until seven in the evening and returned there on Sundays. He invariably carried with him to his home

work to be accomplished in the sparse intervals between sleep and travel and meals. His only recreation was an hour or two of tennis on Sunday.

I went into the Board of Trade offices, therefore, expecting to find some hustling. I found nothing of the kind. A genial, lean, large-limbed man sat at a flat-topped desk in the middle of a room opening out on to the Thames Embankment. No papers were on his desk. With his hands clasped round his knee he was exchanging an undertoned leisurely word with his principal secretary as I entered. He looked up with a pleasant welcoming air, as though I were an old friend, instead of a stranger stealing precious minutes from one whose anxious work intrudes into his meal times.

As he made me sit down opposite to him and asked me a question or two about America, I had time to look at what kind of a man he was at close quarters. A long powerful face was lit by big shining eyes reflecting health and energy. Here was the old athlete without a doubt. Physical strength radiated from the man. That long big-boned frame told of physical reserves beyond the ordinary. There was suppleness and quickness in him too. I began to see the basis of his endurance in trying and strenuous times. In manner he was utterly unpretentious, with a ready colloquialism and a happy smile about portentous matters.

There is humor deeply inset in him, and like most real humorists he is a keen and quick judge of men—one reason why he is successful as an organizer and executive head. He talks smoothly and clearly but not too quickly, and is forming judgments all the time. Once his eyes narrowed to slits as he said a pungent word, and the next instant they were wide and full, studying me and a question I had asked with the steady microscopical way of a doctor. While I talked with him I was conscious of the strange reposefulness of the man—no hurry, no haste, certainly no hustle.

I learned from Sir Auckland that he knows America well from his many visits. Indeed he has much of the American spirit in him. He has a permanent link with the country in the fact that he found his wife there—a Miss Ross of Staten Island.

I have an impression that despite his prominence in Britain he will be happier in the New World than in the Old. He is that sort of man.

PEOPLES BANKS

A NEW ERA IN AMERICAN ECONOMIC HISTORY

BY W. F. McCALEB

A PEOPLES Bank is a cooperative organization formed by a group of affiliated working people. Each member buys shares—which usually are of \$10 par value—paying for them in cash or by installments; and thereafter he is free to make deposits or to borrow from the institution for his emergency needs.

The members, or shareholders, deposit periodically their surplus funds, and the earnings of the association come from the interest paid by borrowing members, from the interest upon surplus funds which stand as balances in banking institutions, and from such investments as the association may make, under the sanction of law.

On May 31, a National Committee was organized in New York for the purpose of urging before Congress the enactment of a law authorizing the establishment of Peoples Banks. The proposed banks are to be based on American and European experience, and specially designed to meet the requirements of workers and persons now making little or no use of banking institutions. Such institutions will go a long way toward developing the field of personal credits, now so barren in America.

Personal credit is of the essence of the proposed Peoples Banks. Character is indisputably the ultimate asset on which banking credit in all ages has rested, but the small borrower, whatever his character, has almost invariably encountered difficulties in approaching the sources of credits. The fault is not with banks, but with credit mechanisms in general, which still are but poorly developed. Much remains to be done to fit them to the needs and purposes of the times.

Throughout history financial machinery has followed in the wake of economic growth. This tends to delay the progress of society. A single bit of evidence will suffice. Consider the condition of the United States prior to and after the enactment of the Federal Reserve Act. Panic after panic has swept the country from the time of the founding of our government; and at no time were the

equilibriums established until the Federal Reserve Banks opened their reservoirs of credit. But for this law we should have been helpless in the face of the recent war chaos—and we should now be wholly crippled in facing the grave reconstruction problems. The great banking system created by the Federal Reserve Act, through binding together the national banks and mobilizing their reserves, well illustrates the power of combination, of coöperation.

A Bank Founded on Personal Credit

The problem of bringing together the credit factors which lie among the masses has yet to be solved. It is true that a beginning has been made, but hardly more than a beginning. How shall this grave situation be met? It can be done only through developing a type of bank which shall function in the nearly virgin field of personal credits. This is the problem which the National Committee on Peoples Banks has undertaken to solve.

It is not proposed to build such banking institutions of thin air, but out of the proven principles of European and American banking experience. These little banks are called by various names on the continent; in Canada, they are Peoples Banks; in the United States, unfortunately, they have been called Credit Unions. But by whatever name they go, they have not failed to provide a safe place for deposits and to extend loans to the deserving. They are usually organized within a group having more or less coherence. The capital subscribed has been, as a rule, slender enough. Each shareholder, without regard to number of shares held, has equal voice in the management.

Small Operating Cost

It will be a revelation to our American public to know that a Peoples Bank, or Credit Union—of the Massachusetts or Canadian type—can be operated at a trifling cost. Usually no rent is paid; and where this is not the case, the rates are very low.

The heavy overhead charges, so serious a drain on other banking institutions, are wholly escaped. One or two clerks can carry on the necessary routine of the office. The credit and supervisory committees—composed of experienced business men who control the institution—work gratuitously. Excellent men, as a rule, give up their time to direct these Peoples Banks. A few hours a week is all that is required, and it is a high appeal to men of the right spirit, and small surprise that they willingly dedicate their services. Operating in this way, the experience of the Credit Unions of Massachusetts over a period of nine years proves that—after provision has been made against possible losses—Peoples Banks have paid satisfactory returns both to the shareholders and depositors. Failed institutions are few in number and losses have been negligible.

Transforming Millions into Capitalists

Present day banks may be said to have positive and negative sides—the positive having to do with deposits; the negative, with loans. Peoples Banks are to be more highly vitalized still, in that it is expected to develop on the positive side depositor and investor in one—to make of depositors the shareholders. In a word, it means the transformation of the millions into capitalists on a small scale. Indeed, one may not borrow of a bank unless he shall own at least one share of stock. This is of vital consideration, for the psychology of the borrower who makes use of the funds of his friends, differs greatly from that of the man who borrows of strange and formal banking institutions whose operations may even be condemned. In the first case, one borrows on character; in the second, on collateral security. That is the rule—and the cleavage is wide enough.

Furthermore, by those who have studied these banks it is maintained that high educational values will come to the shareholders through actual contact with the living organism of a bank. It will lie bare before them, and each one may learn how simple a thing it is. The mysteries which surround banking institutions, which the bankers have done little to dispel, will no longer terrify men who come to know the workings of a Peoples Bank. Not only that, but in due season many will move on into the higher ranks of depositors. Such letting in of the light can but be welcomed, and the making of thousands of new depositors can but prove most

salutary, not only for the individual and banking in general, but for the entire country as well.

Welcoming the Small Depositor

Present-day banking institutions are fundamentally incomplete, in that they have not been planned to care for the men and women who count their pennies. They have grown up under the direction of the wealthy, and as at present organized—on account of the costs of doing business—they could not survive an expansion which brought to their counters large numbers of insignificant depositors. Not only as depositors would they be unwelcome; but far less welcome would be their application for loans. It is just here that our banking mechanisms fail. The mass of mankind in America is without the pale, and it is to reach this mass that Peoples Banks have been invoked.

If foreign and American evidence is trustworthy, vast numbers of people now isolated—who have no encouragement to save—will become depositors in these new banks, thereby greatly increasing the sum total of the country's credits; new millions, now hidden, will be made available for extending our activities at home and abroad. This is not an extravagant statement, for competent authorities have estimated that there are hidden away in the pockets and homes of our people fully two billions of money.

New Capital for World Trade

The incalculable effect of pouring these additional funds into general circulation cannot be weighed, but at this stage of the world's progress it is essential that our country should mobilize as far as possible the total of its resources, and that it should develop additional types of credit machinery to deal with new conditions as they unfold. It goes without saying that our successful competition in the world's markets will materially depend on the correct functioning and interplay of all the elements in our economic life. Commerce, industry, mining, and agriculture—each must bear its part.

In this drama of life there can be no shirking and no dropping behind. We shall be stupid indeed if we, in America, fail to profit by European developments of economic appliances. For approximately a hundred years that old society has been driving ahead along lines of intensified coöperation. The organization of groups for purposes of mutual concern, in practically all walks of life,

has been for a long time the outstanding fact in the social and economic life of that continent.

As for the United States, we lag far behind in the matter of coöperative effort. Our progress has been slight for the reason that individualistic theories have so far prevailed and group action has been lost to sight. But with the breaking down of barriers by the war—social, political, and economic—it now behooves the American people to bestir themselves in the matter of appropriating, as far as may be, the machinery which has been tried out successfully in foreign countries—machinery for the mobilization of credits; machinery for the distribution of products.

Phenomenal Success Abroad

We shall here only briefly refer to the great progress made abroad in the development of two types of credit institutions, more or less related. One of these was specially designed to meet the needs of city dwellers, men associated together in factories or in groups of one sort or another; the other was dedicated to satisfying the needs of farmers, the men carrying on the rural activities of the country. It is needless to say that these two types varied somewhat in essentials, but on the whole the ends sought for were attained, and those ends were substantially of the same character. As a partial measure of their success it is stated that in 1910 there were in Europe approximately 65,000 of these credit institutions, with an annual overturn of \$7,000,000,000. That is indeed a large sum, and it was accumulated only through the mobilization of the small and widely scattered credits of the people.

The First American "Credit Union," in Massachusetts

In 1909 a most important piece of legislation was enacted in the State of Massachusetts. It was called an act relative to the "Incorporation and Management of Credit Unions." It proved to be well adapted to meet the needs for which it was drafted. Slowly but surely Credit Unions grew in Massachusetts and their influence spread to other states. In 1913 Texas copied the main features of the law, and the following year New York enacted a measure. North Carolina came soon after with an act adapted to agricultural needs. Rhode Island and half a dozen other States have passed Credit Union laws of varying degrees of perfection

—some of them hopeless in their provisions.

It is not strange that in some of the States these laws have remained dead letters, apparently buried whims of visionaries. But the progress of mankind is ever and eternally toward the vanished dreams of men. We must remember that all enterprises shorn of private gain move slowly.

It may not be amiss briefly to summarize the net results of the operations of Credit Union laws in those States where they have had attention. Beginning with Massachusetts, we find that up to October 31, 1910, there had been organized but a single Credit Union. During the following years, however, there has been a consistent growth—a growth not lightly to be estimated when it is considered that at the close of 1918 there were approximately twenty thousand shareholders controlling fifty-nine Credit Union banks with assets of nearly \$2,000,000.

Death of the "Loan Shark"

These data are not to be accepted as a true measure of success. The number of provident loans in the latter year totaled 5,897; and as indicative of the substantial service rendered society, it may be said that when the Credit Unions were first organized in Boston it was estimated that there were in that city three hundred "loan sharks." Today, there are possibly fifty. Provide the people with personal credits and the loan shark will disappear.

If men would direct their attention to attacking causes rather than attempting to regulate through repressive legislation such institutions as loan sharks, we should make progress. Committee after committee has wasted precious time in trying to devise a uniform national law regulating loan-shark institutions. Remove the causes which lend vitality to those merciless establishments, and swift decay will ensue.

A Fair Start in New York

While the Credit Union law has been in operation but a comparatively short time in the State of New York, gratifying results have been obtained. This has come about through the merit of the law. A glance at the record may prove of interest. On January 1, 1918, there were 39 Unions, with 9,667 shareholders and resources of \$465,383. The capital paid in totaled \$332,526, while deposits reached \$53,639. The borrowers numbered 5,088.

Canada's Remarkable Showing

Any discussion of Credit Unions, or Peoples Banks, would be incomplete without reference to the work of Commandeur Alphonse Desjardins. In 1900 he established in Canada his first *Caisse Populaire*, or Peoples Bank. He had been working on the project for ten years, and it was not until he had made sure of the correctness of his principles that he attempted to carry the institution beyond the limits of the City of Levis. "Now," he writes, "there are 167 such Credit Unions in the Province of Quebec alone, having total assets of about \$6,000,000. These institutions are loaning annually fully \$12,000,000. One of the banks, that of Levis, has assets of a million dollars. In the whole of Canada there are to-day more than two hundred Peoples Banks, and to date not one cent has been lost through their operations."

North Carolina Farmers' Credit Unions

It remained for North Carolina to adopt the first forward-looking program with respect to farm credits of the short-time or personal character. This was crystallized in 1915 in the form of a law. Since then there have been organized nineteen Credit Unions, and ten more are in process of formation. Writing as of May 25, 1919, William R. Camp—Chief of the Division of Markets and Rural Organization—says that during the previous year "deposits in the Credit Unions increased from \$12,192 to \$25,919; loans from \$16,899 to \$29,755; and the total resources of the Credit Unions from \$23,834 to \$44,759."

North Carolina farmers, through their Credit Unions, have undertaken a number of enterprises. For example: a Credit Union will purchase for its group a carload of fertilizer, which is then distributed according to a prearranged plan. The farmers in their turn liquidate obligations to the Union in keeping with their contracts. In this way the farmer has individually saved money, and has at the same instant worked a benefit for his neighbors. In short, he has wrought out for himself and his friends credits hitherto unappropriated.

And the fields of labor, too, lie ready for development. Indeed, the need here is only a little less crying than that of agriculture. Through pooling their resources of credits of all kinds, it would be possible for industrial groups to achieve results quite beyond their dreams. The instrumentalities must be

supplied, and then comes the great work of setting them in operation.

Perhaps nowhere has there been greater need for the development of credits than in agricultural communities. Statistics show conclusively that there has been a heavy drift from farm ownership to tenancy—an unmistakable earmark of unsatisfactory economic conditions. These conditions have been rendered nearly intolerable through the Shylock system of merchant advances of credit. It has been shown by so competent an authority as Mr. Camp that in North Carolina the rate paid to merchants for advances amounts to 38.4 per cent per annum. Indeed, the whole South has fallen victim to the vicious system, and the people have almost despaired.

How Congress Could Help

In and out of Congress many plans have been proposed to arrest the away-from-the-farm movement. These schemes have taken various forms, but latterly they have been chiefly directed toward the development of credit institutions calculated to improve farming conditions. Despite all this, substantially nothing has been achieved in a positive way, save the Federal Farm Loan Act. This measure has great merit and already has done much toward freeing the farmer from the land mortgage robber. But he needs also to be freed from the grip of the merchant; and Peoples Banks will do this.

The net of the situation, then, is that the farmer has been aided through the Farm Loan Act, providing for long-term loans; but still he needs assistance in the every-day matters of life. And since the world is ultimately indebted to him for its well-being, provision should be made to support him.

Briefly, then, we have attempted to outline the plan for Peoples Banks. It is believed that an act incorporating the principles of the Credit Unions of Massachusetts and the Peoples Banks of Canada will solve the problem of personal credits, whether of city or country. Students of finance universally acknowledge that here lies a great field for cultivation—a field thus far neglected and little explored. It is to be hoped that Congress will take up this matter seriously and give us a law which will bring universal relief to the masses of our citizenship. It is believed that action will be had when it is considered that the Federal Reserve Act and the Federal Farm Loan Act are the products of recent years.

THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS OF FARMING

BY HUGH J. HUGHES

[Mr. Hughes, whose previous articles in this REVIEW have been of great value, was for a number of years the editor of a leading farm journal in the Northwest and is at present connected with the Agricultural Department of the State Government of Minnesota. His discussion of immediate farm problems is of exceptional interest.—THE EDITOR]

THREE problems of first importance face the American farmer. These are, in the order of their relative importance (a) the high price of land, (b) the high price of labor, and (c) the high cost of equipment replacement. To these three there may be added a fourth, which, put in the form of a question, reads: Will the present high level of prices be maintained, if not absolutely, then in proportion to the falling prices of all other commodities, including labor?

It may be well to deal with the last question first. Its importance may easily be over-emphasized. At a time when unrest stirs the entire business world we are apt to lose sight of those under-currents that determine the force and the direction of the main stream of economic life. The farm produces food and clothing, and these two are at a premium today, and will continue to be at a premium tomorrow and the day after and until there is established an equilibrium between the production of these two necessities and the hungry mouths and thinly-clad backs of the world.

Population Shifting from Country to City

If there has been any appreciable check upon the movement cityward, either in this or any other country, the fact has not been made apparent. Instead, the process seems going forward faster than ever before. The congestion of unskilled labor in the cities, the rapid rising of the rental rate, and the lagging of manufacture behind its orders all mean one and the same thing—a shifting of the world's population cityward.

Already this process has gone much farther than we commonly imagine. We are credited with having about a "fifty-fifty" split between city and country in the United States. Seventy-thirty in favor of the city is a truer estimate. Until the tide turns more strongly than any present back to the land we may look for no juggling of the balance of sup-

ply and demand in favor of lower—relatively lower—prices. It is far more likely, indeed, that the city will reach its production requirements, and that certain industries of the city will first feel the effects of over-production, than that the farm will do so.

Decline in Farm Products Not Likely to Be Rapid

Each revolution in the economic world, preceding the present, has shown a rapid upward movement of labor and commodity prices, and a much more gradual decline. This decline has not been common alike to all industries. The rapid settlement of the prairies after the Civil War plunged farming into the non-profit class of industries, while steel, oil, and the factory group in general fared better. It now looks as though labor, with its demands for more money and less work, may overshoot the mark, and find itself sometime in the not far future looking about for a job. Then, if ever, the movement toward the farm will begin, but not while the city-inoculated man can stand the pressure. The very mass of the problem—or the "movement," if you choose so to call it—will require time to bring about appreciable change in balance between feeder and fed.

For these reasons, while a drop in the price of farm products is sure to come, it is extremely unlikely that it will take place to any degree disastrous to farming as a business, or that it will go forward more rapidly than the decline in other lines, considered as a whole. Demand will continue, supply will continue relatively unchanged, and on the whole price will hold reasonably well up with the demand, which latter is not a matter of choice, but of necessity.

Speculative Rise in Land Prices

But if there is not a movement landward, why the rapid rise in the price of lands, particularly in the Middle West? My observa-

tion is that this is not occasioned by any appreciable influx from the farms to the cities, but, by a wholly different cause, or series of causes. The high war prices of wheat, hogs, and cattle, and the related farm products, are contributing factors. Speculation is a large element in the situation. The desire to "do it ag'in"—to sell the high-priced farm and to buy the low-priced, which in turn will become high-priced—is part of the movement.

This movement ranges all the way from normal land transfer to the wildest speculative mania, but the point I wish to make clear is that, save for a mere fractional element drawn in from the city circles, it is a movement of farmers among farms, rather than of any large mass of men outside of the farm to the farm. Increased production did not cause and does not follow the present increased selling price of farm lands. Essentially it is a promoters' boom, and corresponds to the stock-watering of the railroads of a former generation. The peak of the excitement now centers in Iowa, but all areas adjoining have been stirred to unnatural land sales at wildcat and semi-wildcat prices.

What Is Included in Better Farming?

The man loaded down with a "watered" business—and farming is most assuredly a business—has just two ways out of his difficulty. One is to adopt the philosophy of that ancient farmer, Cato, and sell to a less discerning neighbor; the other is to put the business itself on a high-speed, low-cost-of-production basis. The last holder of the land-speculative bag cannot adopt Cato's method of unloading, so he must consider the speeding-up alternative—or "go broke." Many will do the latter. Many more will attempt the plan of speeding-up. And of them a fair proportion will win.

Among us farmers this is called "better farming." It means a wide variety of things, such as the installation of cost accounting, the reduction of "overhead" by a more even distribution of labor volume throughout the year and a larger per capita labor income, the arrangement of the farm area in such manner as to cut the labor cost, and—this is perhaps most important of all these "inside" alterations in business method—the adoption of that line of farming to which the farm and the locality is best adapted by reason of soil, climate, marketing facilities, and size.

If anything can save the individual farmer

from the fate of the holder of watered stock, such farm reorganization will do it. But the problems of the farm are not individual; they are collective. The business is not individual; it is collective. One farmer, working alone, can eke out a living where five hundred farmers, joining in common production, can make an economically successful neighborhood.

Collective Production and Marketing

That collective production is essential to success in farming has long been understood, but the next step that logically follows is collective marketing. Local successes in coöperation, especially in the handling and selling of butter-fat, live-stock, and fruit, point the way to a wider organization for collective selling as logical, necessary to the economic freedom of the farmer, and in interests of both producer and consumer.

Demand for Better Distribution Facilities

But better marketing as a solution of the farmers' difficulties has, too, a physical side. Local coöperative successes will mean little unless the road to the consumer's door is kept open—unless the whole route is traveled by modern agencies of transportation and full provision is made at both ends and at the way-stations in between for an even flow that will regulate distribution to the timely needs of the consumer. One of the most serious car shortages of recent years was caused by the lack of proper storage place for wheat along the Atlantic seaboard, and the impressment of thousands of cars badly needed for transportation into service as temporary grain bins. The thought that suggests itself is that grain elevators at seaboard terminals are a prerequisite to the efficient distribution of farm products. Similar inadequacies in the equipment of distribution occur all along the line of agricultural production, and account, in part, for low prices to the producer and high prices to the consumer.

The problem of the over-capitalized farm is to be met, if at all, by a program calling for (a) better farm organization, (b) intelligent coöperation in producing and in selling, (c) a better physical system of distribution.

The Appalling Cost of Farm Labor

The high price of labor is worrying the farmer. It is taking his hired men away

to the factories. It is luring his boys to the lathe and the bench. It is raising hob with his old-time notions of the proper wage and length of day. Five to eight dollars a day for harvest help, and from \$60 to \$110 a month "and found" for men for the season gives the Grain Belt farmer visions of a sudden and disastrous ending of all his labors. And even at these wages the amount and the quality of farm labor is on the decline.

What the average farmer does not see is that the factories and mills and mines of the nation are calling with an appeal that the better-class day or month laborer cannot resist. This appeal is not wholly one of money. Shorter hours and the attractions of city life are powerful forces that pull men away from the farm.

Small Versus Large Farms

Various remedies for this condition are suggested—and are being applied. The one most often heard discussed is that of cutting down the farm business to a one-man basis, not, as a rule, by splitting up the farm, but by adopting a system of farming that will call for less labor—in other words, for a less intensive plan of operation. This, be it observed, is exactly counter to the business system essential to make the highly-capitalized farm pay. Another plan is that already mentioned—the better business management of the farm. This plan involves the use of increased farm labor, and, by so doing, brings about conditions on the farm not unlike those in the factory, in so far as the hours of labor and the association together of a number of men is concerned.

Both these plans have their advocates, and each may safely be followed in individual instances. The choice turns largely upon the executive capacity of the man at the head. Viewed as social tendencies, two opposite goals are in view; the one that of a nation of small farms operated by small farmers, banded together coöperatively as are the farmers of Holland and Denmark; the other a nation of factory-farms, organized, controlled, and run by large capital, banded together after the fashion of the business interests of the present day.

Personal independence, a widely-distributed land ownership, well-kept schools all seem to belong with the small farm, while it must be admitted that low cost of production and the best possible economic use of land, equipment, and labor go with the large, capitalized, efficiently managed farm. And

it must be granted that the over-capitalization already mentioned works powerfully toward the centralization of farms into these large factory units.

The Problem of Equipment

The cost of equipment replacement is one that seems to cause the farmer considerable anxiety. Reasonably so. If prices are to fall, and everybody assumes that they will, he must pay for high-priced teams, tractors, machinery, barns, silos, fences and the like with lower-price live stock, live-stock products, and grain. The danger is more apparent than real. Such equipment is necessary to the largest possible production from his acres; it is an alternate, in many instances, for a hired labor cost item that eats up and carries away with it a very considerable part of the gross farm income. By increasing labor efficiency and land efficiency, money invested in buildings, machinery, and the general equipment of the farm, including in equipment live stock, is money that compounds rapidly.

Henry Wallace found that the farmers of the plains of Hungary, considered the best farmers in Europe from the standpoint of production, were one-sixth as efficient, man for man, as the farmers of Iowa, the best producers in America. And the boasted greater efficiency of the European acre makes up but a small part of this significant spread. It is the gang-plow, the tractor, the eight-foot binder and similar machinery that gives the American farmer his leadership in agricultural production. It would be a serious mistake for him, at this critical time in the current-setting of world business, were he to hesitate, and allow his equipment, upon which depends so largely the full operative power of his acres and his men, to become insufficient for its tasks.

The Farmer Is Going Forward!

Such is not likely to be the case. The American farmer, especially of the younger generation, is mechanically inclined. In spite of doubts as to the immediate future he is going ahead with the building of better barns and silos, and the stocking of his pastures with the best obtainable live stock. He is seriously setting himself to the task of reorganizing his farming business along recognized lines of business efficiency, and he is everywhere struggling with a highly vexatious labor problem. He is meeting the present competitive and wasteful system of dis-

tribution with coöperative organization, and he is beginning to study the wider problems involved in worldwide distribution and demand.

What the farmer wants the consumer to see, and to see so clearly that he will admit the logic of the situation, is that farming has its problems the successful solution of which call for prices for his farm products that shall cover the necessary costs of produc-

tion, including interest on the investment; present-day wages for those employed on the farm, including the owner and his family; and in addition a sinking fund sufficient to cover replacement charges and to provide for the steady expansion of the business to meet the consumptive demands of the day.

And for those who insist that the farmer is a profiteer he has this answer and cordial invitation: Buy or rent a farm and go to it!

THE JAPANESE IN AMERICA

BY PAYSON J. TREAT

(Professor of History, Stanford University, California)

AFTER six years of comparative quiet the agitation against the Japanese in California has again swept over the State, gaining a popular support which was lacking in the earlier movements. Before 1913 the agitation was largely confined to San Francisco and was based upon labor conditions there. In that year a protest against Japanese ownership of land was voiced in some of the farming districts, which resulted in the Alien Land Law, denying the right to own agricultural land or to lease it for more than three years to "aliens ineligible to citizenship." The "gentlemen's agreement" of 1907 had apparently removed the danger of a mass immigration of Japanese laborers, and the Alien Land Law of 1913 made it difficult for the resident Japanese to obtain land. Therefore the pressing problems seemed to have been settled, and the Japanese question was rarely mentioned between 1913 and 1919.

The present discussion is concerned with the old problems of immigration, land ownership, and naturalization, and it is based on the assumption that the Japanese, as well as all other Orientals, are "unassimilable." But it is important to note that many elements of the population which did not support the earlier measures, are in sympathy with this new movement. It is no longer possible to dismiss the agitation as a political demonstration, although politics played a prominent part in developing the issue. Too many organizations have now gone on record in favor of drastic measures against the Japanese "problem," for one to ignore them. This general antipathy, among sections of

the public which were not directly affected by the presence of the Japanese settlers, must be ascribed to the distrust aroused by the almost universal criticism of the conduct of Japanese officials and people in China, Korea and Siberia. The innocent Japanese in California are paying the price for their government's alleged errors.

An analysis of the resolutions which have been passed by many public and private organizations in California discloses four grounds for anti-Japanese legislation. It is generally believed that Japanese are entering the State in large numbers, hence resolutions demand the abrogation of the "gentlemen's agreement" and the enactment of an exclusion law. It is also generally believed that Japanese are acquiring agricultural land in spite of the Alien Land Law of 1913, and this is to be met by a more drastic law which will stop the use of dummy corporations and forbid the leasing of land to unqualified aliens for any length of time.

Furthermore, it is evident that the Japanese residents have been favored with large families, and the fear has arisen lest the native-born Japanese, at some future time, outnumber the white inhabitants. To prevent this, a demand has been made that the admission of the Japanese "picture brides" be suspended. And most recent of all the measures, and most amazing to an American of the old-school, is the proposal to amend the Federal Constitution so that citizenship cannot be acquired by the native-born children of aliens themselves ineligible to citizenship. This would serve to prevent native-born Japanese from securing land.

All these things are believed by a large number of Westerners, and the remedial measures have their support. Yet it becomes evident, after a little investigation, that many of the conclusions are based upon flimsy evidence. In spite of the charges that the Japanese Government has repeatedly broken the "gentlemen's agreement" it would be extremely difficult to prove such a breach in a single case. The agreement of 1907, which has operated very satisfactorily, was to the effect that the United States would not pass an exclusion law against Japanese laborers so long as Japan refused to give such emigrants' passports to the United States. No Japanese can enter our ports without a passport. If any attempt to cross the border clandestinely it is the duty of our Immigration Service to apprehend them—it is not the fault of the Japanese Government. The figures for Japanese immigration must be understood and not merely accepted. The number of arrivals must be checked with the annual departures. At the present time "immigrants" include all classes of arrivals. Before the Great War the departures generally exceeded the arrivals in a given year. Since 1914 there has been an increase in "immigrants," due to the presence of Japanese merchants, tourists, officials, and students, many of whom would have travelled to Europe under normal conditions. The 10,312 Japanese who entered this country in 1918 were almost all transients of a very superior type. It is difficult to understand how anyone who has studied the actual operation of the "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan and the Chinese Exclusion Laws can believe the latter afford a superior method of regulating alien immigration. Theodore Roosevelt used to say that "nations as well as individuals should act like gentlemen." Would it not be well to respect the "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan until it is plainly shown to be ineffective?

One of the desirable features of such an agreement is the ease with which it may be amended to suit new conditions. In one respect the agreement should probably now be altered and such a change may be sought through the proper channels, in Washington and not in California. This change would forbid the entrance of "picture brides." These are Japanese women who are married to Japanese residents in America. The ceremony includes an exchange of pictures, hence the popular name used in this country. These marriages are quite in ac-

cord with Japanese custom and law, and the brides have no difficulty in securing passports to join their husbands in America. But the custom has always lent itself to misinterpretation among our people and although it has served a useful social purpose it now seems as if it was doing more harm than good, through the criticism which it has aroused. The Japanese Association of America has realized this danger, and has instructed its members not to arrange for "picture" marriages in the future. It is very probable that the Japanese Government would promptly meet any formal request to alter the "gentlemen's agreement" in this particular.

The immigration of laborers or of "picture brides" are questions which must be dealt with by the Federal Government. But the use or ownership of land is a matter for State control, subject always to any treaty obligations. Japanese resentment because of the Alien Land Law of 1913 was due to the discrimination involved, not to the economic disability imposed. No alien can own land in Japan, so no Japanese could object to a general law against alien land ownership in California. But when the right to own land is denied to "aliens ineligible to citizenship" it emphasizes the discrimination not only of the State but of the Federal naturalization law.

There is no doubt that, in spite of the Alien Land Law of 1913, some Japanese, Chinese and East Indians have acquired land in California. No statistics are available, and thus the amount of land involved has become a matter of controversy. The statement is frequently made that "the Japanese are acquiring the choicest lands in the State." On the other hand the cultivated acreage of the State is estimated at about 28,000,000 acres, and the amount owned by Japanese in 1918 was estimated at 29,000 acres. The latter amount has probably been somewhat increased to date, but it is doubtful if the total would be relatively large. That the Japanese farmers have done much to develop unused areas in the State, generally under lease, goes without saying. The objection to their presence on the land is primarily based upon the charge that they are "unassimilable." This is a charge which cannot be established one way or another. But certainly it will not be easy for the Japanese to demonstrate their assimilability so long as they are discriminated against in political, economic and social relations.

This belief in the inability of the Japanese and other Orientals to become assimilated has led to the remarkable proposal that the native-born children of "aliens ineligible to citizenship" be denied citizenship. Such a proposal will require an amendment to the Federal Constitution, and many resolutions demanding this step have been passed. On the one hand we are in the midst of a campaign for Americanization, and on the other a strong force is being exerted to deny American privileges to some of our native-born. This seems to be a peculiarly short-sighted measure.

The most promising way out of the problems arising from the presence of Oriental peoples in our country, seems to be to restrict immigration, and to see to it that the children of the aliens within our gates grow up as good American citizens. Mr. Roosevelt, in 1906, went further and proposed to Congress that the Japanese residents be granted the privilege of naturalization. But the place where the proposed measure would have the most serious effect is the Hawaiian Islands. More than half the population consists of "aliens ineligible to citizenship" or their native-born children. The Japanese alone number over 40 per cent. In the near future the native-born Orientals will certainly control the politics of the Territory. If they are treated fairly and given equal opportunities they will grow up to be loyal

citizens of the United States. If they are denied the rights of our native-born we will have in Hawaii an increasing mass of subject peoples who, denied justice by the United States, will look to their kinsmen in the East for help. The Hawaiian situation contains much that requires careful consideration, but if history teaches us anything it should help us avoid the creation of a Poland, an Alsace or a Korea within our limits.

There are a number of problems arising from the presence of Oriental aliens in our Pacific Coast states. They are difficult problems which should only be handled after impartial investigation and, in the words of Mr. Roosevelt, "with a maximum of efficiency and a minimum of friction." In refusing to call a special session of the State Legislature to deal with the Japanese problem, Governor Stephens, of California, said: "No one disputes the sovereign right of this state to enact all domestic legislation which its welfare dictates. At the same time, in this crisis, when the passions of all peoples are almost at the breaking point, it would be folly to intensify our national difficulties. In a calmer time, when these questions shall have been disposed of, when we ourselves shall be equipped with definite information and can act wisely, the problems of the Japanese in our California life is one that should yield readily to the legislative genius of our people."

AN AMERICAN IN SHANTUNG

[The following communication comes from an American who has lived in China for thirty years, was for eighteen months in Tientsin and Peking during the war, and has since been in Tsinanfu and elsewhere in Shantung. He read in the September REVIEW our abstract of the article by Kong Siang Ko which originally appeared in the *Revue Mondiale*, of Paris, and found in it certain statements and inferences from which he dissents. We reproduced those parts of his letter which seem to have special pertinence to the Shantung discussion. This writer admits that individual Japanese have been guilty of various indiscretions in Shantung, but holds that unwarranted inferences have been drawn as to the general injury to Chinese interests—THE EDITOR.]

FIRST of all, take the inferences as to Shantung itself. The effort is to make the impression that the sovereignty of the province is affected. There are no facts to support such an inference. Germany had a leasehold on something less than 200 square miles of territory surrounding the port of Tsingtau, owned and controlled the Esingtau-Tsinanfu Railway and the mines within ten kilometers of the railway on either side. The Chinese control of the

province was in no way affected. The same is true now. The Germans reserved the right to employ Germans exclusively in administering the Chinese maritime custom house. The Japanese do the same thing, but Mr. Kong makes it appear that the Maritime Customs are taken over and administered as a part of the Japanese Government revenue. Such is not the case. Chinese Maritime Customs at all posts are administered by Europeans in the employ of

the Chinese Government because there has not been found in the Chinese sufficient administrative honesty to make it possible to care for their own customs revenue. The Port of Tsingtau is still a part of the Chinese Maritime Customs administration, manned by Japanese incumbents, just as under the Germans.

No political right of the Chinese is interfered with in Shantung. There are Japanese post offices at the various railway stations and also telegraph offices for the convenience of the railway and its employees and anyone else who wishes to go to the railway stations and take advantage of them. At the same time the Tsingtau-Tsinanfu Railway gives to the Chinese post office under contract a compartment on all its trains for the carrying of mail to all points, and in no way whatever interferes with the administration of the Chinese post in the province of Shantung. But for this railway the Chinese post offices would be dependent on overland messengers, as it is everywhere else.

Mr. Kong complains that the Chinese are injured by the exploiting of the mines along the line of the railway. What are the facts? They control the mines within ten kilometers of the railway and these mines have all been developed by the Germans and not by the Chinese at all! Some small mines outside this ten-kilometer limit which were run by Chinese briefly by hand labor have been bought by the Japanese, because the owners of these mines were willing to accept the high prices offered by the Japanese. But there is absolutely nothing to hinder Chinese from developing other mines, save the want of honest and effective administration.

Mr. Kong declares with great fervor that he and his forty million Shantung compatriots will never submit to Japanese domination! "What are the facts? All this wealth and opportunity which he so deprecates as being withheld from his 'suffering compatriots' went for nothing till the Germans came and developed it. There is nothing whatever now, except the want of enterprise and administrative honesty, to prevent the Chinese of Shantung from building a most urgently needed railway from the Port of Chefoo to Tsinanfu and tapping the whole of this wealth which he complains of the Japanese wresting from them. If Mr. Kong would devote himself to the task of persuading his forty million compatriots whose birthright is being filched from them, to do

this much-needed and very practicable bit of constructive work the whole of the economic situation of Shantung would be in their hands.

Mr. Kong might say that the Japanese would not allow the Chinese to build this railway. The only contingency in the whole situation was that in case of the building of other railways in Shantung the Chinese Government was to give the Germans the first opportunity of supplying the engineers and the materials and money. The Japanese would either be obliged to do these things or keep hands off and let the Chinese get these in the best market. What the Japanese would do and have done is to buy the Chinese who would have the influence, to block the way of building such a road.

The real difficulty in the whole scheme is that the Chinese officials haven't the administrative honesty to preserve their own interests. Take their own railways, like the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, which runs through this same Shantung province from north to south. What happens? The "likin," the interprovincial duties and squeezes, the military usurpations of cars and materials, the want of honest administration, makes this road of practically little value in the transfer of merchandise. This road traverses excellent coal fields, and has connections in the north with Tientsin and in the south with Shanghai. An excellent coal mine, which was operated for local uses before the railway was built, finds it impossible to market its coal either in Shanghai or Tientsin because of the inefficient management of the Tientsin-Pukow Railway. There is a mine of excellent coal within thirty miles of Mr. Kong's ancestral home, and within two miles of the track of the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, and sixty miles nearer to Tsinanfu by the Tientsin-Pukow Railway than the Japanese mines on the Tsinanfu-Tsingtau Railway, and yet Tsinanfu is supplied by the Japanese mines! Here is ample scope for all the energies of Mr. Kong within twenty miles of his own home. The reason why the Chefoo-Tsinanfu Railway is not built is that all concerned know that it would be ridden by a horde of greedy parasites which would sap the life of it and make it of no effect.

Mr. Kong says: "The population is suffering from a foreign persecution. Their property is expropriated almost without indemnity. Homes are forcibly requisitioned. Personal insults, even actual outrages, are

numberless. Chinese officials are contemptuously ignored. And this condition the Peace Conference would make permanent." I have lived in Shantung for the best part of thirty years. Seven years of this time were spent in Tsingtau under German occupation; two years of it have been spent at various points on the Tsingtau-Tsinanfu Railway under Japanese occupation, and I do not hesitate to declare the above an unwarranted statement. That the Japanese have been and are obnoxious and overbearing in their administration of the Port of Tsingtau and the Tsingtau-Tsinanfu Railway, I admit. That the Japanese are going to the very limit of all that the German concessions allowed them, that they are straining these and that they would like to dominate Shantung and any other part of China that they can get control of, I believe the evidence is ample to prove, but there is no part of the situation which a reasonable display of enterprise and administrative honesty on the part of the Chinese would not easily cope with.

Mr. Kong refers to the Chinese labor which "as soon as possible was offered and accepted, and which materially aided in the triumphant result." He is speaking of the "British Emigration Agency," which procured and sent to France the Chinese coolies for the service of the British Army. What are the facts as to that? Mr. Kong, unless he is more ignorant than he would like to admit, knows that not only were these coolies not offered, but the Chinese Government and officials opposed the scheme, and official proclamations are now in the British archives forbidding Chinese laborers to offer themselves or accept service! It was only by placing the recruiting stations on Japanese-controlled ground contiguous to the Tsing-

tau-Tsinanfu Railway stations that it was possible to obtain these coolies at all. After the lapse of some months the active opposition was overcome, but it was never more than merely tolerated, and it is only since the war was over, or at least the armistice signed, that it was possible to appeal to Chinese officials for the correction of any illegalities which should come under Chinese jurisdiction.

The charge of importation of opium and morphine is probably well founded, but that has no bearing on the question. That has been done much more largely through the Port of Tientsin than through Tsingtau, and it is done because the connivance of the Chinese makes it possible.

As to Mr. Tong's article, quoted from *Millard's Review*, the matter of the secret treaty of Great Britain and France with Japan was unfortunate as giving the Chinese some point of departure, but has no distinct bearing on the attitude of the Chinese themselves, which is the all-important thing.

To sum it up, the ills from which they are suffering are vastly exaggerated, and the remedy is easily in their own hands. In addition, they are the result of their own ineptitude and double dealing. If the Chinese will make some honest efforts to set their own homes in order and establish some degree of administrative honesty and control, the helping them out of their difficulties will be a very simple matter. Until such a condition is reached all this frantic appeal on the ground of their supposed injustices suffered is confusing and utterly misleading. It is all done for a purpose. One of the men intimately concerned with the propaganda said to me that the thing he wished most to see was Japan and America at war! "A word to the wise."



BEVERIDGE'S "MARSHALL"

"THE Life of John Marshall" by Albert J. Beveridge, which is now completed in four volumes, is difficult to characterize in a few sentences, because it is an achievement of almost unrivalled importance from several different standpoints. It is winning praise in language that runs to superlatives of enthusiasm; and this praise comes from the most competent historical scholars and the best qualified students of law and government. As a work of literary skill, of industry and research, and of sustained intellectual power, the Life of Marshall is a dazzling success.

Mr. Beveridge had carried in his mind the conception of this work for many years. Its more definite outlines had gradually developed as the preliminary work had progressed. When a masterpiece of any kind is actually produced, the genius that created it and the patience and toil that brought it to fruition are often undervalued by the less experienced and discerning, for the very reason that the result has been to make difficult things clear and simple. The creator of such a work brings certain qualifications of his own that limit the conception and determine the result. But for the peculiar qualifications of the author of this great historical biography, not only would the conception have been different, but the actual outcome from the standpoint of the reader would probably have borne no resemblance at all to the irresistibly fascinating volumes that Mr. Beveridge has produced.

We have jurists and law professors competent to give us a new exposition of the meaning of Marshall's great decisions as Chief Justice. The place and work of the Supreme Court in the shaping of our constitutional history has, indeed, never been so well set forth as in the third and fourth volumes of Beveridge's Life of Marshall. But this great theme has not been ignored, and it has other masters. We have in recent years developed and trained a group of historical experts who have studied manuscripts and correspondence and have given us a large body of revised and accurate material by means of which to study the period of American history that Mr. Beveridge surveys. The author of the Life of Marshall



HON. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE
(From the portrait by August Franzen)

gratefully availed himself of all this material, and secured the personal aid of the historical experts and custodians of manuscripts and archives.

In accepting their help and in learning to use their methods of research, Mr. Beveridge has made himself a master of their tools and a highly accredited historical authority. There are others who have retold the story of Aaron Burr's adventures; and many other stories of American politics from Thomas Jefferson to Andrew Jackson have been recast by able pens. With the aid of historical experts, some other writer of industry could have given us a new biography of John Marshall, and could have resurrected the personality of the great Chief Justice, to entertain a generation which had lost the human picture of one of the country's greatest historical personages. But Beveridge has so blended biography, history, politics, and legal lore as to produce an incomparable work.

Americans had always retained conceptions, whether accurate or not, of the individualities of Franklin, Jefferson, and Hamilton; while Jackson, Webster, and Clay had come down in American tradition as living

and breathing personages. But Marshall had come to be a mere abstraction—a name by which to designate a series of lucid, wholly impersonal dissertations on Government, issued from the highest tribunal of the country through a period of years.

It would, then, have been possible to write a biography merely humanizing Marshall; and how this could be done was admirably shown by Mr. Beveridge himself in his first two volumes, which appeared in 1916. In those vivid pages there was pictured for us the life of colonial Virginia, and Marshall was made real to us as a young soldier in the Revolution, a law student, a follower of Washington and a Federalist in politics, a supporter of the Constitution in its period of formation and adoption, and a rapidly advancing leader who became Secretary of War and finally Secretary of State in the latter part of the Administration of John Adams.

The control of the Government in the election of the year 1800 had swung from the Federalists to the Democrats (or Republicans, as they preferred to be called) and Thomas Jefferson had been elected. Just before the end of his term, in March, 1801, President Adams had appointed John Marshall Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Mr. Beveridge's first two volumes had brought the story of his hero up to this moment. Marshall was destined to hold the office of Chief Justice for thirty-five years. Thomas Jefferson was destined to be the greatest party leader and the foremost personal influence in politics of any man in our history. Jefferson represented one point of view regarding our constitutional development, while Marshall represented the opposing point of view. Every student of American political and constitutional history has known this attitude of Jefferson's, as he expounded his doctrine of State rights through a series of exciting episodes. In like manner, all intelligent readers have known that Marshall expounded the supremacy of the Constitution and stood for Nationalism as against Localism.

But Mr. Beveridge, without straining any of the facts of history for the sake of stage effects, has told us the story of Marshall and Jefferson in a wholly new way, that creates breathless interest. He has dramatized, as it were, the struggle for and against the doctrines of "implied powers," and of federal supremacy as upheld through the authority of the United States courts. Jefferson and Marshall were cousins, and were

life-long antagonists. Marshall, who was naturally conservative, wholly disapproved of the great radical; while Jefferson hated Marshall with peculiar malignity. Mr. Beveridge is too thorough a student to surrender to the obvious temptation to overplay the contrast. John Marshall is the hero of his four volumes, and he succeeds to the very end in keeping the reader sympathetic and convinced as regards the worth, the dignity, and the historical greatness of his leading character. But he remembers that he is writing history, not fiction. It was his business to reveal Jefferson only as concerned with the matters in which Marshall's participation was essential.

Marshall was not a great scholar in the law like his younger colleague and associate, Justice Story, but he was an unsurpassed reasoner and interpreter. Mr. Beveridge finds a strong resemblance between John Marshall and Abraham Lincoln. Marshall was finishing his eightieth year when he died in 1835. He had been almost three decades and a half on the bench. His most important decisions are taken up one by one, and explained for the intelligent citizen as well as for the lawyer. No student of American law and government can henceforth escape the reading of this interpretation of our formative period.

Mr. Beveridge had himself been through the experiences of a young lawyer and public speaker. His own family had gone West from Fauquier County, Virginia, which was John Marshall's birthplace and home. He had served twelve years in the United States Senate from Indiana, beginning this period at the moment of our expansion of national interests following the war with Spain. It was his own experience in law, politics, government, and affairs which made it possible to discover the human aspects of the legal and constitutional struggles that are set forth in his third and fourth volumes.

Having rendered brilliant service in the Senate, Beveridge lost his seat in the party dissensions which brought the Democrats into power seven years ago. His retirement from office gave him the leisure and opportunity to write a work which has absorbed his energies for fully half a dozen years. When he returns to public life, it will be with enhanced prestige, and with a greater power than ever before to perceive and to interpret the more permanent tendencies in our national life.—A. S.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

A BRITISH VIEW OF THE SENATE'S TREATY RESERVATIONS

THE attitude of the United States Senate towards the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations is the subject of two important editorial articles in the London *Spectator* for November 22. The first of these articles, entitled "America's Reservations," begins with the assertion that there is no party and no opinion in America hostile to the League in itself:

The farthest that the most extreme opponents of the League go is to insist that, though the Treaty may be all right for Europe and may suit European temperaments, it is not suited to America or the American Constitution. The most hot-headed of anti-Wilsonian Senators has never dreamt of throwing obstacles in the way of the European nations combining to prevent another war so fatal to human society as that which has just ended.

In the present confused situation the *Spectator* reminds the British public that America is always inclined to be like the man in the Gospel who said, "I go not," and went. To illustrate this national trait, the editor recalls America's attitude at the beginning of the Great War, when both President and people declared that the war was not America's business and that strict neutrality must be maintained.

But though America had said so distinctly that she would not go, she went; and, as is her way, when she did act it was with a self-abandonment, an unselfishness, and a generosity to which the history of international relations affords no parallel. America threw herself into the contest without a reservation, without a thought of what she was to gain as a nation. She played no huckster's part. She could have had any terms she liked from those whom she made her Allies, if not in name, in high deeds. With a magnificence of purpose which, if the world at large does not yet completely understand it, has always been understood here by her own flesh and blood, she nobly refused to make Europe's agony her opportunity for reasonable demands. She spent not only

her blood but what it is often even more difficult for nations to do, her treasure, without stint or limit. The idea of making terms for the salvation of the world never crossed the mind of her people. They were too proud to bargain. Curiously enough, the same thing often happens in American business. During the preliminaries of a business arrangement an old-fashioned English firm seems to find the American hard, unyielding, even grasping in his methods and unwilling to allow any give-and-take. Yet when the preliminaries are over and it comes to action, the other side is amazed at the trustfulness, the easy generosity, with which the American will carry on. There is nothing guarded, nothing of the half-measure, nothing paltry, in American action.

By way of further explanation of the Senate's attitude the editor of the *Spectator* reminds his readers that an error was committed by President Wilson, "unconsciously, no doubt, but none the less unfortunately," when he failed to associate with himself at the Peace Conference the leaders of the Republican party. "As an example of how much easier it is for lookers-on to see the game than the players," the editor recalls the fact of his own astonishment at the construction of the American delegation:

It seemed to us quite obvious that what Mr. Wilson would do would be to say to Mr. Taft, ex-President, and so ex-chief of the Republican party; to Mr. Root, not only the greatest Republican jurist but the greatest jurist in America; and to Senator Lodge, a man of life-long experience in foreign affairs and Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate: "Whatever our old antagonisms, and whatever your personal distrust of a Democratic President, you three gentlemen must come with me to Paris and help me in the negotiations. Under our Constitution it is useless for me to attempt to bind America unless you acquiesce and so I can, not merely in name but in fact, put the Treaty before Congress as the joint work of the Democratic and Republican parties. You gave me the double mandate for the war. You must give it me also for the peace. But you cannot give it for the peace unless you



OLD RHYME—NEW REASON

Who killed Cock Robin?
 "I," said Senator Lodge;
 It was my little doggie!
 I killed Cock Robin!"

Who saw him die?
 "I," said the Fly;
 "It does make me cry!
 I saw him die!"

Who'll toll the bell?
 "I," said John Bull;
 "I'll give it a pull!
 I'll toll the bell!"

From the *Passing Show* (London)

share my responsibility at the Peace Conference and take an active part in the negotiations." If President Wilson had said that, the three statesmen we have named could not have refused, and the President would have brought back from Paris a treaty which, though not in essence very different from that now before the Senate, would have gone through Congress on a practically unanimous vote. To say this is not to rake up an old fault or to cry over spilt milk. Before the Senate is condemned for what has happened during the past week in Washington, Englishmen and Americans must remember, and give weight to, President Wilson's unfortunate blunder in the region of internal and party diplomacy. The association of the Republican leaders in his great task would not really have tied his hands, and would have given America the proud position of being the driver and not, as now, the brakeman of the great international train.

The *Spectator* is not without hope that at the last moment a compromise may be reached at Washington which will show to the rest of the world that America has no intention of repudiating the Treaty. But if no such compromise is reached, and the

worst comes to the worst, the editor harbors no doubt as to what should be done. The wise thing, the necessary thing, he says, "is not to abandon the League in a fit of anger or despondency, but to maintain it, and to allow America, owing to her very special circumstances, geographical and constitutional, to put in as many reservations as she likes."

Though there is no clause to this effect, it seems to the *Spectator* that it must have always been understood during the deliberations at the Peace Conference that each state that accepted the League accepted it in effect "subject to the particular provisions of the constitution of each constituent state." The *Spectator*, in fact, refuses to admit that the specific reservations of the Senate matter very much, except that they must be regarded as indicating national intentions. In the *Spectator's* view all that the Senate's reservations grant to America in particular are granted in general by the provisions of the League's constitution, by which every member of the Council has a veto on the actions of the League.

In the editor's opinion the real danger from the Senate's action consists in the fact that other nations, great and small, may make the American reservations an excuse for abandoning the League:

In all probability the American Senators do not fully realize the enormous dynamic force which America now exercises in the European world. It is not too much to say that if the Senate had passed the Treaty without reservation, no European state would have dared to consider the possibility of breaking away. With America apparently only hanging loose on the League, all the Michiavellis, petty and great, of Europe are inclined to say: "Why should we tie our hands if America won't tie hers? Let us be as free as she is." If that evil counsel were to prevail, Europe would indeed be in deadly peril. Whether then the Americans are able to help us at the moment or not, the rest of the great powers, Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, and such smaller states as they can influence, must go forward with the League. We detest the idea of exposing ourselves to the charge of exaggeration in such a matter as this, but the truth must be spoken even at the risk of being thought sensational. If the League of Nations were to be abandoned, the world would be exposed to dangers greater than it has ever before encountered.

On only one point does the writer conceive that serious damage has already been done by the Senate. He does not believe that the reservations in regard to Article X kill the League, but in his opinion the real trouble is found in the Senate refusal to agree to the limitation of armaments:

Here is the crux. If America will not agree to this limitation, it is to be feared that many of the small states will follow her example, for we can hardly say to them, though it is the truth: "America is far more likely to let her armaments go to seed than any other country in the world, and therefore she can safely be allowed the luxury of

insisting on this reservation. You cannot." If we were not able to do something to limit armaments and to prevent the old deadly competition, how is it possible that Europe should ever heal her wounds? The mitigation of armaments, though admittedly the most difficult point under the League, is also that of most practical importance.

THE TRIAL OF THE FORMER KAISER

IT was the Hon. Robert Lansing, Secretary of State of the United States, who presided over the "Commission on Responsibilities" charged by the Peace Conference with the consideration of the action that should be taken in regard to individuals responsible for the war and for violation of the laws and customs of war. This fact gives added weight to the article on the trial of the Kaiser contributed by Mr. Lansing to the December number of the *Forum*.

It will be recalled by those among our readers who followed the proceedings of the Peace Conference from day to day that this Commission upon Responsibilities consisted of fifteen members, two named by each of the following powers: the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, the one member each for Belgium, Greece, Poland, Rumania, and Serbia. Mr. Lansing's American colleague was Dr. James Brown Scott. Sir Gordon Hewart, the Attorney General of England, and Sir Ernest Pollock, Solicitor General, alternated with each other as head of the British delegation.

Mr. Lansing states that it was apparent at the very beginning of the sessions of the commission that certain members were determined before everything else to bring the Kaiser to trial for a criminal offense before an international high tribunal of justice, to be constituted for the purpose primarily of determining his guilt and imposing upon him a suitable penalty for his crimes. There were three charges that could be urged against him, namely, that he was responsible for the war, that he was responsible for the violation of the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg, and that he was chargeable with the flagrant violations of the laws and customs of war perpetrated by the armed forces of Germany.

The commission proceeded to examine the question from other points of view, and to consider the arguments for and against his trial. But in the end, it was unanimously de-

cided that a report could not be made charging the Kaiser with legal criminality for beginning the war or for invading Belgium and Luxemburg. It was recognized, says Mr. Lansing, that he had committed a great moral crime, an unpardonable offense against humanity, but the commission was forced to find that there was no positive law declaring acts such as he had committed to be criminal and imposing a penalty on the perpetrator. The decision was reached with reluctance because of the firm conviction that the German ruler was guilty, although his guilt was not of a nature which could be declared and punished by a judicial tribunal.

The commission found that the acts which brought about the war should not be charged against their authors or made the subject of proceedings before a tribunal. It decided that, under the special head of the breeches of neutrality of Luxemburg and Belgium, "the gravity of these outrages upon the principles of the law of nations and upon international good faith is such that they should be made the subject of a formal condemnation by the Conference." The commission further declared that it would be right for the Peace Conference in a matter so unprecedented to adopt special measures and "even to create a special organ in order to deal as they deserve with the authors of such acts."

As to the third charge, regarding "violations of the laws and customs of war," the commission concluded that all persons belonging to enemy countries, including chiefs of states, who have been guilty of such offenses are liable to criminal prosecution. The American members of the commission dissented from this conclusion. They declared that the law to which the head of a state is responsible is the law of his country, not the law of a foreign country or group of countries, that the tribunal to which he is responsible is the tribunal of his country, and

that the punishment to be inflicted is the punishment prescribed by the law in force at the time of the act, not a punishment created after the act. These observations, however, were not intended, in the opinion of the American representatives, to apply to what may be called political sanctions. "These are matters for statesmen, not for judges, and it is for them to determine whether or not the violators of the treaties guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg should be subjected to a political sanction."

Secretary Lansing directs particular attention to this last sentence because, as he says; the distinction between political sanction and judicial sanction determines the right to impose a penalty on the head of a foreign state.

The scheme proposed by the commission for the creation of a high international court of criminal jurisdiction did not receive the full approval of the American representatives, although they conceded for the sake of reaching an agreement the possible expediency of an international commission to pass upon the military crimes affecting more than one country, because, as Secretary Lansing states, "though it was not directly in accord with their idea of mixed courts-martial, it did not contradict the principle."

The American representatives did, however, oppose the extension of jurisdiction of such a tribunal on "offenses against the laws of humanity," as was recommended in the report, first, on the ground that the submission to the Commission on Responsibilities by the Conference was limited in terms to offenses against the laws and customs of war, and second, because the laws of humanity do not constitute a fixed code with judicial penalties, which can be applied through a fixed process. The decision finally reached by the Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated Governments is contained in Articles 227 and 230 of the Peace Treaty. Article 227 arraigns the former German Emperor "for a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties," and provides that a special tribunal to try him shall be constituted, composed of five judges appointed, respectively, by the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. It also declares that the tribunal in its decision "will be guided by the highest motives of international policy," and "shall fix the punishment which it considers should be imposed."

Commenting on this proviso of the Peace

Treaty, Secretary Lansing assumes that the tribunal thus created is not a court of legal justice, but rather an instrument of political power which is to consider the case from the viewpoint of high policy, and to fix a penalty accordingly. He quotes as follows from the reply to the observations of the German peace delegates on this subject:

They (that is, the council) wish to make it clear that the public arraignment under Article 227 framed against the German ex-Emperor has not a judicial character as regards its substance, but only in its form. The ex-Emperor is arraigned as a matter of high international policy as the minimum of what is demanded for a supreme offense against international morality, the sanctity of treaties and the essential rules of justice.

Mr. Lansing points out that this course of procedure was in accordance with the suggestion made in the American memorandum that there might be a political sanction, but no judicial sanction, for the offense of having caused the war and violating the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg.

In concluding his article Mr. Lansing thus sums up the motives that actuated the American members of the Commission on Responsibilities:

It was by no means an easy task to deal with the question of expressing properly mankind's condemnation of the individual whose inordinate vanity and greed were chiefly responsible for the dreadful waste and misery which the world has endured and from the effects of which it will suffer for many years to come. It was difficult to subordinate the natural feeling of indignation and instinct to do vengeance to a cold, dispassionate consideration of the character of the Kaiser's acts and their relation to law and justice. Yet one of the reasons that our country entered the war was to bring lawlessness to an end. We believed that an undeviating respect for law is essential to the prosperity and happiness of society and that the rigid maintenance of the law, however distasteful it may be, is an imperative duty.

It was with a determination to follow these precepts, to treat impersonally and judicially the submission of the Conference, and to avoid being influenced by our own desires or by the pressure of public sentiment that we performed our duties as the American members of the Commission on Responsibilities and filed our reservations to the report of the Commission.

Former Governor Simeon E. Baldwin, the venerable Professor of Law of Yale University, comments in the *Yale Law Journal* for November on the proposed trial of the former Kaiser. He unreservedly confirms the position of the American representatives as stated by Secretary Lansing.

GERMAN RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR

AN important article in the October number of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, by Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm Förster, of Munich, is summarized in the *London Review of Reviews*. The article, to which the editor of the *Jahrbücher*, Professor Delbrück, has appended numerous notes of protest and argument, is entitled "On the Question of German Guilt for the World War." The writer begins with a statement that he has never doubted that general conditions in the world were partly to blame for the war, but that the chief guilt fell upon Germany.

For fifty years there was no people in the world that, in spite of the peaceableness of broad masses of its population, so loudly and with so much conviction glorified the law of brute force in politics (literally "world political fist-law") and by its sabre-rattling and discourteous behaviour so continually isolated itself and thus brought against itself the world of the remainder of the civilized world—as the German people. Let one merely recall the incredibly brutal and short-sighted naval agitation of the nineties by which the Ger-

man middle classes, under the leadership of Friedrich Naumarn, were brought over into the camp of aggressive *Weltpolitik* . . .

It was not until both Hague Conferences through the fault of the German Government and of German intellectuals, who could not find enough scorn for what they called "peace-dizziness," had been finally sabotaged, to such an extent that in the rest of the Conference there was only one opinion, one of indignation, concerning the rude language of the German representatives—it was not until then that the "isolation" (*Einkreisung*) of Germany began, and then not in the sense of a war of offense, but of political and military security against the intentions which it was feared were harbored by the Germans. For it was the behaviour of the Germans at the Hague that spread through the world the conviction that Germany was not willing to tolerate the prevailing situation of the nations, because she hoped to acquire by force more than she could have obtained on the basis of international public law.

Professor Förster, says his reviewer, has always played the part of the candid friend to both the German and the Austrian Governments.

AN AMERICAN ON BOLSHEVISM

PERHAPS no writer has had a better opportunity to observe the workings of Bolshevism outside of Russia than Dr. Alonzo E. Taylor, who contributed the arti-

cle on Austria to the December number of this Review. As an official of the American Relief Administration under Mr. Herbert Hoover, Dr. Taylor was brought into inti-



VIENNESE CHILDREN, THINLY CLAD AND POORLY NOURISHED, FACING A COLD WINTER
(Clothing for these children may be sent to Mrs. Albert Halstead, care of Schenker & Co., Rotterdam, Holland)



(C) Underwood and Underwood

THE SPARTACIDE REVOLUTION IN VIENNA
(Crowd listening to revolutionary speeches outside the City Hall)

mate contact with conditions of unrest, both political and economic, in Central Europe during the greater part of 1919. In the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia) for December 6th, Dr. Taylor gives "Views of a Layman on Bolshevism."

The revolutions in Russia and Central Europe during the last two years have at least brought about the destruction of feudalism, and in Dr. Taylor's opinion, this is their prime achievement. In Germany and the eastern Baltic states traces of feudalism still remain, it is true, but in those countries the revolution failed of full success.

On the other hand, socialism of the type that was known before the war is practically obsolete. To use Dr. Taylor's expression, it has passed through insolvency into bankruptcy. Germany was the land of its great-

est development, and all that remains of it there is a series of political programs. Communism, according to Dr. Taylor, is in almost as low an estate, although it has not yet been declared bankrupt by its adherents. Russian Sovietism stands for a theory of government that, in Dr. Taylor's opinion, has never been properly tried out, either before the Russian Revolution or since that time. The great majority of the Russian people fully believe in a Soviet form of government, and it has also taken a deep hold throughout Central Europe and Germany. The original theory of the Soviet is quite a different thing from the Russian Sovietism of to-day. During the past year Teutonic socialism has been completely eclipsed by Latin syndicalism. These, in brief, are some of the conclusions reached by an observant American in the zone of Central Europe's most acute distress.

SOCIALISM'S PRESENT STATUS IN AMERICA

TIMELY information regarding the reconstruction of the Socialist movement in the United States is furnished by Dr. Gordon S. Watkins, of the Department of Economics at the University of Illinois, in an article contributed by him to the Decem-

ber *Atlantic*. As he states at the outset of his article, each of the Socialist groups which met in convention at Chicago during the first week of September committed itself definitely to a distinct party with a specific program of action. The Socialist Labor Party is allied

with the Workers' International Industrial Union, or Detroit I. W. W. The three other divisions of American Socialist forces are the Socialist Party of the Extreme Right, the Communist Labor Party of the Center Left, and the Communist Party of the Extreme Left.

Little can be said as to the numerical strength of these several parties. The realignment of forces is very recent and not every group has yet found its place. One estimate gives the Socialist Party a membership of not more than 39,000, the Communist Labor Party not more than 10,000, and the Communist Party a membership of 60,000, of whom one-half belong to the Foreign Language Federations which are predominantly Russian. Another official estimate makes the Communist Labor Party very much larger and the Communist Party correspondingly smaller. Little dependence can be placed, apparently, on either of these sets of figures.

As to personnel, the Socialist Party is still under the leadership of Adolph Germer, Victor Berger, Seymour Stedman, Morris Hillquit, and James O'Neal. The Communist Labor Party is headed by well-known radicals—A. C. Wagenknecht, John Reed, John Carney, William Bross Lloyd, and Ben Gitlow—while the Communist Party, known as the American Bolsheviks, is led by such extremists as C. E. Ruthenberg, Louis C. Frayna, Isaac E. Ferguson and Karl Brodsky.

Dr. Watkins is convinced that the recent division in American Socialistic forces was due to differing views as to the most expeditious method of destroying modern capital-

ism. Regarding the necessity of overthrowing the present era the three parties are in perfect agreement. The chief point of discrimination, especially between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party is the attitude of each group toward parliamentary action. The conservative Right Wing is favorably disposed toward parliamentary participation and opportunistic social reforms. The Extreme Left, on the other hand, repudiates parliamentary action in bourgeois states as reactionary compromise. The only use that it has for parliamentary participation is for propaganda purposes. Its final reliance is placed on mass action and revolutionary efforts through a general industrial organization employing the general strike.

Another important difference is revealed in the attitudes of the Socialist and Communist parties toward the church and religion. The former holds religion to be a private matter and has looked upon the church with indifference, an attitude also manifested by the I. W. W. The Communist Party, however, interprets religion as a social phenomenon and explains the church in the light of the materialistic conception of history—an institution that 'befuddles the minds of the masses, and defends the capitalistic order.' The three Socialist groups agree in the condemnation of trade-unionism, in the endorsement of the general industrial union, and in the enlistment of the negro in the class-struggle.

Dr. Watkins thinks it quite probable that American socialism will soon be divided into two major parties, the Socialist Party absorbing all the moderates and the Communist Party the revolutionaries. He finds an unmistakable tendency toward revolutionary doctrines and Bolshevik philosophy, and signs are not lacking of a "concerted revolutionary attack upon the economic and political foundations of the present era of society."

SOCIALISM AND INVENTION

A SOCIALISTIC view of invention as a condition of our modern scientific and industrial civilization is presented in the *Socialist Review* (New York) for December by Charles P. Steinmetz, the consulting engineer of the General Electric Company at Schenectady. Mr. Steinmetz divides inventions into three groups:

(1) Fundamental or basic inventions which create new fields for human effort, or even a new era in the world's history, such as the invention of the steam engine, steamship and locomotive; of the cotton gin, which created the cotton industry, of the alternating current transformer, which made modern electrical development possible.

(2) Inventions which are merely steps in the design and development of things, such as a new form of gear shift in the automobile, or a new way of winding an electric motor.

(3) Incidental or accidental inventions, such as a new puzzle, which strikes the popular fancy.

The second group represents by far the greater number of inventions annually patented in the United States. While these inventions are not revolutionary and are usually not considered in the layman's discussion of inventions and inventors, Mr. Steinmetz points out that in their bulk they represent the industrial progress of the country. Most of these inventions are the work of engineers,



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CHARLES P. STEINMETZ

designers, or constructors, employed by industrial corporations. To a great extent such inventions and the patents covering them are owned by the company rather than by the inventor himself. As Mr. Steinmetz shows, there is much justification for this arrangement. The problem which the engineer solved by his invention has in most instances been brought before him by his work for the company. The company, too, has made available the data and information that enabled him to solve the problem and has supplied the means to develop the invention.

Mr. Steinmetz finds that corporation engineers working under arrangements by which their compensation from the company covers the products of their knowledge as well as their original and inventive skill, are on the average more prolific and useful inventors than the independent engineers. Yet the incentive of direct individual profit is wholly lacking. Mr. Steinmetz argues, therefore, that the socialization of society, if it should take place, would in no way decrease this numerous and important class of inventions. Organized society would simply take the place of the industrial corporation.

Mr. Steinmetz then considers the question whether the first group of inventions, those of a radical or basic character, would be seriously interfered with in a socialistic state by the withdrawal of the possibility of vast financial profit. As to the question whether

modern capitalistic society holds out great financial rewards for the inventor, he says:

I know of no great inventor who has become very rich. Edison is very well to do, but far less due to his inventions than to his sharing in the industrial exploitation of them, and a small part of his genius and intellect, in the pursuit of Wall Street activities, might have made him a multi-millionaire. There is rather more truth in the statement—though wildly exaggerated—that most of the great inventors die in the poorhouse.

A fundamental or basic invention, representing a new idea, the first step in a new field, necessarily is crude, and inferior to the improvements which are made later on the idea, after the path has been broken by the basic invention. As a matter of fact, every inventor being entitled to his invention, neither more nor less, the original inventor is not entitled to the improvements made by others, and without them, his invention is of lesser industrial value. The inventors of the improvements cannot use them, as they are not entitled to the original invention. To the inventor, his invention is of no value unless it is applied. He can rarely apply it himself, having neither the means nor the mental ability to develop its industrial production. Thus he depends on the established industry to take up his invention. The industry however has got along without the invention, does not need it as a necessity, but merely as an improvement, or an advantage. Thus in the relation between the inventor and the industry, the advantages are against the inventor.

There is another feature, which the inventor rarely realizes.

Between the invention, as conceived, tried and patented, and the successful industrial product, there is a wide gap, the industrial development of the article often involving a vast amount of work and great expenditure. Thus, for instance, in the development of the steam turbine, now the most powerful and most efficient source of power, millions of dollars, and years of work had to be expended, from the time that the completed and patented invention was turned over to the manufacturers, until the manufacture was financially successful. And that latter period sometimes never arrives. Thus in the industrial development of the invention of the Nernst lamp, a vast amount of engineering ability, energy and many years of work were expended and when it just began to be successful, the tungsten lamp came, with its superior efficiency, and drove it out of existence.

Thus the great financial rewards awaiting the inventor in present-day society are an idle dream. The reward of the inventor is reputation and fame, and the satisfaction of his accomplishment—rewards which will remain and be greater still under socialism—but financially the reward of the inventor is inferior to that of the successful stock-broker or promoter.

Since in a socialistic society there would be no special interests opposing the inventor's fullest recognition, the realization that a successful invention would make the inventor a national hero, would, in Mr. Steinmetz's opinion, be an incentive far greater than any thing present-day society has to offer.

PRICES AND INCOMES IN GERMANY DURING THE WAR

THE following interesting presentation of economic conditions in Germany during the war is from the pen of Rudolph Rettig, of Dresden, and originally appeared in the *Roter Tag*. This translation of the article was made by Dr. Victor Clark for the *American Economic Review*:

The outcome of the world war forces us to consider the tremendous economic blunders committed at that time. There is little doubt that economic mismanagement, especially during the last two years, contributed directly to the political overthrow and did untold harm to the national cause. It is for this reason of supreme importance that we should study closely the relation of prices

and incomes, or, in other words, the economic readjustments between the different classes of the population. For this reason a number of investigations along the lines indicated below should be undertaken at once. They do not confirm the common impression that high wages are the reason of our present economic distress. At least that is the inference for the period prior to the revolution. We learn that prices have risen far above the measure justified by the increase in the cost of production and consequently profits were made that led to a very unjust distribution of the burdens of the war among the different classes of the people.

The relative percentages of the following items of costs and profits of a specific industrial establishment illustrate what I mean:

Items	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18
Wages	28.49	33.85	34.	29.57	23.95	16.87
Waste in operation	18.13	19.78	21.33	25.23	22.26	26.30
Losses in business transactions	7.23	7.53	9.10	7.64	6.74	4.97
Porto (postage)	.41	.42	.53	.41	.36	.22
Construction and repairs	5.64	3.12	1.99	.83	1.48	2.47
Taxes and contributions	2.18	2.45	2.85	2.76	2.79	2.76
Interest	.82	1.48	1.73	2.83	.92	
Depreciation	22.32	18.21	13.52	15.01	17.70	14.77
Total	85.22	86.84	85.05	84.28	76.20	68.36
Net profits	14.78	13.16	14.95	15.72	23.80	31.54
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Dividends	6.	6.	5.	6.	12.	25.

Such examples might be multiplied indefinitely. Almost without exception it will be shown that wages in proportion to every 100 marks in value of products actually declined between 1914 and 1917, while profits rose remarkably. We must add to this that wholesalers and retailers not only collected the same percentages of profits during the war that they were accustomed to make during peace, but almost invariably increased that percentage. The result was that the income of the entrepreneur class not only increased, but did

so relatively to the higher prices, to the detriment of the other classes of society, including wage-earners. It is a fundamental error to ascribe high prices to the high wages of employees during the war. As the example quoted shows, the economic status of the working people who were employed during the war, and who received nominally high incomes, deteriorated rapidly. Consequently, it is very easy to see that these economic conditions would especially oppress families of men engaged in the war and civil servants.

GERMANY'S BALTIC POLICY

AN article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* for October 10th takes as its text the speech by Noske on the note by the Entente, and deals with the whole question of the Entente and Germany and their policy in connection with the Baltic provinces. The following extract gives the gist of the writer's arguments:

A settlement of the Baltic situation naturally requires time. But one thing is clear, namely, that a considerable part of the troops, under the bad

influence of their leaders, will refuse to return to Germany, but will as mercenaries enter the service of the Russian reactionaries. We must pity these men; they have been deceived. The Fatherland has become insufficient for them. They were promised land in Lettland, and now that that hope has been destroyed they are being promised the possibility of settling on Russian soil. If their attitude is thus to a certain extent explicable, it does not the less place the country in a most dangerous position. Altogether inexplicable is the action of the men's officers who have the necessary intelligence to recognize the seriousness of

the situation. . . . Intervention (on the part of the government) is essential, and we are glad to hear Herr Noske's declarations on the subject.

Further south, in the region of Danzig, it is important to note that the Germans have avowedly taken steps to secure their national cultural solidarity against the time when the separation from the Fatherland

shall be brought about. The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* for September 25th announced that one single German organization, compromising all the political parties, was about to be formed on the sole basis of Germanization, and for the purpose of asserting German rights. This project subsequently came to a practical issue.

ITALIAN CENSURE OF D'ANNUNZIO'S PROCEEDINGS AT FIUME

THE Italian agitation in regard to Fiume and Dalmatia is treated in a very moderate and reasonable spirit by a writer in *Rassegna Nazionale*. He is quite ready to admit that D'Annunzio's expedition has been animated by ideal motives, although there are not wanting those who hold that it partakes of the nature of an anti-ministerial maneuver, but he regards it as blameworthy for two principal reasons:

First, on account of the bad breach of discipline committed by a part of the Italian forces—an insubordination in which officers of high rank, both in the army and in the navy, have participated, while those generals or admirals who were charged with the re-establishment of discipline have neither shown the prestige nor the capacity to fulfill their task. Had the poet's enterprise been accomplished by a handful of volunteers, Italy would still have had to deplore the assumption, by a body of turbulent citizens, of a matter that required the deliberate and official control of the government, but at least the repute and the discipline of the army would have remained intact.

The second, and perhaps the gravest objection, is that no group of politicians, or of improvised leaders, can with impunity undertake to determine the national policy, and, profiting by the supposed adhesion or acquiescence of the nation, taken by surprise and stirred up by a rather fictitious patriotism, seek to direct according to their fancy the foreign policy of that nation. This would force Italy to resort to odious and bloody repressions at home, or else to assume before the other nations with which she is bound by solemn engagements, the sorry figure of some little Balkan state, or the humiliating part of a nation unable to control the impulse to treat these engagements like the too-famous "scrap of paper."

The writer does not think it correct to say that in this particular case Italy has to do with an uncontrollable impulse in favor of the self-determination and the nationality of a people, for if this were so the same principle should be followed even where the result is not in Italy's favor, as with the Brenner pass and the greater part of Dalmatia. Otherwise all territorial questions in the regions of mixed nationalities would be entirely at the mercy of *coups-de-main* and pronunciamientos, leading to constant convulsions and devastations.

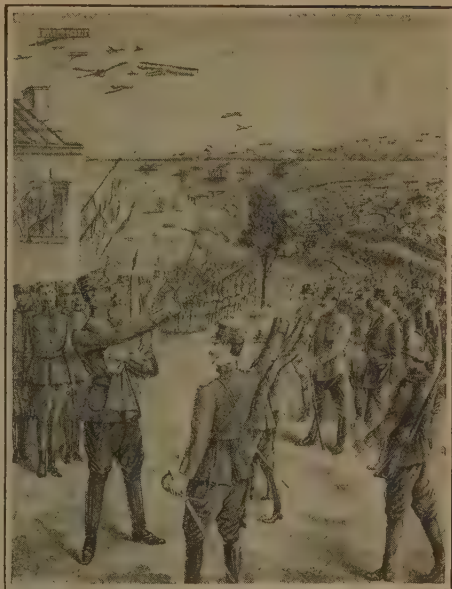
Acting on such principles regarding Italian claims, any agitator might to-morrow occupy Malta, Nice, or Corsica, or the Swiss canton Ticino, and embroil Italy with half of Europe. The nation might as well cast aside all governmental control, all parliaments and constitutions, and allow itself to be ruled by the first D'Annunzio who sprang up, or worse still, by the first military leader who pleased to install himself as generalissimo or dictator.

Turning from these general considerations to the special enterprise of Fiume, the Italian writer deeply regrets that the pacificatory mission entrusted to General Badoglio should have proved a failure, that his appeal to the regular troops to return to normal authority, under the penalty of being otherwise treated as deserters, should in the main have fallen on deaf ears. He thinks that some attempt should be made to remedy the still graver insubordination in the navy, the serious acts of desertion from some of the warships while they were anchored in the port of Fiume, for the present situation is quite intolerable as regards the reputation of the government, of the nation, and of the navy.

What has exceeded all measure, so much so indeed as to overshoot the mark, is the tone of D'Annunzio's proclamations to the

Venetians, to the Lombards, to the inhabitants of Trieste, and even to the Italian army, proclamations in which he has not hesitated to call up the flames of insurrection in support of his enterprise. This is the more unwise in view of the fact that the whole question is a most delicate one. Italy has not yet secured the qualified consent of France, or that of England, in favor of the recognition of Italian sovereignty over the city of Fiume, with the exception of its part, which is to be placed under the control of the expected League of Nations, for the whole matter still depends upon the dubious consent of President Wilson, who has personally committed himself to the contrary view, and who will certainly not allow himself to be influenced by D'Annunzio's actions or propaganda.

Moreover, it must be borne in mind that the problem of Fiume is complicated with others of not lesser importance, such as the recognition of Italian interests in the Orient and in the colonies, as well as with Italy's serious economic and financial difficulties, just now especially acute and the subject of much parliamentary debate.



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A POSTER CIRCULATED IN AMERICA TO
EXTOL D'ANNUNZIO'S HEROISM

PRICE-FIXING AS A REMEDY FOR PROFITEERING

THE governments of many countries have recently been asked to adopt systems of price-fixing in order to prevent profiteering. The attempt to meet this demand has not been generally successful. State officials are likely in the attempt to satisfy public opinion to fix prices so low as to discourage capital from embarking in production.

The Hon. Charles G. Wade, K.C., Agent-General for New South Wales, cites the experience of the various Australian governments in regard to price-fixing in an important article in the *Fortnightly Review* (London). He believes that this danger of causing under-production is so great that it can be avoided only by the state assuming control and ownership of the means of production, distribution and, exchange.

Can such a system be successfully managed in a modern democratic community? Mr. Wade points out that if the state becomes the universal employer, its duties as the

protector of the consumers against high prices must inevitably clash with the demands of its multitudinous employees for higher wages. And what ministry could weather such a test? He regards the record of these experiments in New South Wales during the war, as a hopeless failure.

It was in New South Wales that the first attempt was made to regulate the prices of necessary commodities in Australia. This policy was launched before a scarcity from the pressure of war conditions had arisen, and was the outcome of high wages and consequent high prices. The workers put forward a demand for the limitation of the cost of commodities, whilst they were to be permitted to receive higher wages. The government yielded, and the test was first made in respect to butter. A period of dry weather in the dairying districts, which affected the pastures, had led to a reduction in the production of cream and an increase—consequent upon the scarcity—in the price of butter. The rise in the selling price was not, in fact, serious, but in response to a demand made by the public the government appointed a commission, who took power by statute to fix the price of any commodity, necessary for the support of man

or beast; and, *inter alia*, a maximum price was fixed for the sale of butter.

At that time there was a prospect of large demands for meat for European countries and for the Allies who were engaged in the war, and prices were fairly firm. In these circumstances it paid the dairyman to sell his cows to the butcher, and to lease his land for pasturage purposes to those who desired to fatten stock for the export trade. In a short time the threatened scarcity became a reality; there was no help obtainable locally, for the adjoining states were unable and unwilling to place their produce on the New South Wales market at a figure which yielded them no profit. At this stage even the removal of price limitation could not secure redress, as the product was no longer being manufactured.

The only alternative, therefore, in response to the continued demand, was to import the commodity from overseas. In due course shipments of butter arrived purchased in America, but it was found that the cost per pound of the imported article, after paying freight and charges, was in excess of the maximum price previously declared for local sales. The government were, in consequence, faced with the dilemma of selling at a higher figure which was commercially profitable (and thereby acknowledging that their previously declared maximum price was a mistake) or to sell at the fixed price and ask the taxpayer to make good the consequent loss: they adopted the latter course.

This experience was repeated shortly after with regard to wheat. The dry season had affected the crops, and it appeared possible that importation from outside sources might be necessary to meet local requirements. There was also a danger of prices of bread rising in consequence of the reduced supply of flour. Here, again, the Commission stepped in and fixed a maximum selling price. The farmer found that it was more profitable to

convert his growing crops into hay than to allow them to be harvested for the miller. Those, again, who held stocks were suspected of withholding them until the restrictions should be removed and prices should rise again; but so far as the public were concerned, the old story was repeated—an actual scarcity in the state was established; importations from adjoining states were discouraged by the insufficiency of the declared selling price; and the government were again compelled to resort to importations from overseas to meet the urgent food requirements of the community. Large consignments of wheat subsequently arrived, but it was found that the cost of the commodity landed in New South Wales was per unit in excess of the fixed maximum local selling price, and the state suffered a heavy loss in selling at the figure previously decreed.

An attempt to control the price of hay produced like results. Later on, when the stress of war conditions pressed upon the people, a limitation of prices was imposed in respect of many commodities by both federal and state governments.

But Mr. Wade is by no means hopeless. He opposes the fixing of prices, but he believes that effective machinery can be devised for controlling the profiteers. With its vast experience of costing, acquired during the war, the government is in a position to check any charges of profiteering that are brought to its notice. Mr. Wade contends that, if drastic powers are given to the government to examine the accounts of firms which are accused of profiteering, and if they are authorized to inflict severe penalties, the results will be far-reaching.

THE FUTURE OF ENGLAND'S WOMEN WAR WORKERS

ALREADY the demobilization of the various corps of war British workers is in full swing, and has in some cases been completed. What is to be the future of these hundreds of thousands of women who, having found profitable work and acquired a totally new outlook on life during the war are now discharged from employment and left to keep themselves as best they can? Miss Rose M. Bradley in the *Nineteenth Century* (London: November) discusses the many aspects of the problem and describes the measures that have been organised already to assist them in finding new employment.

The future of the flapper is not the least of the questions with which reconstruction has to deal;

more especially if she left school with a half-finished education in the early days of the war, to work in a munitions factory or to act as juvenile typist or messenger in a government office. In this case she may now find herself in a blind alley, no longer wanted where she is too old to be trained for another trade. The Board of Education is doing all that is possible to improve her prospects by the establishment of continuation schools and compulsory classes for those in receipt of unemployment pay. But, to the average girl, the life has been demoralizing in its superficial freedom. She is little inclined to submit herself to pastors and masters, and it is with reluctance that she will lower her social prestige by returning to her natural sphere of shop-assistant, or, still worse in her eyes, of domestic servant.

Far more difficult, however, at the other end of the pole, is the position of the educated woman who, five years ago, had probably not contemplated the necessity of working for her living at all. On the outbreak of war, anxious to do her

share, she perhaps had herself trained as a motor-driver, became an administrator in one of the services, a welfare supervisor, or learnt to work on the land, or in a government office. During these years she has possibly lost one or more of the male relatives who contributed to her maintenance—husband, brother, father, or the man to whom she was to have been married. In any case, she can no longer live upon her own reduced means and belonging, as she does, to a class which, having a fixed income, has been most acutely affected by the rise in the cost of living, she is unwilling to be a burden on the family exchequer. If she is still young and sufficiently qualified, the educational world no doubt offers her the best prospects. But for the average woman of her class, careers which do not involve a long and expensive training are still limited. On the other hand, in the changed conditions of social life, she may probably not think it derogatory, if she has the experience, to take a post as lady nurse or lady cook, for both of whom there is an ample demand.

For a good many women, the idea of emigration as offering an outlet for their energies, and fresh scope in a new country for the practical training and experience they have recently acquired is attractive. To the suitable ex-service woman the Government Overseas Settlement Committee is offering special facilities in this direction on the same lines as those granted to the ex-service man. But these, after all, are a drop in the ocean, and it remains to be seen in which of the Dominions they will be assured a welcome and find desirable openings.

Immediately after the Armistice a large number of semi-skilled women workers, who had been employed in certain branches of munitions, wireless telegraphy, aeroplane works, etc., were told that their services were no longer needed, and many were given one week's wages in lieu of notice. A large proportion of these women had literally no homes to return to.

The Heads of the Training Section who were responsible for these girls have done their utmost

to find them fresh employment, and, as the months have passed, they have not been unsuccessful. Those who were formerly in domestic service have been persuaded, in quite appreciable numbers, to return to it, and those who had husbands and homes with sufficient means of support were strongly urged to go back to them. This is, in substance, the advice given to all the demobilized women by their superior officers. Return to former occupations when possible, but do not let the claims of home, and family, especially in the case of married women, be lightly tampered with.

But what exactly is women's work? Domestic service offered a wide field for employment; and a serious effort was made, under Lady Londonderry's leadership, so to raise the status of domestic service as to make it appeal to these ex-service women. The Women's Legion Household Service section has met with a small but increasing measure of success, and other bureaux run by different branches of the services appear to be making progress on similar lines. But the chief need is to find other forms of employment for women, and Lady Rhondda's Women's Industrial League has worked hard to secure equal opportunities for employment in all occupations suitable to women, while insisting upon the principle of equal pay for equal output. There is a movement to try and substitute women for men in many employments which should naturally be feminine; and Miss Bradley pleads for a great united effort by men and women, to allow women to supplement men in a number of trades and occupations for which they are specially fitted, and in which there is no question of direct competition for the same employments.

THE DURATION OF LIFE

A PARADOX often adverted to is that science, which has done so much toward promoting good health in the human race, has failed to increase materially the duration of human life. On an average, it is true; people live longer than they used to; but the limit of longevity is about the same as it was in the remote past. Despite all the splendid achievements of medicine and surgery, we still grow old and we still die. Must this always be true? No dogmatic answer can yet be given to this intensely interesting question, but facts are rapidly coming to light that bear upon it.

Perhaps there is no other place in the world where so much is being learned about the *rationale* of life and death as at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, in New York City. We therefore listen eagerly to one of the leaders of that establishment, Dr. Jacques Loeb, who writes on "Natural Death and the Duration of Life" in the *Scientific Monthly*.

Both life and death are chemical processes, and the abrupt chemical change involved in the latter is due to the permanent cessation of respiration. Dr. Loeb says in regard to this all-important phenomenon:

We know that this result can be brought about by mechanical violence, by poison, and by disease, and, since nobody can escape all these agencies, doubts have arisen whether we do not all die from injury or disease, and whether such a thing as natural death really exists. If there were no natural death it should be possible to prolong life indefinitely if a complete protection against disease and accidents could be secured. It is impossible to make such an experiment in a human being, since our intestine and our respiratory tract can not be kept free from microorganisms. The problem has, however, been solved for certain insects. A Russian author, Bogdanow, invented a method of obtaining the common housefly free from all microorganisms, by putting the newly laid eggs for a number of minutes into a solution of bichloride of mercury of sufficient concentration. Most eggs were killed in the process, but some survived and these were free from microorganisms at their surface. By keeping the eggs on sterilized meat and in sterile flasks, the maggots leaving the egg could find their food and develop into flies. A French author, Guyénot, continuing the experiments on the fruit fly, raised 80 successive aseptic generations, and Northrop and the writer have raised thus far 87 aseptic successive generations of the fruit fly on aseptic yeast.

In these experiments all possibility of infection, all chances of accidental or violent death were excluded. To make sure that these flies are absolutely free from microorganisms, their dead bodies are transferred to culture media such as are used for the growth of bacteria. If a common fruit fly is put on such a culture medium, in twenty-four hours a rapid growth of microorganisms develops, while the culture medium on which our aseptic flies were put remained free from all growth for years (or rather permanently). Aseptic fruit flies, free from infectious disease and supplied with proper food will, therefore, not escape death. These experiments, then, indicate that higher organisms must die from internal causes even if all chance of infection and all accidents are excluded.

These facts gave rise to the idea that the natural duration of life might be merely the time required for the completion of a chemical reaction, or a series of chemical reactions, involving the accumulation of toxic substances in the body, or the destruction of substances capable of keeping it in youthful vigor, or both. Modern physical chemistry has shown that the time required to complete a chemical reaction is diminished with an increase in temperature, and *vice versa*. Can we, then, prolong life by lowering the temperature at which life processes go forward?

Elaborate experiments were made by Loeb and Northrop on aseptic flies, the result of which was that "the duration of life of such flies was a definite one for each temperature, which means that all the flies died at practically the same age when kept at the same temperature." By lowering their temperature 20 degrees Centigrade, the average duration of their lives was prolonged by 900

per cent. Unfortunately this process cannot be applied to human beings, who have normally a constant body temperature, whereas the temperature of insects is practically that of their environment.

If it were possible to reduce the temperature of human beings and if the influence of temperature on the duration of life were the same as that in the fruit fly, a reduction of our temperature from 37.5 to about 16° would lengthen the duration of our life to that of Methusaleh; and if we could keep the temperature of our blood permanently at 7.5° C., our average life would (on the same assumption) be lengthened from three score and ten to about twenty-seven times that length, *i.e.*, to about nineteen hundred years. Unfortunately our body does not tolerate any considerable lowering of its temperature and if it did, life at so low a temperature would probably become very monotonous and uninteresting since in all probability sensations of pleasure as well as pain, of joy and of sadness, would be at a very low level.

The experiments on aseptic flies therefore lend support to the idea that the duration of our life is the time required for the completion of a chemical reaction or a series of chemical reactions.

Analogous experiments upon the lower animals shed light on the question of why we grow old.

While in human beings there is no sharp limit between youth and maturity, in many insects and amphibians this limit is marked by a sudden metamorphosis in the shape of their body. The frog hatches from the egg as a tadpole without legs and with a long tail. After a certain length of time legs begin to grow, the tail disappears, the form of the head and mouth change, the skin looks different, and the tadpole is transformed into a frog. It is possible that some of the changes underlying metamorphosis are due to changes in the circulation of the blood.

Gudernatsch made the remarkable discovery that this metamorphosis, which in our climate usually occurs during the third or fourth month of the life of the tadpole, can be brought about at will even in the youngest tadpoles, by feeding them with thyroid gland, no matter from which animal. By feeding very young tadpoles with this substance, frogs not larger than a fly could be produced. Allen added the observation that if a young tadpole is deprived of its thyroid gland, it is unable ever to become a frog; and that it remains a tadpole which can reach, however, a long life and continue to grow beyond the usual size of the tadpole. When, however, such superannuated tadpoles are fed with thyroid they promptly undergo metamorphosis.

The thyroid gland stores up the traces of iodine taken with food. The experiments above described, and others made on salamanders, seem to indicate that the duration of the tadpole stage (corresponding to "youth" in mankind) is the time required to store up the necessary amount of certain compounds, one of which contains iodine. On the other hand the change of fruit flies from the larval

to the chrysalis state is not accelerated by feeding thyroid to them; but experiments, which the writer describes, show that it is accelerated or retarded by changes of temperature, just as the total duration of life in these insects is controlled by temperature.

Experiments by Uhlenhuth on the influence of temperature on metamorphosis in salamanders have shown that it is similar to that observed in flies. Salamanders kept at 25° metamorphosed when they were eleven weeks old, while salamanders kept at 15° , under otherwise identical conditions, metamorphosed when they were twenty-two weeks old. All these data suggest the possibility that the duration of life and the duration of the larval period or of youth are in

reality times required for the completion of definite chemical reactions. The cessation of respiration leading to the termination of life and the alterations in circulation leading to metamorphosis or termination of youth are critical points; and it seems possible that these points are reached when a certain toxic substance is formed in adequate quantity in the body, or when a necessary substance is destroyed or sufficiently diminished in quantity, or when both conditions are fulfilled.

We can prolong or shorten the period of youth in amphibians not only by modifying the temperature but by withdrawing or offering the specific substance which causes metamorphosis, namely iodine or thyroid material. There is no end to the substances capable of hastening death. Shall we ever find a substance which will prolong the duration of life? At present we can neither deny nor affirm the possibility.

EINSTEIN'S THEORY OF RELATIVITY

THE action of the Royal Society at its meeting in London on November 6, in recognizing Dr. Albert Einstein's "theory of relativity" has caused a great stir in scientific circles on both sides of the Atlantic. Dr. Einstein propounded his theory nearly fifteen years ago. The present revival of interest in it is due to the remarkable confirmation which it received in the report of the observations made during the sun's eclipse of last May to determine whether rays of light passing close to the sun are deflected from their course.

The actual deflection of the rays that was discovered by the astronomers was precisely what had been predicted theoretically by Einstein many years since. This striking confirmation has led certain German scientists to assert that no scientific discovery of such importance has been made since Newton's theory of gravitation was promulgated. This suggestion, however, was put aside by Dr. Einstein himself when he was interviewed by a correspondent of the *New York Times* at his home in Berlin. To this correspondent he expressed the difference between his conception and the law of gravitation in the following terms:

Please imagine the earth removed, and in its place suspended a box as big as a room or a whole house, and inside a man naturally floating in the center, there being no force whatever pulling him. Imagine, further, this box being, by a rope or other contrivance, suddenly jerked to one side, which is scientifically termed "difform motion," as opposed to "uniform motion." The person would then naturally reach bottom on the opposite side. The result would consequently be the same as if he

obeyed Newton's law of gravitation, while, in fact, there is no gravitation exerted whatever, which proves that difform motion will in every case produce the same effects as gravitation.

I have applied this new idea to every kind of difform motion and have thus developed mathematical formulas which I am convinced give more precise results than those based on Newton's theory. Newton's formulas, however, are such close approximations that it was difficult to find by observation any obvious disagreement with experience.

Dr. Einstein, it must be remembered, is a physicist and not an astronomer. He developed his theory as a mathematical formula. The confirmation of it came from the astronomers. As he himself says, the crucial test was supplied by the last total solar eclipse. Observations then proved that the rays of fixed stars, having to pass close to the sun to reach the earth, were deflected the exact amount demanded by Einstein's formulas. The deflection was also in the direction predicted by him.

The question must have occurred to many, what has all this to do with relativity? When this query was propounded by the *Times* correspondent to Dr. Einstein he replied as follows:

The term relativity refers to time and space. According to Galileo and Newton, time and space were absolute entities, and the moving systems of the universe were dependent on this absolute time and space. On this conception was built the science of mechanics. The resulting formulas sufficed for all motions of a slow nature; it was found, however, that they would not conform to the rapid motions apparent in electrodynamics.

This led the Dutch professor, Lorenz, and myself to develop the theory of special relativity.

Briefly, it discards absolute time and space and makes them in every instance relative to moving systems. By this theory all phenomena in electrodynamics, as well as mechanics, hitherto irreducible by the old formulæ—and there are multitudes—were satisfactorily explained.

Till now it was believed that time and space existed by themselves, even if there was nothing else—no sun, no earth, no stars—while now we know that time and space are not the vessel for the universe, but could not exist at all if there were no contents, namely, no sun, earth, and other celestial bodies.

This special relativity, forming the first part of my theory, relates to all systems moving with uniform motion; that is, moving in a straight line with equal velocity.

Gradually I was led to the idea, seeming a very paradox in science, that it might apply equally to all moving systems, even of difform motion, and

thus I developed the conception of general relativity which forms the second part of my theory.

As summarized by an American astronomer, Professor Henry Norris Russell, of Princeton, in the *Scientific American* for November 29, Einstein's contribution amounts to this:

The central fact which has been proved—and which is of great interest and importance—is that the natural phenomena involving gravitation and inertia (such as the motions of the planets) and the phenomena involving electricity and magnetism (including the motion of light) are not independent of one another, but are intimately related, so that both sets of phenomena should be regarded as parts of one vast system, embracing all Nature. The relation of the two is, however, of such a character that it is perceptible only in a very few instances, and then only to refined observations.

FIFTY YEARS OF "NATURE"

A CERTAIN Englishman once declared that Sir Norman Lockyer, besides being the editor of *Nature*, also cherished the illusion that he was the Author of it. The present writer does not recall whether this ill-Natured remark was made in reference to Lockyer's much-controverted Meteoritic Hypothesis. Be that as it may, Sir Norman's reputation rests upon other and less disput-

able foundations, and not the least of his titles to fame is that which he has acquired as the creator and editor of the scientific journal which has just completed fifty years of illustrious existence.

The assertion is as true as it is commonplace that *Nature* is preëminently "the scientific man's newspaper." There is no other journal like it. The scientist (a word, by the way, that does not often figure in the columns of our puristic English contemporary, though it was invented by a scientific Englishman) may perchance be so absorbed in his work and his studies that he will forget to eat luncheon now and then, but he would never think of permitting himself to get out of the swim of contemporary scientific events by omitting to read a number of *Nature*. Above all, no exponent or student of science can afford not to read the jubilee number of this journal, issued November 6, 1919.

Sir Norman Lockyer is, alas! thirty-three years older than his mature journal. A brief foreword which he contributes to the number in question bears the title "Valedictory Memories," and as he says nothing therein about divesting himself of his editorial mantle, we can only assume that he is bidding us farewell because the process of grafting new glands has not yet been placed upon the sound footing that it is hoped will one day enable it to keep us perpetually young.

An appreciation of Lockyer, by Deslandres, of the French Academy of Sciences, appears in this number, and a fine portrait of the founder is issued as a supplement to it.



SIR NORMAN LOCKYER

(The portrait reproduced as a supplement to the "jubilee number" of *Nature*)

It was about a year after Lockyer won his spurs as a scientific man by devising, simultaneously with Janssen, the spectroscopic method of observing solar prominences without an eclipse, that he conceived the idea of founding a "weekly illustrated journal of science," catholic in scope, as distinguished from the multitude of scientific periodicals of more restricted field. Alexander Macmillan, the well-known British publisher, made the dream come true. The Macmillans have published *Nature* from the beginning. It is interesting to note that in typography and make-up, as well as in the warm tint of its paper (possibly an important factor in making the journal successful), the number of November 6, 1919, differs hardly at all from that of November 4, 1869. The same vignette and the same quotation from Wordsworth have appeared on the cover all these years. The spirit of the magazine has likewise remained unchanged. One cherishes such rare instances of stability in our present upset world! Certainly American periodical literature offers no parallel.

It would be quite impossible to review here the contents of the jubilee number, because it is itself made up mainly of reviews, by eminent men of science, of the progress of their several specialties during the past half-century. There are about forty of these retrospects, each an intensely interesting epitome of scientific history which the writers have helped to make.

There is a postscript to this number of *Nature*, and it is one to which we must not fail to call attention. Anybody who needs to be convinced of the unique and enviable position which *Nature* occupies in learned circles, in and out of Britain, should read the host of congratulatory messages published in the issue of November 13. From national academies, scientific and technical societies and institutions, and individual *savants* of international renown come such hearty tributes of respect and gratitude as few similar events in the lives of other magazines have ever called forth. May *Nature* live to receive even more fervid applause on its centennial birthday!

FRENCH IDEAS OF TEMPERANCE REFORM

IN the *Revue Mondiale* for November 1, 1919, is a frank criticism of recent anti-alcoholic activity in this country, from the practised and facile pen of Jean Finot, himself president of a temperance organization, the Alarm. His position is frankly taken at once:

Exasperation, acting on spirits disturbed as to the future of the nations, often goads them to excess in other directions. Instead of merely forbidding the consumption of spirituous liquors, even the use of beers, natural wines, and ciders is prohibited. In thus declaring war to the death against all fermented beverages with no distinction, without considering age-old habits, nor organic conditions created by a series of centuries, certain failure is assured in advance.

It is conceded, that the Amendment, or the agitation that culminated in it, has made it "very dry in North America." (The use of the English words, "extra dry," may be a linguistic slip, or a tantalizing jest!) But American journals and foreign reporters agree that even in public places strong drinks are still sold, though camouflaged as tonics, coffee, or mineral water. When the old stock is gone, fermentation of the abundant Californian fruits will supply the lack.

Russia's example should have been instructive. Nicholas' autocratic decree did not create national temperance. Substitutes far worse than vodka—vitriol, even—were madly sought after. Numberless cases of poisoning occurred. Finally, with the aid of corrupt officials, drunkenness became again common, and quite as harmful as of old.

Whatever the merits of alcohol as a stimulant, it has come to be regarded by millions as an organic necessity. The light wines should not be put at once under the same ban as the real spirituous liquors. They are the natural allies against the dread common enemy. Furthermore, legislators, while attacking it, should control and regulate the use of the light beverages, lest they be used to excess or in harmfully adulterated form. The American "quite dry" ideal can be attained only through intermediate transitional conditions.

The French vineyard owners have recently organized to fight American prohibition. The writer has repeatedly advised them, instead of merely urging directly their selfish interests, to join also heartily in the fight against spirituous liquors, in the cause of



HURRAH! ANOTHER KING DETHRONED
From the Journal (Sioux City)

national prosperity, morality, and health. Such titles as "The Holy Alliance against Alcoholism," "The Foe within, and his Victims," "King Alcohol," leave no doubt on which side the writer believes himself to be fighting, though he bravely adds: "L'Alarme is perhaps the only anti-alcoholic league, the world around, that has openly proclaimed and defended this program." After some years' struggle, almost single-handed, he now counts many influential adherents.

Our own legislators are heartily complimented for frankness and courage, if not for sanity and good judgment. M. Finot is ashamed, by comparison, of the inaction of his own government. In most Parisian or provincial restaurants the notice is openly

displayed: "Each person who declines to drink will pay. . . ." Many customers do drink merely to avoid that penalty. This is, at least, legally permitted. And the government directly entrusts the sale of tobacco, matches, and stamps, to the sellers of liquor, so that, during the recent scarcity of matches, even the stoutest total abstinents were forced into their shops, and actually obliged to drink on the premises of the all-powerful wine-seller, in order to get their needs supplied. Some ministers promise relief from this "intolerable and scandalous condition," but none is in sight.

A still franker confession of national weakness is of interest:

Now, even before the war, the average output of a French working-man was about 50 per cent. below that of a German or an American. How can we carry on the struggle, with all the burdens laid upon the labor of the nation, if it continues to be vitiated by alcoholism, which has only increased during the war, and is furthermore making greater and greater ravages among the women and children?

Previous essays, it is stated, have proven that alcohol has caused France greater losses than both the wars of 1870 and 1914 together.

The closing tones are hardly confident:

On the morrow of the so-called "victorious peace,"—whose evils are already beginning to appear,—France should be stronger than ever, both in economic productiveness and in national health. But alcoholism, with all the forms of national wastage that it sows and multiplies, will surely plunge France into the abyss, unless it be itself finally overthrown. Elections on a general ticket instead of locally, and the political influence of women, will help us. On these we rest our steadfast hope: the hope of all men who have the will to save France from this the most terrible scourge that has ever assailed her in all the ages.

SIMPLIFIED SPELLING IN CHINA

SIMPLIFICATIONS in orthography have made but laggard progress in the English-speaking world compared with the triumphs achieved by a new system of writing in China, as described by Mr. H. C. Reynolds in *Asia* (New York). It appears that an educational revolution is under way in that once changeless country, which is not only vastly interesting in itself, but is fraught with startling social and economic possibilities for both China and the whole commercial world.

"Something is happening in China," says

this writer, "which will undoubtedly leave its historic impression." This "something" is the adoption of a simple alphabet which places reading and writing within the reach of the whole nation, instead of the small minority who have hitherto monopolized these arts. In other words, a means has been found of democratizing knowledge in China, and the probable consequences of this step are almost boundless.

Mr. Reynolds, on the authority of veteran traders and missionaries, says of this great reform:

The new simplified National Phonetic Writing is making most amazing progress. It is as easy for the Chinese to learn to read and write now as it is for the American boy. The graduate of a Chinese Governmental College is, after many years of study, supposed to know about 40,000 ideographs or thought characters; this as compared to about 4,000 words in the vocabulary of the usual American. F. W. Bible, a Presbyterian missionary from Hangchow, told me that the pupils in Christian schools mastered the new system in a month as compared with the five or six years needed for the old ideograph system. Some illiterates are taught to read in two weeks with lessons of two hours a day.

With their reverence for literature and their fine industry, the Chinese seize upon the boon offered them and make it their own in a way that would surprise a Western community. Old women are learning to read at seventy, and coolies coming out of mission hospitals after three weeks in bed go back to exhibit an ability as scholars that seems to their open-mouthed fellow villagers just short of magic. To successfully grasp this ability is to climb up the social ladder three rungs at a time. If the coolie and the simple souls of China can successfully master the essentials of reading and of writing in so short a time, does it not seem possible that China can climb up more quickly than we have dared believe toward plans for national unity and national organization?

The Chinese, despite their natural intelligence, have hitherto been an illiterate people



Photograph from Interchurch World Movement
A CHINESE NEWSBOY

—the inevitable result of their stupendously cumbersome system of writing. Of a population of 400,000,000, only about 5 per cent. can read at all, and not more than 2 per cent. are real masters of the written language. Mr. Reynolds thinks it possible that 375,000,000 Chinese will learn to read within the next ten years. Apart from the purely practical motives which will lead them to take advantage of their new opportunity, there is a powerful incentive arising from the traditional Chinese attitude toward literature. The Chinese have a sort of religious reverence for the written word, and literacy is the universally accepted token of high social standing. We are told that in China

to destroy last week's newspaper shows a gross lack of character. To crumple the printed advertisement received in the morning mail shows the haste of unreason. To tear the printed page shows that you are mentally deficient. Carelessly to toss a book on the floor shows your tendency toward violence. That is a statement of the Chinese attitude toward the sanctity of the printed page.

The new system of writing and the steps that led up to its adoption are thus described:

Chu Yin Tzu-Mu, as it is called is not the first attempt to give China a rational writing. It had thirty or forty predecessors. The Christian missionaries have always been busy on the problem. Attempts at Romanization, or writing in characters similar to English, failed dismally. The system of Wang Chao, a Chinese scholar, had some success; but the Chinese as a whole did not show great interest.

The new system is a decided improvement on Wang Chao's construction and all those that have gone before. To understand it, one must remember that Chinese is entirely made up of monosylla-

Symbols Used in the National System of Phonetic Writing

With Key Characters and Equivalents in Roman Letters.

Phonetic Symbols	Key Characters	Wade Roman	Phonetic Symbols	Key Characters	Wade Roman
INITIALS			MEDIALS		
1 ㄅ	哥	KE	25 ㄣ	衣	(V) I
2 ㄆ	科	KE	26 ㄤ	烏	(W) U
3 ㄇ	(我)	NG (O)	27 ㄨ	迂	(V) Ü
4 ㄏ	基	CHI	FINALS		
5 ㄎ	奇	CHI	28 ㄩ	阿	A
6 ㄌ	尼	NI	29 ㄣ	哦	O.E
7 ㄋ	得	TE	30 ㄣ	耶	(Y) EH
8 ㄌ	特	TE	31 ㄣ	危	(W) EI
9 ㄌ	訥	NE	32 ㄣ	哀	AI
10 ㄌ	撥	PE	33 ㄣ	噉	AO
11 ㄌ	撥	PE	34 ㄣ	又	OU
12 ㄌ	摸	ME	35 ㄣ	安	AN
13 ㄌ	佛	FE	36 ㄣ	昂	ANG
14 ㄌ	窩	(WO) V	37 ㄣ	恩	(E) N
15 ㄌ	姿	TZÜ	38 ㄣ	呼	(E) NG
16 ㄌ	疵	TZÜ	39 ㄣ	兒	ER
17 ㄌ	私	SZÜ			
18 ㄌ	出	CHI			
19 ㄌ	池	CHI			
20 ㄌ	詩	SHI			
21 ㄌ	陸	HI			
22 ㄌ	希	HSI			
23 ㄌ	勒	LE			
24 ㄌ	勒	LE			
25 ㄌ	勒	LE			
26 ㄌ	勒	LE			
27 ㄌ	勒	LE			
28 ㄌ	勒	LE			
29 ㄌ	勒	LE			
30 ㄌ	勒	LE			

Four Charts. Do not corner indicates tone as in chart. The first tone will be indicated by a short horizontal stroke under the lower left-hand corner.

The Romanizations above indicate the sound of the Phonetic Symbols when they are used alone. When the Phonetic Symbols are combined to represent Chinese words, the letters printed in light-faced type are elided. Letters enclosed in parentheses may or may not be elided in combination.

bles. There are only 420 monosyllables in the Pekingese official dialect. The number of words in the Imperial Dictionary of K'ang Hai, two centuries old, but still the standard, is 44,449. Each monosyllable on the average has 105 meanings. These are distinguished in two ways; first, by the slight differences of pronunciation, and second, by the association of one word with the word next to it.

It must be remembered that each of these 105 variations of the same monosyllable is an entirely distinct word to the Chinese, and each has an ideograph which bears no suggestion of the 104. It is easy to see why Romanization failed. In a little dictionary which the missionaries tried to use were 165 characters Romanized as "chi" and 178 as "i" (pronounced like English "e").

Chu Yin Tzu-Mu used thirty-nine symbols, twenty-four initials, twelve finals and three medials or connecting sounds. These do not even remotely suggest Roman characters, but they represent all the sounds of what is to be the new national language.

Although primarily a reform in writing, the adoption of the new system is expected to accomplish the no less important result of unifying the spoken language.

The new National Language was founded on the so-called Mandarin. This was already spoken in fifteen out of the eighteen provinces, for the southern coast provinces have a quite different speech. But the pronunciation of Mandarin varied so much that natives of different provinces often were unable to understand each other.

To overcome this difficulty a standardized pronunciation was adopted. The pronunciation was fixed for about 800 words, and all the rest grouped themselves naturally around these. It is believed that in the course of time this will be the accepted tongue of China, except in the far isolated districts.

Then in the fall of 1918 a special congress of representatives of all the provinces, called by the National Ministry of Education, officially adopted

Chi Yin Tzu-Mu as the written language of China. A government decree to this effect, Order No. 75, was promulgated November 23, 1918.

The method taken to spread the language was to teach it first in the government normal schools, then in the lower normal schools, and finally on down through the grades to the primary schools. Progress was very rapid. In the Province of Shansi the Governor appointed lecturers to go into even remote towns. Where he found the old conservatives hampering him he forced the merchants to attend the classes under threat of dire punishment. Even the colleges held institutes to teach the system to school teachers. Books and magazines began to appear. The system was adopted for signal codes in the armed forces, and also by the police in many places. Even before its adoption by the government the system had been taught in the Labor Battalions in France, and many thousands are returning from the war with the key to literature in their possession.

In the primary schools it is considered that the system means a saving of two years of a child's education.

Having learned by the lessons of the past, the missionaries are trying to use great tact in helping along the new movement, although they are much interested at the course things are taking. A special committee of the China Continuation Committee, an interdenominational body, recommended the adoption of Chu Yin Tzu-Mu last February. Miss S. J. Garland was appointed to create a bureau to have charge of the work with the goal to "teach this form of writing to all the Christians during the next year." Much literature was quickly turned out by the Christian Mission presses, which at first was given away, but is now selling readily.

One thing more the new writing has done—it has given China the typewriter. Chinese merchants indeed used a kind of typewriter for the old ideographs, but it had 8000 characters, and its only function was to make carbon copies of letters of importance. Now several American typewriter companies are putting Chinese typewriters on the market and preparing to push them vigorously.

THE COMMON PEOPLE'S UNION

IT is everywhere admitted that the middle class in every nation is the chief victim of the high cost of living. Mr. Lothrop Stoddard, writing in the *World's Work* for November, makes it clear that the so-called "middle-class movement" which is rapidly spreading around the globe had its genesis in the reaction against the rapidly increasing pressure from the rising scale of prices, coupled with the comparatively stable level of salaries.

England has taken the lead in the current middle-class movement. In April, 1919, a convention was held in London to inaugurate a "Middle Classes Union." The chairman,

Mr. Kennedy Jones, stated in his opening address that the organization was to be formed to obtain protection for those members of the community who could in no other way protect their domestic and political interests. The meeting adopted a constitution, its preamble stating: "We are being taxed out of existence. We are being exploited for the benefit of the financial groups and profiteers in the upper classes." The Union's aims were thus officially stated in its constitution:

To promote mutual understanding between all classes of the community and secure an equitable distribution of national taxation.

To obtain the removal of unfair burdens on the

middle classes, and to enable them by collective action to protect their interests from legislative or industrial oppression.

To scrutinize and watch all legislation and administration, and to secure suitable amendments of the law where the interests of the middle classes are unfairly prejudiced.

To support, by legal action if necessary, the interests of any member which raise questions of general principle affecting the middle classes.

Early in the present year, after the Spartacides, or German Bolsheviks, had gained local control in several North German cities, the doctors, nurses, hospital attendants, pharmacists and civic health officials threatened a "counter-strike" against the "proletarian dictatorship" of Spartacide working-

men, and this action soon forced the Spartacides to terms.

Mr. Stoddard's conclusion from his survey of the situation is this:

Throughout the world the middle classes are less adjusted to rising price levels than are either the upper or the lower strata of society. They are consequently suffering more than any other class. They are beginning to see the benefits obtained by other classes through co-operation and are rapidly overcoming the handicaps which have hitherto prevented them from initiating corporate action. Now that such action has actually begun in many quarters and has apparently been both feasible and successful, it would seem as though a rapid development of middle class activity would characterize the immediate future.

THE SECRET OF THE MOVING PICTURE

IN the *Mercur de France* for November 16, 1919, in a style of extreme grace, vividness, imaginative charm and occasional transcendental obscurity, spiced with gentle cynicism and ennui, Georgette Leblanc discusses what is one of the largest artistic and also social problems of the hour—the possibilities of the cinematograph. We can only point out a few of the salient features in this compact essay of six or seven thousand words.

It is impossible to tell how our ancestors, especially the leisure-folk, endured life without the bicycle, the automobile, tennis, golf, tango, bridge—and the motion picture. The last-named ranks rather with conversation, smoking, and the social club, as a necessity. All go, many go nightly. There it stands always at the street's end: no toilet to make for it: the cost negligible. One goes from mere inertia, and stays. We hardly think of the plot or consult the program. We cry "how silly!" But we stay to the end: and we come again. Must not we, then, all intelligent people, agree that there must be some unique, potent, abiding charm?

The writer's solution seems convincing. It is Life! Humanity, beasts, plants, rivers, sea, rain and sunshine. Splendid horizons, breathing forests, glorious prairies, noble mountain-ranges. And above all, unceasingly, the sunlight! And always living folk pass by, laughing, weeping, cursing, singing. Life!

We can never contemplate real nature objectively, for it reacts too mightily on us. The snow-laden wind, the hot midday sun, the rain, hurt us. The pathless forest, the

hurricane, the surge of the sea, have their real terrors. The most impressive film the writer had recently seen was a single breaker, sunlit, transparent, gigantic, flooding the whole screen,—and harmless! Only one sense is affected, and that one so accustomed to the constant presence of ugliness and to occasional beauty, that, even in darkness and in slumber, visions never fail us. And, here, we pass instantly from land to land the world around, without even a mental effort.

The finest lineaments, the tears on the cheek, the twitch of the nerves, can be brought close to us; while in the theatre the actor, thirty yards away, quite concealed by costume and paint, conveys only, by gesture or conventional action, elementary suggestions, as of jealousy, rage, treachery, or devotion. Here, the smile and tear offset the loss of the voice. The traits, the mannerisms, of each race, of countless individuals are absolutely revealed. Real genius either in acting or facial expression has far greater scope than the theatre ever afforded.

The warmest tribute is paid to the naïveté, freshness, youthfulness, of the American films, and the frank forceful types of manly courage and womanly charm with which they are thronged. Mad riders dash over the plains, splendid hyper-brutes in mines use their fists like the creatures of Meunier's bronzes; and amid battles, violence, bloodshed, the fragile ingenue, a blonde child, walks serenely unconscious. "All this is something intermediate between art and life; but nearer far to life than to art." And again: "Is it art? What matters that? It is life: that is the essential."

But can art and the cinematograph be united? There is a seeming contradiction. Art veils, softens, selects, interprets, evaluates. The cinema reveals, insists, accuses, without mercy. By mere magnifying power it often makes delicate detail ugly or ridiculous. That condemns the new device finally, in the eyes of those who demand mystery from Art. But Life will always furnish that in super-abundance. Surely, we need not be limited to romantic adventure. Imaginative fairyland, biography and history, can be set visibly before us.

Toward the higher reaches of psychological interpretation the writer is quite sure that only her own people can take the decisive step. A director must appear willing to wait for the approval of tastes higher than those of the common people to bestow his reward. Perhaps real art should be offered only once or twice in the week. Whole troupes like our own must be taught to express the more complex emotions without losing naturalness in movement and gesture.

The writer sees something of all this in a few of the most advanced "videttes" of the Yankee hosts, but seems quite unaware that complete plays of Ibsen, the culminating scenes of Lincoln's life, the mermaids and grottos of the sea depths, are all at least attempted long ago by American film-makers. Singularly French is the culminating suggestion for ideal subjects:

Not imaginary love, (like Phaedra's, or Hermione's in Winter's Tale) but the love between two beings that really lived, of those great lovers whose bliss and sorrow have wrung the heart of mankind, the love of Petrarch and Laura, of Racine and de la Champmesle, the love of La Valliere, of Md'le. de Lespinasse, the love of George Sand and De Musset, the loves of Victor Hugo as told in the beautiful book of M. Louis Barthou.

If this be the last word of ideal futurist art in Gallic hands, even cultivated Americans may be content to tarry yet a while with the galloping cowboys, dare-devil fliers, and the rest of our crude, healthy young idols of the "Movies."

SUBSTITUTES FOR BRICK HOUSES IN GREAT BRITAIN

SHORTAGE of houses has become an acute problem in Great Britain, as it has in many other countries. The solution of this problem bids fair to lead to profound modifications in British architectural methods, particularly with respect to small houses. Some interesting suggestions under this head are quoted in *Commerce Reports* by the American consul-general and by the acting commercial attaché of our embassy in London. The demand for bricks vastly exceeds the supply; hence serious attention is being paid to other building materials. According to an official report on the postwar position of building, "if all available brickworks were to produce at their highest limit of output and with all the labor required at their disposal, they could turn out only 4,000,000,000 bricks a year in the United Kingdom, while the first year's program of working-class housing calls for at least 6,000,000,000 bricks."

In a paper recently read by Sir Charles Ruthen before the Society of Architects it is stated that if the housing problem is to be handled in a fairly satisfactory manner dur-

ing the next five years a grand total of 1,044,000 houses must be built. According to the same authority, more than 7,000,000 persons in the United Kingdom are improperly housed. Quoting from an abstract of his paper in the *Times*:

If a great national calamity is to be avoided, the following are the five essentials in house building, ranged in their proper order: Rapidity in construction, weather-proof qualities, stability, durability, and cost. The figures before given show the impossibility of producing brick houses or old-fashioned slow-built British types of house.

Sir Charles had been considering for the last twelve months whether some other methods could not be adopted in order that rapidly built, dry, and reasonably permanent homes may be built for the people's immediate needs, and had studied the methods used in America and Canada. Thousands of houses erected in America with timber as the main structure have lasted satisfactorily for a period equal to the life of the vast majority of the brick and stone houses in this country. Sir Charles has therefore made an experiment in rapid house construction at Newton, near Swansea. The houses he has built there are examples of typical American house construction adapted to suit English tastes. Three have been erected; the first is typically American with accommodation adapted to suit the needs of this country, the

second has a single-brick veneer on the outside, and the third has a single-brick veneer to the first-floor level and half-timbered work above.

The foundations are in brickwork, and a bitumen damp-proof course is laid upon the brick foundations. The framework of the house is of wood. Upon the framework is fastened a shield of stucco board, which consists of three materials—a fibrous board first, upon which the second material, a thick layer of asphalt mastic, has been applied. The third material consists of wooden dovetailed laths embedded into the first two under great pressure. If this shield is properly fixed, we have a perfectly damp-proof, vermin-proof, and warm structure. Its inventor further claims that the board is also fireproof. Cement plaster has been applied to form the external finish, and the final appearance is identical with that of an ordinary brick house with cement stucco applied to the external faces.

Various methods of building cottages without bricks and without mortar are set forth in a recent book by Major-Clough Williams-Ellis, which has aroused much interest in the British press. According to the notice in *Commerce Reports*,

Maj. Ellis asserts that pisé de terre, or rammed earth, is an exceedingly good material for the building of walls, as was proved by the practice of many ancient builders. So far as rural housing is concerned, the undoubted difficulties associated with the provision and transport of ma-

terials must be met by the use of natural materials already existing on the site, materials that may be worked straight into the fabric of the building without elaborate or costly conversion and by local labor.

Cob building is well understood and is still a living craft in many parts of Wessex and South Wales, where its merits and advantages have been abundantly recognized. Maj. Ellis points to the great possibilities that are to be found in pisé building, which have not as yet become generally realized, and believes that if adequate care be bestowed on constructional details, there is no reason why buildings in pisé should not endure for generations. Of the beauty of earth buildings there is no doubt, and it is his opinion that pisé and chalk compost may fairly lay claim to all the virtues justly ascribed to cob, while possessing many merits peculiar to themselves. Hayes Barton, the birthplace of Sir Walter Raleigh, is a cob building, and the house to-day is said to be as good as it ever was.

Maj. Ellis has put his theories to the most practical of all tests; he has erected a cottage at Newlands Corner, near Guildford. The somewhat primitive method is the simple one of erecting a shuttering of deal planks, filling them in with earth, and ramming this earth until it is firmly compressed. The walls are finished off with plaster. Maj. Ellis is arranging for the supply of complete outfits which will mechanically excavate, raise, tilt, and hammer the dry earth, thus reducing manual labor to a minimum. Already the cost of erecting walls in pisé is shown to be only about one-tenth of what it would be in bricks.

THE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL AT OYSTER BAY

PLANs for the memorial to Theodore Roosevelt at Oyster Bay, his home town, have been well under way for several months. The working out of the architectural features has been entrusted to Mr. Electus D. Litchfield, a friend and neighbor of Colonel Roosevelt, and with him are associated his partner, Mr. Rogers, and the well-known landscape architect, Mr. James L. Greenleaf. The site of the memorial is a half-mile strip of waterfront which during Colonel Roosevelt's life remained unimproved. It was his expressed desire that this particular bit of land might be made into a "breathing place for all the people of this neighborhood, especially the less fortunate people." From this bit of shore the Roosevelt home, Sagamore Hill, may be seen, as well as Center Island and the shores of Connecticut.

In the report that he made to the Oyster Bay Committee Mr. Litchfield commented as follows on the larger outlines of the project:

Among the features which Mr. Loeb and other members of the committee have definitely suggested as desirable were a playground equipped with swings and other apparatus for the use of children, a baseball diamond and a grand stand, tennis courts, bathing beach and possibly a public bathhouse. In addition to these recreational and more or less utilitarian features, it has been suggested that the park should contain an open-air forum, fountain, lagoons, and other features of a dignified memorial character.

Aside from the playground and amusement space, which are separated from the rest of the composition by the existing canal, the scheme consists of an outdoor auditorium, the walls being formed by a double colonnade of high polished elms, between whose trunks one may look out upon the bay and toward Sagamore Hill, and whose foliage will cast beautiful shadows upon the green lawn carpet of the room.

At the head of the auditorium there would be a rostrum, backed by a simple, dignified structure, having its west front built somewhat in the form of a Greek theater, and providing a stage upon which may be seated the performers at open-air concerts.

THE NEW BOOKS

FROM WAR TO PEACE

What Wilson Did at Paris. By Ray Stannard Baker. Doubleday, Page & Company. 113 pp.

Mr. Baker was in charge of the American Press Bureau at Paris while the Peace Treaty was in the making. Next to President Wilson and Colonel House there is probably no American who is so familiar with the actual story of the vicissitudes through which the Treaty passed, and certainly no one is in a better position to describe the part that was played by Mr. Wilson. As Mr. Baker sees it, each of the great crises in the Peace Conference centered upon some point in the President's leadership. There was the settlement of world colonial policy by the adoption of the mandatory system, the fight to make the League of Nations Covenant an integral part of the Treaty, the modification of French territorial claims, the withdrawal of the Italian delegates because of the President's attitude on the Fiume situation, and finally the Shantung settlement.

The Last Four Months. By Major-General Sir F. Maurice. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. 245 pp.

The former director of military operations on the British General Staff tells in this volume how and why Marshall Foch became Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces in the spring of 1918, how Ludendorff was defeated and the Germans driven out of France. Especially interesting to Americans are General Maurice's chapters dealing with the taking of St.-Mihiel, the Battle of the Meuse-Argonne and the American advance on Sedan. Although the American troops fought with imperfect preparation and often with insufficient transport and as a result suffered heavy losses, General Maurice believes that their onslaughts on the German lines gave the Allies the victory in 1918 and thus saved innumerable lives and the further expenditure of treasure.

Average Americans. By Theodore Roosevelt. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 252 pp. Ill.

Colonel Roosevelt fought, won distinction, and was wounded at the front in France. His book, however, is much more than an account of personal military experiences. The first chapter gives an intimate picture of the Roosevelt home life while the elder Colonel Roosevelt was alive, and his letters to his sons give some indication of the part that he played in the awakening of the country to the need of preparedness. The son follows up the lessons of those letters by showing how great a price we paid for unpreparedness and incompetency when the real test came.

War in the Garden of Eden. By Kermit Roosevelt. Charles Scribner's Sons. 253 pp. Ill.

Captain Kermit Roosevelt served during the war on two fronts, under the British and American flags. His present book is largely a record of the campaign in the East under General Allenby and General Maude. Apart from the text descriptions, which are graphic and interesting throughout, the illustrations made from photographs taken by Captain Roosevelt himself give novel and unusual glimpses of the regions in which Allenby and Maude operated.

Beatty, Jellicoe, Sims and Rodman. By Francis T. Hunter. Doubleday, Page & Company. 204 pp. Ill.

Lieutenant Hunter is an American naval officer who came into personal contact with leading officers of both the English and American navies during the war. What he has to say about the conduct of the Admirals under war conditions is illuminating, but not less interesting are his chapters on "The American Gob at War," and "The Teeth of Beatty's Bull Dogs." Altogether an entertaining and very human book.

Fields of Victory. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. Charles Scribner's Sons. 266 pp. Ill.

Letters describing conditions in France under the Armistice. Mrs. Ward went to France a year ago in order to learn the true measure of the part played by the British Empire and the British Armies in the concluding campaigns of the war. Her comment on military operations is chiefly confined to the year 1918.

Germany in Defeat. By Count Charles de Souza. E. P. Dutton & Co. 231 pp. Ill.

This volume, Count de Souza's strategic history of the war, has to do chiefly with the operations of 1916 on both the Eastern and Western fronts. It is well supplied with maps and plans.

Out of the Ruins. By George B. Ford. The Century Company. 275 pp. Ill.

Major Ford has had an important part in the American Red Cross reconstruction work in France. He contributed some account of this work to the October number of this REVIEW. Before he went to France Major Ford had become one of the leading authorities in this country on town planning. In June, 1919, he organized at Paris an Inter-Allied Town-Planning Conference. He knows the devastated districts thoroughly and his present book is intended to enlighten Americans as to the work of rehabilitation that is going on,

as well as to show how American collaboration may be made effective.

Russia, White or Red. By Oliver M. Saylor. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. 312 pp. Ill.

This volume is the work of an American newspaper correspondent who has tried without prejudice to either the Bolsheviks or the Czarist reactionaries to find out just what kind of a life is being lived by the average Russian in these days of social and political upheaval. He has a concluding chapter on the reactions of a Liberal in the presence of class warfare. Photographs taken by the author depict various aspects of modern Russian life.

The Russian Pendulum. By Arthur Bullard. Macmillan. 256 pp.

The first nine chapters of this book are based on the observations and impressions of visits made to Russia in the years 1905-07. In mid-summer of 1917 Mr. Bullard went to Russia again

and witnessed the fall of Kerensky and the rise of Lenine. Another portion of the book is devoted to Siberia, and in a third section the author attempts an answer to the question, "What can we do to help Russia?" He makes it clear that there has been a complete swing of the political pendulum in European Russia from the tyranny of the Czar to a new tyranny under Lenine.

Paris Vistas. By Helen Davenport Gibbons. The Century Company. 396 pp. Ill.

Mrs. Gibbons is an American woman who knows her Paris quite as well as she knows her native Philadelphia. She has not merely "done" the city as a tourist, but has actually lived in it for months and years of time before, during and after the war. Her book is not at all a description of the "sights of Paris," nor is it a guide-book. It is a delightful account of human experiences and relations—a picture of the real life of the modern city. An important feature of the book is the series of sixteen sketches by Lester G. Hornby.

HISTORY, AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN

Pioneers of the Old Southwest. By Constance Lindsay Skinner. New Haven: Yale University Press. 304 pp. Ill.

The Reign of Andrew Jackson. By Frederic Austin Ogg. New Haven: Yale University Press. 249 pp. Ill.

The Sequel of Appomattox. By Walter Lynwood Fleming. New Haven: Yale University Press. 322 pp. Ill.

The Path of Empire. By Carl Russell Fish. New Haven: Yale University Press. 305 pp. Ill.

The reader of the separate volumes in the "Chronicles of America" series can hardly fail to acquire such an interest in American history that he will take advantage of the bibliographical notes at the end of each volume and read other books dealing with one topic or another suggested by the "Chronicles." There are before us this month four volumes of the series, each of which deals with a special period, or episode, of American history. "The Pioneers of the Old South," by Constance Lindsay Skinner, gives much of the tradition and historical atmosphere of "The Dark and Bloody Ground." Daniel Boone and John Sevier might be singled out as the heroes of the narrative, but the deeds of many other stanch pioneers are here faithfully recorded, and a chapter is devoted to the Revolutionary battle of King's Mountain, which was long so strangely neglected by most of our school histories. "The Reign of Andrew Jackson," by Frederic Austin Ogg, continues the story of the Southwestern frontier until the men and politics of that region became dominant in national affairs. In "The Sequel of Appomattox" a man of Southern birth, Mr. Walter L. Fleming, describes the era of reconstruction after the Civil War—"The Reunion of the States." The later emergence of America as a world power is related by Carl Russell Fish in "The Path of Empire."

History of the United States. From Hayes to McKinley, 1877-1896. Vol. VIII. By James Ford Rhodes. Macmillan. 484 pp.

The period of American political history covered by this volume is possibly less familiar to the rising generation than the era of the Civil War or the slavery agitation. It includes the administrations of Presidents Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland and Harrison. Mr. Rhodes displays in this volume the same qualities that have given him very high rank as an historian. Possibly the public questions and controversies discussed in his earlier volumes are more intrinsically interesting, but in the present volume he is venturing on new ground so far as definitive treatment from the historian's standpoint is concerned. His care in the use of documentary materials and the abundant foot-note references to authorities enable the reader to know just what is behind his every statement and to form some idea of the place that will be held by such men as Blaine and Cleveland on history's page.

The Road to Washington. By Wilfred M. Barton. M. D. Boston: Richard G. Badger. 197 pp. Ill.

Dr. Barton conceived the idea of giving his youthful nephews an object-lesson in American history by retracing the actual movements of the British expedition that captured Washington City in 1814, from the time it made a landing at Benedict on the Patuxent and began the advance across Maryland. Fortunately he made a detailed record of all that could be learned about the expedition and obtained photographs of many of the landmarks and old buildings. These he has incorporated in the present volume.

Jewish Contributions to Civilization. By Joseph Jacobs. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America. 334 pp.

Dr. Jacobs was a Jewish scholar of great learn-

ing who died in New York in 1916. He had long been interested in studying the distribution of Jewish ability and made researches on that subject in association with Sir Francis Galton. The present volume is a brilliant and scholarly treatment of the influence of Jewish thought throughout the world.

A Short History of Rome. By Guglielmo Ferrero and Corrado Barbagallo. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 516 pp.

This second volume of the Ferrero history covers the period beginning with the death of Caesar and ending with the fall of the Western Empire in 476 A. D. The book constitutes an abridged ex-

position of the same ideas that are set forth by Ferrero in his "Greatness and Decline of Rome." Even in this briefer work the author has succeeded well in keeping the facts in relationship and thus giving a well-rounded and unified treatment of the whole subject.

European History, 1789-1815. By Lucius Hudson Holt and Alexander Wheeler. Chilton. Macmillan. 358 pp. Ill.

A new presentation of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic period by two professors at the West Point Military Academy. The text and maps serve to make the military campaigns of that period intelligible to the general reader.

BIOGRAPHY

Portraits of American Women. By Gamaliel Bradford. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 257 pp. Ill.

As a writer of biography Mr. Bradford has at least this commendable trait: He lets his subjects speak for themselves. His present volume, as he himself states, might almost be called "Portraits of New England Women," since with a single exception the subjects studied in it were born in New England, and Miss Frances Willard, the leader of the temperance movement among women, while a native of New York State, had the New England background and traditions behind her. The other seven subjects represent among them practically every period of American national history. Here is the list: Abigail Adams, Sarah Alden Ripley, Mary Lyon, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Margaret Fuller, Louisa May Alcott, and Emily Dickinson.

Memories of a Musical Career. By Clara Kathleen Rogers (Clara Doria). Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 503 pp. Ill.

English by birth and a member of a well-known musical family, the author was a student at the Leipzig Conservatory in the '50s and later followed an operatic career in Italy. Coming to America, she established herself as a concert and choir singer and married here. Because of her many personal associations on both continents her autobiography is rich in interesting allusions.

William Peters Hepburn. By John Ely Briggs. Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa. 469 pp. Ill.

The late Colonel Hepburn of Iowa was for thirty years a prominent figure in State and national politics. During his service in Congress, which extended from 1881 to 1909, he was especially identified with railroad regulation and the project of the Isthmian Canal. His biographer, Mr. Briggs, states that he never printed a speech in the *Congressional Record* that was not delivered on the floor of the House, and rarely if ever did he extend or amplify his remarks in the *Record*. It is asserted that all of his remarks in the House were extemporaneous.

Jonathan Trumbull, Governor of Connecticut, 1769-1784. By his Great-Great-Grandson. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 362 pp.

The latest and best biography of the famous Revolutionary Governor of Connecticut is the work of a descendant of the same name. This author, who died last May after completing the life of his great-great-grandfather, had been a life-long student of Connecticut history, especially of the Revolutionary period. In the present work he made use of much historical material that has come to life within recent years. The story of his distinguished ancestor is told in a simple and dignified way, with the absence of extravagant eulogy.

The Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle. Edited by Reginald C. McGrane. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 359 pp. Ill.

The president of the Second Bank of the United States was one of the outstanding figures in our national life during the first four decades of the nineteenth century. At a later period of our history a banker's acquaintance would have been more closely limited to financiers, but within the scope of Nicholas Biddle's life fell many important movements in national and State politics. He was intimately concerned in the financial and commercial readjustment after the War of 1812, the establishment of the Second Bank of the United States, the development of its power, the long struggle with President Jackson, the recharter of the bank by the State of Pennsylvania, the panic of 1837, and the ensuing changes and overturnings in party politics. In this volume there are letters from President Monroe, John C. Calhoun, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, President Tyler and many other important men of Biddle's time.

A Lawyer's Life on Two Continents. By Wallis Nash. Boston: Richard G. Badger. 182 pp. Ill.

Mr. Nash passed the first half of his long life in England, where he rose to high position at the bar and was associated with Edwin Wilkins Field and Judah P. Benjamin, the former Confederate

cabinet minister. Among his warm personal friends outside of his profession was Charles Darwin. For the past thirty-five years Mr. Nash has lived in Oregon, and his experiences there have of course been of an entirely different kind. During his period of residence there Mr. Nash has seen a good part of the State reclaimed from wilderness conditions.

The Napoleon of the Pacific. By Herbert H. Gowen. Fleming H. Revell Company. 326 pp. Ill.

A great figure in the history of the Sandwich Islands was Kamehameha the Great, known as the "Napoleon of the Pacific," whose centenary has just been celebrated at Honolulu. During his reign he developed marked organizing ability and power to rule. In the latter years of the eighteenth century he subjugated the islands and founded the line of native kings that continued until the year 1872. Dr. Herbert H. Gowen, of the University of Washington, gives in this volume the first complete record of this great king's achievements.

The Life of Frederick the Great. By Norwood Young. Henry Holt and Company. 433 pp. Ill.

Strange as it may seem, there is real justification for the publication of a new life of Frederick

the Great in that authoritative sources for such a work have only recently become accessible. It is said that the literature in Germany, France, and Austria relating to Frederick the Great is second only in bulk to that which has been inspired by Napoleon. The great collection known as the "Political Correspondence," which had been in course of publication for thirty-five years, was brought to a standstill by the outbreak of the Great War. The Austrian and German General Staffs also issued important military histories covering the Silesian and Seven Years War, during the years 1890-1913. In the present volume advantage has been taken of these recent works. Frederick stands out in history as the real founder of Prussia and as the promulgator of those ideals of government which had their logical fruitage in the Great War of 1914-19.

Voltaire in His Letters. Translated with a Preface and Foreword by S. G. Tallentyre. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 270 pp. Ill.

Interesting side lights on the Prussian King Frederick's personality are also shown by this selection from the correspondence of Voltaire, who, it will be remembered, passed some time at Frederick's court. Other portions of the correspondence disclose various phases of the French philosopher's extraordinary mentality, and the range of his personal interests.

ART AND ITS MASTERS

What Pictures to See in Europe. By Lorinda M. Bryant. John Lane Company. 181 pp. Ill.

The first edition of this little manual appeared in 1910, and was found helpful to so many readers, and especially to sightseers in Europe, that a revision was called for. During the five years of war there was of course little use for such a book as this, but now that the new rush of tourists to Europe will soon begin it should again come to its own. Descriptions of the art treasures of Spain have been substituted in the new edition for the chapters devoted to German pictures.

American Painting and its Tradition. By John C. Van Dyke. Charles Scribner's Sons. 270 pp. Ill.

Studies of nine representative American painters who belong to a definite period in American art, including practically the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first fifteen years of the twentieth. The nine men selected by Professor Van Dyke to stand for that period are Inness, Wyant, Martin, Homer, La Farge, Whistler, Chase, Alexander and Sargent. Of these, all save the last-named have passed on, and their work has been appraised by the critics. Mr. Van Dyke's book answers many questions concerning the ideals and personalities of the artists about whom he writes. It cannot be said that they were united in any one "school," but they were all leaders in what was termed in its day a "new movement in American art," the impulse to which came with the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876.

Etchers and Etching. By Joseph Pennell. Macmillan. 367 pp. Ill.

This volume, by the foremost of living American etchers, accomplishes two objects: It gives an admirable survey of the work of the best etchers in the past, and it supplements this with a technical description of the approved modern methods in the art. The illustrations are carefully selected examples of old and modern work, including original plates by the author. Of special interest is Mr. Pennell's comment on Whistler, with whom he worked for many years.

Dutch Landscape Etchers of the Seventeenth Century. By William Aspenwall Bradley. New Haven: Yale University Press. 128 pp. Ill.

Even when the present generation acknowledges its debt to the great Dutch etchers of the past, we do not often give full credit for the pioneer work that they did in landscape etching. Indeed this little book by Mr. Bradley is the first adequate account in English of Dutch achievement in that field. The illustrations are beautiful reproductions of prints and drawings, principally from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Robbia Heraldry. By Allan Marquard. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 310 pp. Ill.

This scholarly monograph is published by the Princeton University Press as a contribution to a field of research in which comparatively little has heretofore been done by American investigators. The illustrations are admirably printed.

The Foundations of Classic Architecture. By Herbert Langford Warren. Macmillan. 357 pp. Ill.

This work was left in manuscript by the late Dean of the Faculty of Architecture of Harvard University. Professor Warren had embodied in this volume his matured views on the basic principles of his art, as revealed in its formative period. He summarizes the history of architecture in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia and finally, Greece. The volume is illustrated from documents and from original drawings.

Pictures of London by Celebrated Artists. John Lane Company. 48 pp. Ill.

A series of drawings of famous London scenes by well-known artists. Several of these reproductions are in color, but those in monotone are possibly quite as effective.

Pictures of Paris by Celebrated Artists. John Lane Company. 48 pp. Ill.

The Parisian views surpass in variety and frequently in unexpectedness of composition. Many leading modern artists are represented by these reproductions.

Old New England Doorways. By Albert G. Robinson. Charles Scribner's Sons. 21 pp. (text). Ill.

Mr. Robinson's collection of photographs of old-time doorways running from Kittery, Maine, to Wickford, Rhode Island, and including numerous examples from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, forms an excellent introduction to the study of New England domestic architecture. In connection with the plates Mr. Robinson presents some highly interesting comment and information regarding these ancient doorways.

Early English Water-Color Drawings by the Great Masters. Articles by A. J. Finberg. 48 pp. Ill.

Reproductions, in black-and-white and in color, of masterpieces among the water-color drawings by Turner and other English artists. The text consists of articles contributed by A. J. Finberg. The whole forms a special number of the *Studio*.

The Fine Art of Photography. By Paul L. Anderson. J. B. Lippincott Company. 314 pp. Ill.

Those who wish to use the camera as a medium for the expression of artistic impulses will find in this volume a text-book of art principles as applied to photography. There are chapters on "Landscape Work," "Winter Work," "Architectural Work," "Marine Work," "Motion-Picture Work," and "Portrait Work."

The Art of Photoplay Making. By Victor O. Freeburg. Macmillan. 281 pp. Ill.

Thus far comparatively few books that treat of moving pictures have been taken seriously by the general public. Most of them are obviously and frankly commercial in spirit and purpose. Dr. Freeburg's work is an exception to the rule. He attempts a serious analysis of the new art from a purely artistic viewpoint. In the course of his discussion many of the absurdities and inconsistencies of the photoplay producers are exposed. Dr. Freeburg cannot see why the public should depend on the moving-picture publicity men to "tell us what they want us to want. Why shouldn't we ourselves tell them what we really want?"

SOCIOLOGY

Justice and the Poor. By Reginald Heber Smith. Published for the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching by Charles Scribner's Sons. 271 pp.

It is a good sign that the legal profession is awake to the fact that justice is now to a great extent denied to the poor. At the same time we should not forget that legal aid associations and other agencies, intended to make the position of the poor more equal before the law, largely owe their existence to the profession itself. This volume, the work of an eminent member of the Boston bar, shows in what respects our system of government has thus far failed to secure justice for those who because they are poor and weak and friendless find it hard to maintain their own rights. This plain statement of the situation is the first step toward a salutary reform, as is pointed out by Elihu Root and President Henry S. Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation, under whose auspices the study was undertaken and its results published.

The Sobér World. By Randolph Wellford Smith. Boston: Marshall Jones Company. 291 pp.

An up-to-date treatment of the liquor question from a prohibition standpoint. The author attacks the German brewery interests.

In the Sweet Dry and Dry. By Christopher Morley and Bart Haley. Boni and Liveright. 168 pp. Ill.

An attempt to clothe in the form of comedy the discussion of what the authors evidently think is a serious subject, namely, the prohibition of the liquor traffic throughout the United States.

Law and the Family. By Robert Grant. Charles Scribner's Sons. 264 pp.

The author of this book, who is known to America as a story-teller and to Boston as Judge of the Probate Court, here embodies the results of many



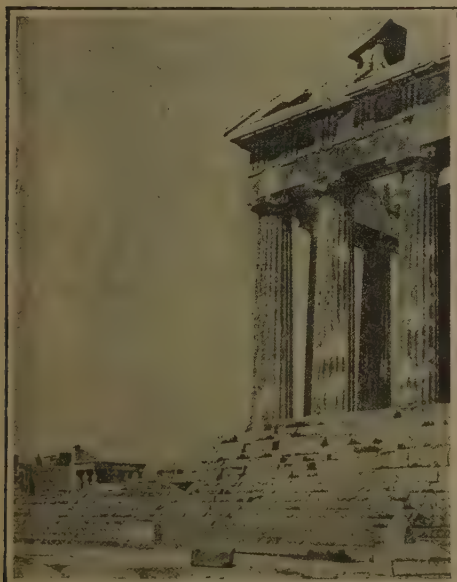
THE TOWERS OF NOTRE-DAME

(From an etching by George T. Plowman, reproduced in "Pictures of Paris")



MALMESBURY ABBEY, BY TURNER

(Reproduced in "Early English Water-Color Drawings by the Great Masters")



NORTHWEST CORNER OF THE PARTHENON

(Reproduced in "The Foundations of Classic Architecture" from the painting from Harold B. Warren)



A COLONIAL DOOR AT OLD LITCHFIELD

(Photographed for "Old New England Doorways" by Albert G. Robinson)

NOTABLE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE SEASON'S ART BOOKS

years of shrewd observation from the bench. These are the topics upon which Judge Grant discourses with abundant wisdom and a fitting gravity: "Women and Property," "The Third Generation and Investment Property," "Perils of Will-Making," "Feminism in Fiction and Real Life," "Domestic Relations and the Child," "The Limits of Feminine Independence," and "Marriage and Divorce." Although he necessarily deals with legalistic matters to a certain extent, Judge Grant

abstains from the use of legal terminology. The language he employs is non-technical throughout.

The Abolition of Inheritance. By Harlan Eugene Read. Macmillan. 312 pp.

In this book Mr. Read argues that inheritance of wealth is unjust to the disinherited, to the public welfare, and morally wrong. He supplements his presentation of the argument with answers to numerous objections commonly made to so radical a change.

ADMINISTRATION

Budget-Making in a Democracy. By Edward A. Fitzpatrick. Macmillan. 317 pp.

It is to be hoped that members of Congress will read and ponder this book. While it tells them much that they already know about the failure and inefficiency of the present legislative methods of handling the budget, it also states in no uncertain terms the consensus of the wisest opinion in the nation as to the system that should take their place. It is a book that should have an important part to play in the coming national campaign.

County Administration. By C. C. Maxey. Macmillan. 203 pp.

As a basis of this study of county administration, the author used a survey of county government in the State of Delaware. Two of Delaware's three counties are distinctly rural in character, while the third is an urban county, and the author thus had an opportunity to contrast the problems of rural and urban type.

Town Improvement. By Frederick Noble Evans. D. Appleton & Company. 260 pp.

Suggestions for the physical improvement of the town or city, with observations as to the effect of such improvement upon the community life. Any public-spirited citizen desirous of the improvement of his home town may find in this work an outline of methods on which to proceed. The illustrations are reproductions of photographs of good and bad examples of street and park development.

City Manager in Dayton. By C. E. Rightor. Macmillan. 271 pp.

This volume gives the actual record of four years of commission-manager government in Day-

ton (1914-17) and compares them with the four preceding years under the mayor-council plan (1910-13). Other cities throughout the country have turned to Dayton for information as to the working of the city-manager idea. As an outcome of the Dayton experiment several States have passed city-manager laws and several large cities are considering the adoption of the same principle in their governments. This book answers hundreds of questions about the experiment which are constantly being asked by civic leaders in other communities throughout the country. Mr. Rightor offers a statement of fact, not an argument.

Report on the Foreign Service. National Civil Service Reform League. 322 pp.

There never was a time when the importance of the diplomatic and consular service of the United States to every citizen was so great as it is to-day. Everything depends on the way in which our representatives abroad acquit themselves in determining our relations with other peoples. This report of the National Civil Service Reform League sets forth a series of facts that are not wholly reassuring as to the personnel of our foreign service, but at the same time the committee shows how Congress has it in its power to remedy many of these faults and thus to give our country an improved status in its intercourse with other nations. The committee recommends that there be an increase of salaries together with the adoption of an adequate retirement or pension system; that embassies, legations and consulates be purchased in the principal foreign cities, and that the entrance examinations to the foreign service be improved and placed more strictly on a merit basis. The committee further urges the extension of the merit system of promotion to the selection of Ministers.



THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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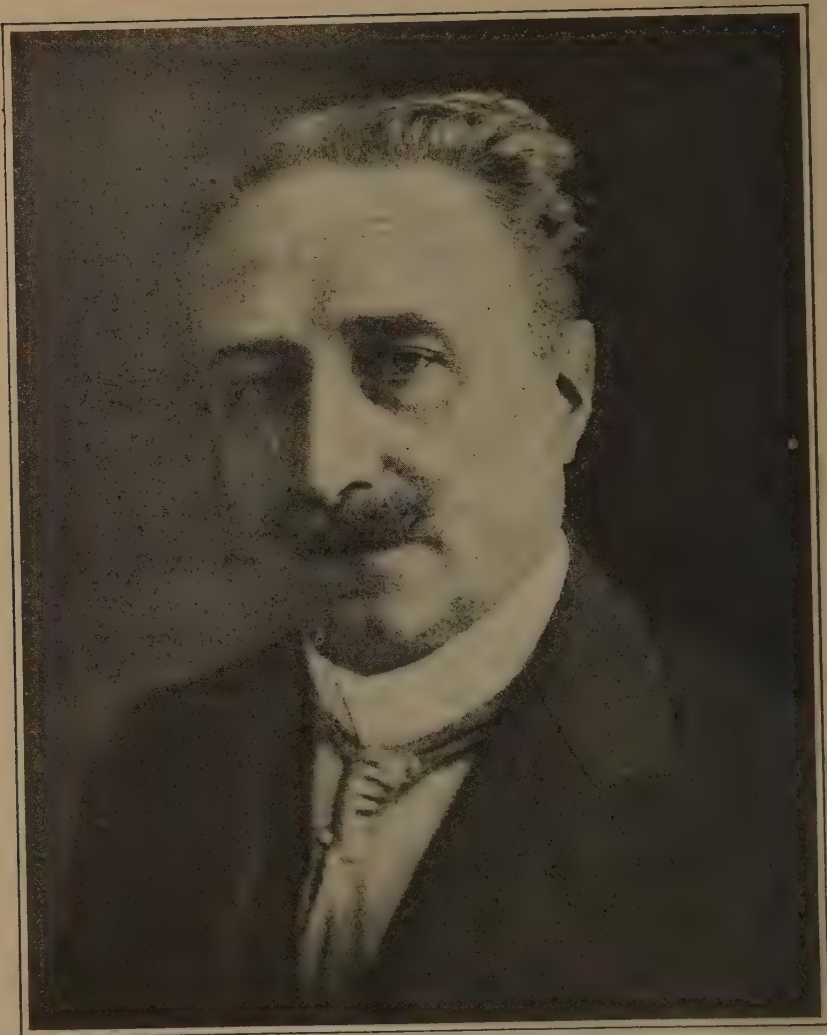
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PAUL DESCHANÉL, WHO SUCCEEDS M. POINCARÉ AS PRESIDENT OF THE
FRENCH REPUBLIC

The new President of France was elected on Saturday, January 17. The office is one of dignity and influence, but of almost as little power as that of the vice-presidency in America. There were no candidates until the last moment. Clemenceau reluctantly consented to be voted for, if this should appear the general wish. Clemenceau's surpassing strength, however, was against him. Large groups in the legislative bodies favored a more ornamental and less masterful man for the presidency. Clemenceau is nearly eighty, while Paul Deschanel, the new President, is sixty-four. Deschanel has been in public life for more than forty years and has had long service as the presiding officer of the Chamber of Deputies. He is author of many books, a member of the French Academy, and a most brilliant and attractive personage, representing what is best in French culture and Statesmanship. The retiring President, Poincaré, is delighted to resume his place in the Senate, to which he was chosen last month. Clemenceau will remain for the present at least the most influential French statesman, and the strongest individual influence in the European situation. He succeeded in the recent elections in securing a new Chamber of Deputies that was strongly favorable to his policies, and the position of Prime Minister was evidently his to retain indefinitely if he had chosen to continue in official life.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LXI

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY, 1920

No. 2

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Settling the
Treaty
Issue*

Many incidents of the present winter have shown us that the political and economic problems of 1920 must claim the country's best thought and attention throughout the year. It was encouraging to know that the peace treaty was likely to be ratified by the Senate within a few days after the exchange of ratifications in Europe and the final announcement of peace. This great event in Europe renders memorable the date of January 10, 1920. The opinions expressed in this REVIEW two months ago, regarding the treaty and the reservations, have met with wide acceptance. The course of events has favored the elimination of party politics and the adoption of the treaty with reservations. The deadlock was melted away by the process of securing in the Senate the same accord of opinion that exists outside of the Senate from one ocean to the other.

*American
Delay Not
Fatal*

It has been customary to assert that more than half a year's delay in ratifying the treaty has resulted in immeasurable harm to the peoples of Europe, and that the American nation is responsible for widespread disaster and sorrow. We should not, however, take these reproaches too seriously. As regards Europe, we need have no guilty conscience. This country has not been playing the game of empire, nor that of commercial greed. The readjustments following a war period of almost five years could not by any possibility have been brought about in a twelve-month. The settling-down process was a matter with which more than a thousand million individual human beings were concerned, and more than a million communities and neighborhoods. A few individuals called Prime Ministers, Foreign Secretaries, and the like have been able, through the in-

stitution of the press, to spread abroad the impression that the world was waiting for the United States Senate to deal finally with the treaty and the League of Nations. And, in a certain sense, this was true. But as history is made, and as human society evolves, it is not likely that anyone fifty years hence will consider that a few weeks, more or less, of discussion in the United States Senate has vitally altered the trends of world politics, or has destroyed the chance of harmonious coöperation through a League of Nations.

*Differences
Concern Our-
selves Alone*

The world has paid a great price for its old system of imperial militarism. If it has not had enough of that system, it must not blame President Wilson on the one hand, nor Senator Lodge on the other. The differences between these gentlemen as respects the existing treaty have so little concern for other countries that they are not visible to the naked eye. Apparently President Wilson has preferred that the United States should, at the beginning of its participation in the work of the League of Nations, be represented by the Executive branch of our Government exclusively. The Senate majority has thought it best that Congress should have its part in controlling the relations of the United States with the associated nations of the earth. So far as we can judge, it is the overwhelming opinion of the country that Congress should continue to be concerned with questions of war and peace, and of international relationships. As we endeavored to explain in our December number, the strength of Great Britain and France in the peace-making period was due to the fact that Parliamentary majorities were constantly behind Clemenceau and Lloyd George. The weakness of the United States in the peace-making period was due to the detachment of

President Wilson from intimate relations with Congress and from the moral support of Senators. This is to explain, not to condemn.

*President
Wilson's Work
and Attitude*

If, in spite of this detachment, the Senate should have ratified the treaty, even with all of the changes comprised in the Lodge resolution, President Wilson would have secured the approval of everything that is essential in his work. There has never been any substantial reason for supposing that the reservations, when understood, would meet with European dissent. The nation-wide discussion meanwhile has not been without its advantages. The Jackson Day dinner at Washington, January 8, served an invaluable purpose, because it brought about a final clearing up of the public point of view regarding the treaty. The promised expression from President Wilson had been awaited for several weeks with much concern, and he chose to give this expression the form of a letter to the chairman of the Jackson Day banquet at Washington, to be read in lieu of a speech. The letter declared that "The United States enjoyed the spiritual leadership of the world until the Senate of the United States failed to ratify the treaty." Mr. Wilson proceeded to expatiate upon the great harm that must follow the failure of the United States to

join the other nations in making peace with Germany and establishing the League of Nations. His tone was of inexpressible regret.

*The
Jackson Day
Message*

What everyone desired to know from Mr. Wilson was the extent to which he was willing to cooperate with the Senate in having the treaty promptly ratified. Upon this point his language was not encouraging. The opinion of the country, Republican and Democratic alike, had been almost unanimous as to the feasibility of compromising on the reservations and adopting the treaty. There was not a word in the President's letter about the Lodge resolution. But there was a plain assumption that the Senate alone was blocking the treaty and that there was a profound issue involved, as between Mr. Wilson's principles regarding America's public duties, and the principles of almost the entire body of Senators. At length Mr. Wilson led up to his one practical proposal in the following terms:

If there is any doubt as to what the people of the country think on this vital matter, the clear and single way out is to submit it for determination at the next election to the voters of the nation, to give the next election the form of a great and solemn referendum, a referendum as to the part the United States is to play in complet-



THE GAP IN THE BRIDGE—From *Punch* (London)

ing the settlements of the war and in the prevention in the future of such outrages as Germany attempted to perpetrate.

Thus, having devoted most of his letter to showing the terrible mischief that was already visible because of delays about the treaty, Mr. Wilson proposed as his remedy the abandonment of all efforts to reach an agreement, with a view to making the highly legal and technical points raised in the Lodge resolution the chief issue in the presidential election next November.

Not only presidential electors, but a full House of Representatives and thirty-two United

States Senators are to be elected by direct vote on that same date. The new President will be inaugurated in March, 1921, and, unless called in extra session, the new Congress will not meet until December, 1921, almost two years from the date of President Wilson's Jackson Day letter. The President's suggestion was exceedingly valuable, but not for the reasons set forth by him. Its value lay in the help it gave the country to find out its own mind. So far as we are aware, not a single Democratic paper in the United States—much less any important Republican or independent paper—was in favor of making detailed differences about American participation in the League of Nations a matter of referendum in the presidential election. If the President had simply asked Republicans and Democrats in the Senate to do their best to get together forgetting party lines, and had promised to try to believe that the Republican majority in the Senate was quite as patriotic and quite as intelligent as the minority that had been supporting the President for reasons of party consistency, the treaty could have been ratified within forty-eight hours.

*Immense
Pressure for
Adoption*

Senator Lodge promptly accepted the President's challenge and declared that he would welcome the reference of treaty issues to the voters in the presidential election; but apparently Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lodge were standing alone. Eminent leaders of the League to Enforce Peace, like President Lowell of Harvard University, came out with emphatic dissent from the referendum idea, and with expressions of willingness to accept the Senate majority's reservations with some compromises that could readily be



© Clinedinst, Washington.

HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

(As he appeared at the Jackson Day celebration in Washington last month)

made by every Republican Senator who was not avowedly opposed to the treaty as a whole. The President was answered: there could remain no "doubt as to what the people think on this vital matter."

*Bryan
Appears
Again*

The Jackson Day banquet was the most elaborate and conspicuous party demonstration that has yet been made, or that is likely to be made, as preliminary to the presidential contest. It brought together the Democratic leaders from every State. This gathering of "the faithful" at Washington was attended by many incidents that were eagerly noted by all men who love the great game of American politics. The most notable of these incidents was the assumption of a leading place and part by William J. Bryan. The former leader of the party had so completely disappeared from the horizon of political affairs that in the discussion of candidates up to the middle of December his name had not been included even in extended lists of possibilities. Yet, in the twinkling of an eye, so to

speak, Mr. Bryan had claimed the center of the stage; had resumed his old place of party mentor; and had paved the way for his influential, if not dominating, presence in the Democratic convention. Mr. Bryan's speech at the Jackson Day dinner was one of urgent advice to the Democratic Senators to arrange with the Republican majority to ratify the treaty at once. Dwelling upon certain phrases rather than the general tone of Mr. Wilson's letter, Bryan insisted that his position was in no manner antagonistic to that of the President.

*Clearing the
Senate
Atmosphere*

Following Mr. Bryan's brief activities in Washington, the Democratic Senators entered into earnest conferences with their Republican colleagues, and it was at once accepted as the common view that the treaty would soon be ratified by the necessary two-thirds majority, and that President Wilson would then have to assume the entire responsibility for the acceptance or the rejection of the great document. The discussion had proceeded long enough, and the time had come for clearing the air and for final action. The value of the Jackson Day dinner, therefore, lay in bringing before the country the President's letter and the Bryan speech, in order to secure the reactions of public opinion. There could hardly be left the smallest doubt as to the results. An overwhelming sentiment of the country was in favor of immediate compromise, prompt ratification, and the acceptance by the White House of the work of the Senate. It was coming to be known to the country, furthermore, that there was not the slightest reason for opposing such a Senate compromise on the ground that this would be offensive to our Allies and friends in Europe.

*Wilson's
Fundamental
Position*

Meanwhile, there has been a great discussion going on in the United States that is more fundamental than the details involved in the treaty reservations. In this discussion, the point of view represented by President Wilson has held its ground, and has, upon the whole, in our opinion, prevailed over the opposing view. There were many fine sentences in Mr. Wilson's letter, and lest we should seem to have been unduly critical of his position, we must quote the following paragraph as expressive of his large and consistent aims, which are also, as we believe,

the real aims of the thoughtful leaders of opinion in both great parties:

None of the objects we professed to be fighting for has been secured or can be made certain of without this nation's ratification of the treaty and its entry into the covenant. This nation entered the great war to vindicate its own rights and to protect and preserve free government. It went into the war to see it through to the end, and the end has not yet come. It went into the war to make an end of militarism, to furnish guarantees to weak nations and to make a just and lasting peace.

There was bound to be some reaction after the struggles and efforts of the war, in this country as well as in others. Relatively to the obvious and immediate interests that involved us, we had made a much larger contribution to the success of the war than any other country. Europe has a habit of thinking of the United States as a prosperous region where everybody is in easy circumstances. It is little understood how great were the personal sacrifices of millions of Americans. This country as a whole has more enthusiasm for ideals, and a greater capacity for self-sacrifice, than exists in any other portion of the world.

*"Continuance
in
Well-Doing"*

It was not the opinion of Americans in general that the United States was in much danger of invasion or of overthrow; and it was not with the sense that they were defending their own firesides that millions of young Americans took up arms. It had merely become evident that the world struggle had broken all bounds, and that the forces of justice and right in the world had to combine in order to end a bad situation, which sooner or later must have involved us in any case. It was not strange that when the war was ended a great many Americans felt that there was a necessary limit to the extent of our future participation in the complicated affairs of Europe, Asia and Africa. The discussion that has been going on for a year has made it clear, first, that we are not ready to join in creating a super-state, and that we propose to proceed along recognized lines. But it has also become clear that America must take a strong and influential place in maintaining world order, and in promoting harmony and good-will. The League of Nations may not, at the beginning, count for as much as Mr. Wilson and many others had expected; but it can accomplish much if the United States will but continue

to show a small fraction of the energy on behalf of right adjustments that has been displayed by Americans in the last three years, and at other notable moments in our history. The President rightly holds this view.

*The World's
Economic
Disunion*

Mr. Simonds, in this number of the REVIEW, shows in a striking way how difficult the economic problems of Europe have become under the new political dispensation. Raw materials, tariffs, interstate railroads,—these considerations are now so vital that they obscure to millions of minds the value of the political freedom that particular races and regions have gained as a result of the breaking up of the four great empires of Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey. The League of Nations will undoubtedly become an important body, because of the immense importance of the problems that it will have to assist in solving. A little respite after the strain of the war was inevitable, but this country will not abandon the cause of peace and justice in the world after having made such sacrifices to end the most colossal of wars. We are beginning already to see that American prosperity cannot be maintained apart from the well-being of the rest of the world. From militarism and politics, the peoples are of necessity turning to economics. The fabric of industry and trade is international. Western Europe cannot be comfortable and secure until Central and Eastern Europe are stabilized and are once more a part of the work-a-day world. We are less dependent, but we shall not avoid financial crash and industrial collapse if Russia continues a boycotted welter of Bolshevism, and if Germany and Austria are not allowed to have the raw materials of industry.

*How Europe
Affects
America*

The appearance of great prosperity in the United States has been largely due to the momentum created by the extension of enormous governmental war credits to Europe. These credits are virtually exhausted, and the effective demand for American exports must slacken rapidly unless international remedies are applied to the disarranged industry and commerce of Europe. The League of Nations ought to become a highly valuable influence in promoting the methods by which to avoid an economic paralysis abroad, from which we should not be able to protect ourselves here in America. Such a period of economic collapse would surely minister to

conditions of discontent and misery which, more than anything else, fan the flames of criminal anarchy. We are under the compelling need of giving a more careful study to these causes of social menace and unrest than ever before.

*Concerning
"Reds" in
America*

Recent events in the United States relating to the activities of so-called "Reds" are fortunately of little magnitude when contrasted with things that have happened since the armistice in Central and Eastern Europe. But precise facts and occurrences have changed somewhat vague conditions into definite issues, and this may be deemed fortunate. Recent incidents have compelled a process of analysis that will help many good citizens to find their bearings and to make up their minds as to the policies that ought to be supported. We are publishing in this number two articles which will assist our readers in understanding the objects and methods of the more conspicuous of the recent governmental activities against anarchists and revolutionary communists in this country. One of these articles deals with the work of Attorney-General Palmer and the agents under his direction of the Department of Justice throughout the country. Mr. Dunn, who writes it, has studied facts and interpreted policies from the standpoint of the government. The other article, contributed by Senator Clayton R. Lusk, of New York, presents, in what seems to us a very useful way, the conclusions about revolutionary radicals that have been reached as a result of the investigations of the New York joint legislative committee, of which Senator Lusk is Chairman.

*Analyzing
Terms and
Issues*

Much of the popular discussion of so-called "radicalism" and the way to deal with it has been confusing to ordinary readers of the newspapers, and to many excellent citizens, particularly among our new women voters, because there has been a tendency to express strong opinions on one side or the other without patience in ascertaining facts or in fixing terms and designations. The first question, then, arising in logical order is one of definitions; and the second question is one of facts. The third question has to do with government method and public policy, when definitions have been accepted and facts ascertained. First, then, let us take up the matter of definitions. The papers are

full of talk about "Reds," "Radicals," Anarchists, "I. W. W.s," Communists, Socialists, Bolsheviks, and so on. To have intelligent opinions, one must know what is meant by these appellations. One must also know, when considering government-method and public policy, under what existing laws the officers of justice are proceeding, and what courses of action it is wise to pursue in view of the laws as they are, or as they ought to be. Then come the questions of fact as to the nature and extent of the activities of these classes of people in the United States, and as to the nature of their conspiracies for propaganda or for crimes of violence.

*Social
Movements
of a Century*

The inquiries involving definition are not as easy and simple as might be thought. The activities of the social revolutionists of our day have, for their background, a very distinct series of movements going back to the period of the French Revolution. Their doctrines rest upon a vast literature that only the special students of such subjects can hope to know fairly well. For a hundred years the social conditions produced by the growth of capital, and the wage system in modern industry, have been attended by movements professedly in the interest of manual workers. These projects have pursued different courses, but have often been closely related to one another. The most obvious of these is the continuing movement that we may call Social Reform, which upholds liberal views as to democracy, stands for universal education, and strives for the constant leveling up of the status of workers. The social reformers have led the way, especially in the United States, and have been very influential in England and West-

ern Europe. Social reform is the doctrine of progress which thoughtful and humane people in both of the great American parties hold in common. The Trade Union movement is a distinct development of this hundred-year period, having to do with methods of action on the part of the workers themselves. It has, in a general way, harmonized with the efforts of the leaders of the movement that we are here calling "social reform." Communism and Socialism are words which have been used variously, but they represent doctrines and movements which have accompanied the progress of modern industry. Communism has considered rather the status of individuals in society, while Socialism has dealt rather with methods. Many Socialists have been merely radical reformers, not revolutionists; and most Communists have been mild Utopians.

*Communism
and
Socialism*

Going back to a generation beginning almost a hundred years ago—let us say from 1825 to 1855—there were millions of Communists in Europe, and some hundreds of thousands of them in the United States. After the French Revolution of 1830 there was a strong party which proposed to turn France into a communistic commonwealth. This movement proceeded with growing intensity for twenty years. Social philosophers, writing somewhat after the manner of a more recent American book, Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward," had, fifty years earlier than Bellamy, converted millions of Europeans, especially Frenchmen, to the idea that private property was a growing evil, and that political emancipation ought to be followed by release from the wage system and the land system which held the great mass in bondage. There were different cults of Communism and Socialism through the Nineteenth Century, but most of them agreed in holding as fundamental the doctrine of Proudhon, that "Property is Robbery." In every episode of political upheaval in Europe there was almost sure to be some demonstration on the part of the followers of the doctrinaire Communists and Socialists. This was true after the French Revolution of 1848, and again true after the Franco-Prussian War.

*Rise of
Russian
Anarchy*

Karl Marx, and later German and French leaders, undertook to justify extreme and revolutionary Socialism on scientific grounds, and



BOLSHEVISM IN THE UNITED STATES
(The American Bolsheviks aim at painting the White House red)

From Hvepsen (Christiania, Norway)

to internationalize the movement. It was their object to unite the labor union movements of all countries with the Socialistic movement—the object being to abolish wars; to overthrow militarism; to nationalize land, factories, railroads, and all the main instruments of production; and to reduce all social classes to the status of the workers. In Russia there was less opportunity for progress under liberal institutions, and therefore the extremes of wealth and poverty were associated in the minds of the radical group with the political tyranny of the Czardom. Russia, as it was said, continued to be “an autocracy tempered by assassination.” The denial of justice inevitably brought about political conspiracies against the bureaucracy. It was unfortunate for the course of Russia’s development that so many of the political reformers became economic extremists. The Russian secret societies that were struggling for political liberty became permeated with the philosophy of the German and other European Socialists. The large landholders and the industrial capitalists of Russia were identified, in the minds of the radicals, with the corrupt and oppressive bureaucracy of the Czar. Thus Russian liberalism took on the doctrines of Socialism, and recast these into the forms of Nihilism and Anarchy. The Nihilist was the enemy of all rulers, and the Anarchist was the foe of authority in any form. In practice, such extremists always become intolerant, and, when the occasion offers, they substitute their own tyranny for that which they have overthrown.

*The Menace of
Russian
Propaganda*

During the period of the great war, it seems to have been a part of Germany’s propaganda meth-

ods to promote dissension and disorder on domestic lines in all enemy countries. The downfall of the Czardom in Russia was at first hailed by America, and to a less extent by other countries, as a sound and normal step that would bring Russia into line with the free countries and make her opposition to German autocracy both more effective and more logical. Unfortunately, the Allies did not properly sustain the Liberals like Prof. Miliukoff, and the more moderate and patriotic Socialists like Kerensky. The consequence was that the revolutionary anarchists, led by Lenine and joined by Trotzky and other international adventurers, obtained control, with German assistance. The “proletariat” autocracy in Russia, under these men, could not, of course, have suc-



© Paul Thompson

HON. FRANCIS P. GARVAN, ASSISTANT ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

(Who has been especially active in weaving the chain of evidence, for the Department of Justice, against the thousands of alien radicals rounded-up for deportation)

ceeded so greatly as it has thus far but for the abhorrence throughout Russia of the old Czardom and the fear of reaction. It is to be hoped, and it may be reasonably expected, that the Russian people will by degrees transform this Soviet tyranny until Russia becomes a free country with democratic institutions. With outside pressure removed, and with opportunities restored for selling Russian wheat, flax, and other products and buying manufactured goods, Russia may become a sane country within a few years; but, meanwhile, the Russian doctrines are menacing to a world that has lost its poise.

*Recent
Influence in
America*

During the war period, in the United States, there were various attempts, in the enemy interest, to blow up munition factories and to do like damage in other ways. It is remarkable that so little harm of this kind was done, all things considered; but our comparative immunity was at the price of constant vigilance. The recent activity of anarchists in America seems to have borne some relation of continuity to the war-time troubles; but these later phases have, in the opinion of those who have studied them, a more immediate connection with the tremendous propaganda efforts of what is termed “Soviet Russia.” Russian Socialists of the dominant type are

known as "Bolshevists." The Bolsheviks are extreme in doctrine, and still more extreme in method. They hold that the success of their cause justifies any of those actions which our penal code defines as crimes. They do not believe in the customary institutions which are protected by our constitutions and laws, nor do they believe in our system of government. Still further, they believe in the overthrow by violence of everything that we regard as belonging to social stability and political order.

*American
Socialism*

At this point something should be said of Socialism as a movement in the United States. As it has existed until recently, it has been chiefly a party of protest. Most of its creed, as stated in platforms, has dealt with questions of social reform rather than with essential institutions. The Socialist party, during the past two or three decades, has been well organized, and doubtless a large proportion of its members have been law-abiding and have thought of the changes to which they aspire in terms of peaceful transition, and not in terms of revolution and violence. But the creed of the socialist is so different from the creed of the individualist that there is likely to be trouble sooner or later; and socialists have a dangerous tendency everywhere to grow in sympathy with violence. This has been shown by the career of the I. W. W.'s (Industrial Workers of the World), who have had their chief strength in the Western part of the United States. The I. W. W.'s are extreme socialists in creed and have shown themselves repeatedly to be disposed to violence and crime in connection with strikes and industrial disputes. Throughout the so-called "conservative" trades unions that make up the American Federation of Labor, there has been an element of socialism that has, in some of the trades, at times, assumed the reins of control. The doctrines and methods of these radicals in the labor unions are decidedly dangerous, and it is folly to condone them.

*Criminal
Tendencies
Appearing*

Somewhat recently the Socialist party in the United States has been split into factions, and the extreme groups hold to creeds which, in the opinion of government authorities, constitute these people dangerous conspirators against our institutions. Many of the American Socialists of the past generation

have been sincere reformers, working, as they believed, for the best welfare of the oppressed and downtrodden, while asserting that our actual government at the hands of the old parties was dominated by the money power of banks and corporations. In these views the Socialists had not differed much from the Western Populists of a few years ago; and in many ways their attitude had been like that of the present Non-Partisan League of North Dakota. American citizens have a right to call themselves Socialists, and to act like any other political party in adopting creeds and voting for candidates. But they have no right to convert their party into a conspiracy for the subversion of our institutions. It is lawful to advocate constitutional amendments, because the Constitution itself provides for just such steps. It is permissible for a Republican or Democrat to be opposed to Socialism, but the opposition must express itself in lawful ways and not in persecution or tyranny. It becomes necessary, however, to ascertain whether dangerous anarchy is masquerading under the once inoffensive name of Socialism. Unhappily, there is much reason to fear that such tendencies to bad beliefs and worse practices have been gaining in control of American socialism.

*"Reds"
and
"Radicals"*

The term "Red" has been used for many years, in a sense which is now recognized in all authoritative dictionaries. For example, the Century Dictionary gives the following as a secondary definition of the word "red":

Ultra radical; revolutionary; violent; from the use of the red flag as a revolutionary emblem.

The words Radical and Radicalism are less definite, and it is perhaps unfortunate that these words have been so much applied of late to the Reds. The word "radical" has been much used in politics for several generations; and while it has been sometimes a term of reproach, it has often been asserted as a term of honor. Thus, to quote again from the Century Dictionary:

The political Radicals of a country generally constitute the extreme faction or wing of the more liberal of the two leading parties, or act as a separate party when their numbers are sufficient for the exercise of any considerable influence. The name Radical is often applied as one of reproach to the members of a party by their opponents. In the United States, it has been so applied at times to Democrats and to Republicans, especially in the South about the period of Re-

construction. The French Radicals are often called the *Extreme Left*. The British Radicals form an important section of the Liberal Party.

The radical is a man who does not compromise and believes in going to the very root of things. The anti-slavery men were radicals in their day, and the prohibitionists have been radicals in a later time. The woman suffragists in England have been radicals, and the old American free-traders of the uncompromising sort were typical radicals. This is a word that has had a very respectable history in English-speaking countries, and it ought not to be applied to foreign anarchists who throw bombs, and who, though pretending to be radicals in creed, are miserable criminals in practice.

Who Are
The
"Socialists?"

The word Socialist has suffered so much damage, and has been used in so many different ways,

that it seems to have lost value for scientific purposes and still more to have lost usefulness as the designation of a practical body of citizens. In economics, the Socialists are opposed in a general way to the private control of production and distribution, and are in favor of using the State as a cooperative industrial and social agency. The activities of the Department of Justice under Attorney-General Palmer have not been directed against Socialists as such, nor indeed have they had much concern with any class of American citizens. They have dealt almost entirely with foreigners who have made it their business here to plot against American institutions. In taking this course, the Government has found certain Socialist groups in the United States to be much mixed up with the affairs of the revolution-seeking foreigners whom it has arrested for deportation. It is now a serious question whether the Bolsheviks and Anarchists have not made the name "Socialist" an impossible one for honest citizens.

The Nation
Worth
Maintaining

In permitting so many objectionable strangers to come here and pursue pernicious courses,

we have fallen far short of appreciating our own country and the just rights of our own children. It has been no easy thing—no mere accident of development—to evolve this nation of ours in the three hundred years since the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers and the establishment of permanent settlements in Virginia and elsewhere. What the founders of the nation have cre-

ated and passed on to us we have no right to destroy through negligence. The chief asset of any self-respecting country is its own people, especially its rising generation. We have had a reckless and foolish immigration policy; and our practice, in its carelessness, has been even worse than the policy itself. Having allowed masses of unassorted foreigners to come here, largely through the speculative activities of European steamship lines, we have made a partial failure—not a complete one—in handling the problem of their proper treatment. Since most of them had come to stay, it was evident that we must either Americanize them or suffer the consequences of allowing them to group themselves in unassimilated masses. Thus we have not wisely conserved the interests of our nationality. Yet the millions of humble workers who have adopted America as the country of their choice are prosperous and happy here. They know that they are distinctly benefited by the elimination of the mischief-making Reds.

The Men Whom
We Are
Deporting

Admittedly, we have allowed local politicians for unworthy personal or party motives to secure the improper naturalization of too many of these newcomers, when we might have adopted a safe and proper naturalization system. Most of the masses of people coming here from Russia and Eastern Europe have doubtless been honest in their objects, willing to work, and interested in the welfare of their children. But a very large element has consisted of unmarried men detached from all forms of responsibility and ready at hand for the teachings of the socialist agitator. These are the men who readily become Anarchists or Bolsheviks, and who have formed the dangerous element in most of our recent strikes. Our readers will not find Mr. Dunn's article sensational, but they will find that it reflects fairly the methods and objects of the Department of Justice in its recent investigations among the foreign elements to which we are referring. While our immigration laws are not what they ought to be, they are explicit enough to make it not merely permissible to deport Anarchists and violent Reds, but the clear duty of the authorities to proceed in this way where they have sufficient evidence. These are not naturalized Americans, but foreigners; and they are expressly violating the immigration laws under which they have been admitted. They are therefore subject to deportation.



ALEXANDER BERKMAN (LEFT) AND EMMA GOLDMAN (CENTER)

(On their way to the ship which deported them with other "Reds" in December)

Misplaced Sympathy

But, it is objected in some quarters, to deport people of this kind is to create sympathy for them, and thus to increase the evil and danger which we are trying to remedy. Would it therefore not be better to ignore such people altogether, in the hope that their agitation will amount to little in the end, and in the belief that the great American public is immune against their doctrines? We are unable to see it in any such light. This is no campaign of mere heresy-hunting. Berkman, who was one of the 249 alien Anarchists deported on the army transport *Buford*, which sailed three days before Christmas, is the criminal anarchist who, many years ago, tried to assassinate the late Mr. Frick in connection with labor troubles at

Pittsburgh. He ought to have been deported when he had served his term in the penitentiary. Criminal propaganda and conspiracy are more dangerous to society than isolated criminal acts. We are of the opinion that the deportation of criminal anarchists who have come here from other countries is an imperative public duty. It is a very mild and polite way to treat such persons. The object is not to punish them, but to protect our own institutions.

Deportation a Public Necessity

If these anarchists, as individuals, had been found committing overt acts of violence, such as dynamiting factories, or assassinating public men, they would, of course, be tried, convicted, and punished under ordinary criminal laws. As recently as last summer an attempt was made to kill the Attorney-General and his family by blowing up their home in Washington; and many similar crimes have resulted from the teachings and methods of the alien anarchists whom we are now deporting. In each case there has been due evidence gathered to show that the individual was connected influentially with an organization advocating violence against property and government. These people are constantly at work against orderly society. The more leniently they are treated, the more bold and efficient their methods. Society should protect itself with vigor against such foes. It is not necessary to be unduly excited; and it is very important that official agencies—rather than amateur organizations directed by self-seeking individuals of questionable records and dubious motives—

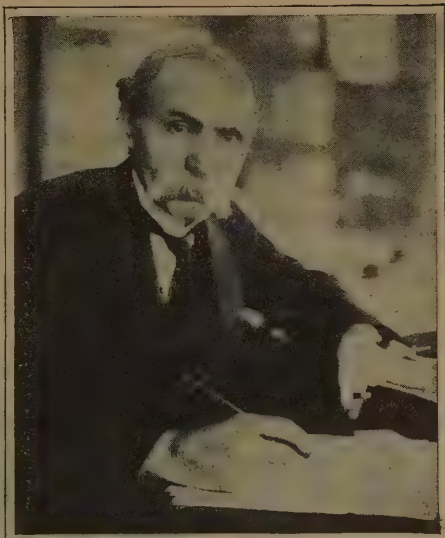


A GROUP OF ARRESTED "REDS" IN THE RECEPTION ROOM AT THE ELLIS ISLAND IMMIGRATION STATION

should take and keep the lead in efforts of this kind. But the governmental agencies, so long as they are proceeding legitimately, deserve the support of public opinion in getting rid of alien anarchists. The course of political reform in this country is not helped by alien fanatics or assassins. Neither is industrial progress to be promoted by the criminals who teach sabotage and who revel in strikes because of the opportunities they afford for crimes against persons and property. Let sympathy expend itself elsewhere.

Labor
Department
Co-operates

It should be remembered that in the final sifting of aliens for deportation, after the so-called "round up" or dragnet of the Department of Justice has secured arrests of leaders in various communities, another department of the Government must be consulted and must coöperate. The Bureau of Immigration is in the Department of Labor. The deportations are made by the authorities of this Labor Department, whose business it is to enforce the immigration laws. When the Department of Justice has decided that a particular alien should be deported, all the evidence in the case is presented to the immigration authorities, who are experienced in dealing with aliens and are constantly inquiring into suspicious cases seeking entrance into this country. Exclusion of undesirables under the immigration law is a matter of administration, and not one of judicial action.



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HON. ANTHONY J. CAMINETTI, COMMISSIONER OF
IMMIGRATION

(Signing deportation warrants of the "Reds")

If points are to be strained on either side, they should be strained in favor of protecting this country against undesirable immigrants, rather than in favor of applicants for admission whose credentials are highly doubtful. Immigration is not an inherent right, but a privilege; and a country looking to a strong and harmonious future should select its newcomers with care.



MASSACHUSETTS "REDS" IN SHACKLES AND CHAINS EN ROUTE FOR THE IMMIGRATION STATION IN BOSTON HARBOR



NEW YORK "REDS" AT THE BARGE OFFICE, ON THE BATTERY, BOARDING THE STEAMER FOR ELLIS ISLAND

4.
Gentle
Process

The power to expel aliens of criminal character, who have managed to secure admittance, is not different from the power to reject them at Ellis Island before they have had a chance to abuse the hospitality of America. With the Department of Justice now selecting its cases for expulsion with what seems to be a good deal of care; then with the Department of Labor, which no one can call a harsh or cruel agency of Government, collaborating; and with the War Department or the Navy taking the unwelcome guests all the way back to Europe in Government transports with marked consideration for their comfort—it may be said that the country is dealing mildly enough with a class of gentry who came here to preach bomb-throwing, arson, and the assassination of public officials and business leaders *ad libitum*. In short, the passengers on the *Buford* have, as it would seem, been treated with surprising courtesy.

The
Lusk
Committee

Various other official agencies besides the Department of Justice in Washington have been studying Anarchist activities. Legal and prosecuting authorities of State Governments have been at work. Police authorities in many cities, also, have found it necessary to take the Radical Socialists under surveillance; while during the war period the Army, through a special branch of the service, studied Anarchist activities because it had to protect munition factories, docks, camps, warehouses and various establishments of military character. It was perhaps in some sense a sequel of this work of the War Department that knowledge of "Red" activities in and about New York led to the appointment at Albany of a joint committee of the two houses of the legislature to investigate certain conditions which had been

brought to the attention of leading members. This committee was constituted under the chairmanship of Senator Clayton R. Lusk, who represents an important "upstate" district in the Senate at Albany. There were many well-meaning citizens, and some highly intelligent ones, who did not for a time see the propriety of the appointment of this joint committee and who were disposed to doubt the value of its work, and particularly to question the justice and wisdom of its methods. Inquisitorial bodies of this kind are not naturally popular. They have to make their way against the instinctive feelings of the people.



SENATOR CLAYTON R. LUSK, OF CORTLAND, N. Y.
(Chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee)

Coming
New York City
and
Personal Liberty
from the
earlier period, when government was oppressive and tyrannical, are the traditions which are embodied in our Bills of Rights, and which make the citizen suspicious of anything that looks like violation of domicile or interference with rights of assembly, open discussion, freedom of press, and so on. New York City is a great, good-tempered community that likes to believe that most people mean well, and that does not like attacks upon what is called personal liberty. The

foreign-born millions of this metropolis came from police-controlled countries, and they revel in their new-found immunities. This deference to personal freedom in times past has made New York a fairly comfortable place for crooks and criminals of all descriptions, and has for long periods of time made it quite impossible to enforce excise laws, election laws, and so on. The New York press naturally represents the bias of the great community in favor of as much freedom for the individual as possible, including full liberty for that tremendous population of alien origin that reads perhaps more copies of newspapers printed in foreign languages than

are printed daily for those in New York who read English. Doubtless the Lusk Committee has made some blunders. If it was unduly rude in its procedure at times, as when it raided a center of Socialist meeting and instruction known as the Rand School, it did not escape the wholesome discipline of being sharply criticized. The courts are intelligent and just; and there are plenty of good lawyers available to see that rights are safeguarded.

*Read
Senator Lusk's
Article*

There has been much outcry to the effect that the liberty of the press, of free assembly and of free speech, are endangered by the methods of the Lusk Committee. But the very manner and extent of the criticism of the Committee shows how little the liberty of speech has been touched. In the course of his inquiries, Senator Lusk has reached some general conclusions as to the origins and objects of the present Anarchist movement in America; and we are glad to give space in this number of the REVIEW to a thoughtful article from his pen on that subject. His statements and arguments speak for themselves. We do not publish them to disagree with them. On the other hand, we are not prepared to say that the Senator may not be mistaken in some of his deductions. That his work had its origin in an intelligent sense of public duty, we have no doubt.

*Suspending
Socialist
Law-Makers*

An incident more startling in its appeal to the attention of New York people than anything that had happened in the course of the Lusk Committee's work, was the suspension of five Socialist members of the Assembly (the lower house of the legislature) on the opening day of the session at Albany, January 7. The five members were all from districts in New York City. The action came as a surprise to the Socialists as well as to the public. Hon. Thaddeus C. Sweet, upon being chosen Speaker, made a brief address, which he followed up at once with an arraignment of the Socialist members, who were called by the Sergeant-at-Arms to the Bar of the House. The Speaker quoted from Socialist platforms in order to prove that the party is revolutionary and disloyal in its doctrines and aims. No personal charges were made against the five members. While the work of the Lusk Committee was cited to prove the character of the Socialist party, there was no attempt to connect



HON. THADDEUS C. SWEET, OF OSWEGO, N. Y.
(Speaker of the State Assembly at Albany)

Senator Lusk or the Committee with the particular mode of procedure adopted in suspending the five members. The Republican Attorney-General of the State was associated with the action of the Speaker, while the Democratic Governor was prompt to criticize it.

*Protests on
Behalf of
Minorities*

The action of Speaker Sweet precipitated a sharp discussion, which, of itself, demonstrated the fact that there is no danger in New York of acquiescence in tyranny. Hon. Charles E. Hughes, with his great prestige as a jurist and as a leader in matters of public concern, made an extended protest against what he regarded as an attack upon the fundamental rights of representative government. Speaker Sweet's reply was to the effect that the refusal of seats to the five Socialists was a tentative proceeding, and that charges would be duly brought before the Judiciary Committee with full opportunity for defense with aid of counsel. The tendency of the metropolis was to condemn Speaker Sweet and the Republican majority in the Assembly. On the other hand, the trend of sentiment in the State, outside of the metropolitan district, was with the Speaker and against the Socialists. A meeting of the New York Bar Association, after protracted discussion, supported the position of Judge Hughes and the eminent lawyers who had joined him in his protest; but there were also many capable

lawyers on the other side, the vote of the Association being 174 to 117. A Committee of the Association was appointed to aid in the defense of the five Socialist members.

*Legal Status
of Socialist
Party*

It must be remembered that these Socialists had been duly elected by American citizens, who had—enrolled as New York Socialists—polled more than a hundred thousand votes in the last election. The candidacies had not been questioned as unlawful, and the names of the Socialist candidates for office had been duly placed on the official voting paper by the State itself. Furthermore, it is to be remembered that the Socialist party has long had a recognized standing under the election laws of New York, like the larger political parties. The action of Speaker Sweet, therefore, was peremptory in that it challenged the right of the Socialists to be considered a normal political party of American citizens. The vote to suspend was almost unanimous in a House having a membership of more than a hundred Republicans and thirty or forty Democrats. If the action had been conclusive and final, like the recent action of Congress in refusing a seat to Congressman-elect Berger of Milwaukee, there would have been fundamental as well as technical grounds for criticism. Unless the Constitution is changed, the law-making body cannot be deprived of the right to judge for itself of the qualifications of its members.* But when, as in the case of two or three of these five Socialists, their fellow-citizens have re-elected them, on the ground of good service in previous terms at Albany, it is a doubly serious thing to challenge the right to a seat. The protests were loud and influential.

*Socialists
Welcome
Opportunity*

Since, however, the suspension was to be followed by an immediate trial before the Judiciary Committee, in the presence of all of the members of the House and of the public, the alleged tyranny of the majority was more a thing of form than of substance. There was nothing to indicate any disposition to avoid full inquiry. In the long run, there was a fair chance that good might come from the trial of this case before the Judiciary Committee. Let us assume that the vote to suspend was not a proper way to proceed. There can, however, be no question of the right of the legislature to pass upon the qualifications of any of its members. The Department of Justice at Washington, and

the Department of Labor, have been dealing chiefly with aliens in their rounding up of Reds for deportation; but they have, also, found many American citizens involved in the activities of these disturbers. The Socialist party has been split into two or more factions; and it is alleged that some at least of the American Socialist leaders have expressly adopted the revolutionary platforms and policies of the Russian Bolsheviks. It lies within the obvious rights of a legislature to expel a pledged adherent of foreign Bolshevism, who places allegiance to International Socialism above the oath of office to support American government. If the citizens who elected the Socialist candidates to the present New York legislature intended to choose men definitely committed to the Communist-Anarchist creed of revolution, it is well to have it known. If, on the other hand, as we prefer to think, they meant to take what they regarded as advanced ground in the sphere of economic legislation, acting scrupulously under the national and State constitutions, it is just the right time to have such a position made clear. They should, then, welcome such opportunities as were afforded in January at Albany.

*How Public
Opinion
Rules*

In short, American Socialism has been very much damaged by its contacts with alien adventurers, who are not capable of understanding American life, and who are here as breeders of mischief. The Socialist party has from time to time gained control of municipal government in a number of American cities and towns, and in some instances it has contributed to constructive improvement of municipal conditions. The present aldermanic board of New York City has several Socialist members, against whom Mr. La Guardia, the new Republican head of the Board, makes no complaint. The time has come when American Socialism owes it to itself to make its position unmistakable. This is a country of broad political freedom, and it is distinctly not a country dominated by plutocrats, nor by the so-called *bourgeoisie* class in oppression of the so-called *proletariat*. These are not American words, and so little do they fit American conditions that they are not readily translatable. It was President Roosevelt who used the phrase "undesirable citizens" in criticizing certain corporation managers and men of great wealth who were not in his opinion at that time duly submissive to the laws, and who were dis-

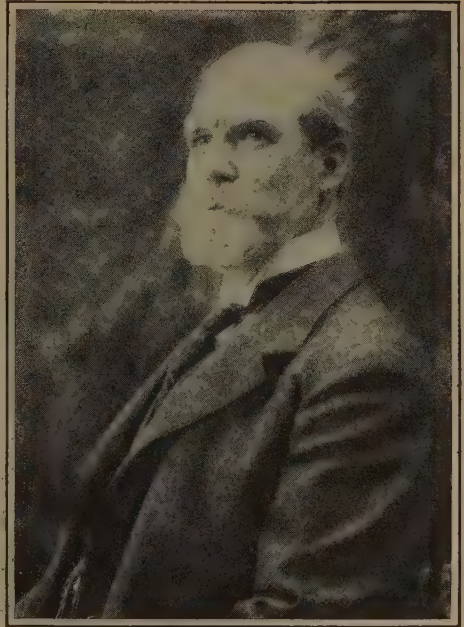
posed to use improper lobby methods to influence legislation. The great force of enlightened public opinion has gone far toward correcting misconduct in that quarter. It is no longer the plutocrats and corporation chiefs who are the intimidating lobbyists at Washington. Nor has it been the dynamiters or the advocates of sabotage and general strikes who have served to correct the tendencies toward plutocracy.

*Minorities
Have No
Special Rights*

The Socialist party, even in its mildest and most idealistic phases, does not seem to have much of value to contribute to the progress of the people of the United States. Certainly the sinister and violent Socialism is without excuse, and is not entitled to use America as a place where it may preach its doctrines with impunity. The mere fact that Socialism in American politics appears as a small minority entitles it to no special indulgences. It is either a lawful organization, entitled to take its part, or else it is in the nature of an unlawful conspiracy. Mr. Hughes and the Bar Association majority are eminently right in their desire to see that Socialism is not unduly helped by improper methods of attack upon it. They are not in collusion with any set of Reds. It is fortunate that men of such eminence and ability be ready to help the Socialists themselves to establish their own good faith, and to repudiate alleged connections with criminals, whether alien or American. Mr. Simonds, in his notable discussion in the present number of this magazine of the menace that Bolshevism still presents abroad, says truly that Europe cannot go on, half-Bolshevist and half-republican, paraphrasing Lincoln's famous dictum that the United States could not remain half-slave and half-free. The Bolshevist propaganda has been active in the United States; and it has evidently sought to gain control of the American Socialist party, just as it has also endeavored to infect union labor and to promote such disturbances as the recent steel strike. It is entitled to no special tenderness of treatment, merely because it is supported by a minority.

*The "Show-
down" Arrives
in Politics*

There is a good American term in current use, namely, the compound word "showdown." Our great nation likes clear understandings and frank expressions. Times arrive when the leaders in politics and affairs must give the public a showdown; and there also come



HON. CHARLES E. HUGHES, OF NEW YORK
(Who has taken a leading part in assuring fair treatment to members of minority parties in the Legislature)

times when, in return, the open-minded public arrives at a definite conclusion, and it gives the leaders a showdown. The Standard Dictionary defines "showdown" as meaning colloquially (1) "The laying down of the cards face upward;" and, as American slang, it gives the word a second definition as follows: "The act of announcing publicly one's aims, resources, or proposed course of action." President Wilson, for instance, has demanded and received a showdown as to public opinion about having the treaty ratified. Every candidate for the Presidency will be expected to satisfy the public more fully than in previous campaigns as to his aims and views. Senator Kenyon goes so far as to propose that candidates prior to election day name the men they intend to appoint for Cabinet officers. Political parties will not find this a good year for vague or straddling phrases in their platforms. The Socialists declare that they expect to thrive by reason of the sympathy that accrues to the persecuted and oppressed; and they are apparently banking upon a greatly increased strength at the polls as a result of the deportation of alien Anarchists. But there is an overwhelming majority of Americans who are not so easily swayed by blind sympathy,



© Wide World Photos

SOCIALIST HEADS OF PRESENT GERMAN GOVERNMENT

(President Ebert is walking at the front, and War Minister Noske in the rear. Both come from the ranks of workingmen. They are now upholding recognized civilization against Bolshevism)

and who are going to demand a *showdown* on both sides. This great public asks to know as much as possible about the facts justifying the deportation of aliens. It asks, further, as regards Socialists, what their connections are with Bolshevik propaganda, and what their aims and objects are in carrying their doctrines into American politics.

*New Laws
to Curb
Bolshevism*

Both Houses at Washington have been at work on legislation against the Reds. Attorney-General Palmer has informed Congress that existing laws are not well adapted to meet the actual situation. Numerous measures have been introduced and have been worked over and recast in committee rooms. Before Christmas adjournment the House, by a vote of 142 to 0, adopted amendments to the immigration law making much more specific and sweeping the provisions for excluding or expelling those who practice, teach, or support violence against government or organized society. But Congress is not pausing with legislation against alien disturbers of the peace. Both Houses have prepared elaborate sedition bills, under which Americans as well as foreigners could be dealt with if

guilty of the numerous acts which are listed and described. The Senate's measure, known as the Sterling Anti-Sedition Bill, was carried through the Upper House and passed without opposition on January 10. Senator Borah ceased to oppose it after he had secured an amendment which gives right to appeal to the courts from a decision of the Postmaster-General excluding a publication from the mails. The House Judiciary Committee decided on January 14 in favor of its own measure, and the whole business will probably occupy a conference committee for some time to come. As a matter of necessary public education, these proceedings should be followed carefully and as widely discussed in the press and on the platform as possible.

*Two Kinds
of German
Socialism*

Constant happenings in Europe illustrate from day to day the necessity for finding out whether organizations and groups are criminal or legitimate. Thus, the existing Government of Germany, under President Ebert and officials like Premier Bauer and Defense Minister Noske is a government of Socialists. Yet an immense mob (reported as 40,000 strong) of another variety of Socialists known as Spartacides, regarded as having connection with Russian Bolshevism, made a furious assault upon the Reichstag in session on January 13. It was said that this movement was inspired by opposition to a pending labor bill. The mob favored legislation which would put industrial workmen practically in control of the establishments by which they were employed. Surely the present Socialist Government of Germany is as free from capitalistic control as could well be imagined. But the extreme element is unwilling to abide by the decisions of the ballot box, and it appeals to force on the slightest provocation. It was necessary to use machine guns to repel the mob, and the casualties were numerous. The mob spirit that opposes government, and that hates the institution of property, will destroy the gains of modern civilization if it is not suppressed. When we make this observation we are fully mindful of the fact that the spirit of brotherhood, of social justice, and of equal opportunity must always be invoked to furnish the permanent safeguards against disorder. Stern repression of crime is needful; but social reform and the common welfare must be supported as the positive aims of democratic society. Wise men see both aspects.

San
Francisco,
June 28

The more rapidly some current topics are analyzed and dealt with, the more comfortable it will be for candidates as well as for parties in the presidential campaign. The Jackson Day foregathering of the Democrats at Washington (January 8) was important in helping to clear the air about the peace treaty and the League of Nations. The more carefully the leaders tried to avoid the appearance of a failure to stand by President Wilson, the more evident it was that they were in favor of ratifying the treaty at once and did not mind the reservations in the least, but only felt that the party must stand by its own record—that record being principally the Presidential career of Mr. Wilson himself. Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska has been Mr. Bryan's chief party opponent in his own State, but he refuses to oppose the plan to have Mr. Bryan go as a delegate to the National Convention. It was decided at Washington that the Convention should be held at San Francisco on June 28. This is practically three weeks later than the Republican Convention at Chicago. The Democratic party is in power to-day because California unexpectedly turned the scale in 1916. There is some poetic justice, therefore, in granting California's appeal for the Convention of 1920. It is not now apparent that a Pacific Coast Convention would favor one candidate rather than another.

Democratic
Candidates
Still Shy

Thus far Democratic candidates are "receptive" rather than active. With the treaty out of the way, the talk of nominating President Wilson for a third term will, of course, be at



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DEMOCRATIC PARTY MANAGERS AT WASHINGTON

(At the left, seated, is Homer S. Cummings, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee; and his fine-looking companion is Mr. J. Bruce Kremer, Vice-Chairman of the Committee. Mr. Cummings hails from Connecticut, and Mr. Kremer from Montana)

an end. The Democrats have more to gain than the Republicans by getting the treaty compromised, ratified, and put into effect. Mr. McAdoo has made himself a favorite on the Pacific Coast and, although he lives in New York City, he is better liked and understood in the West and the South than in



THE AUDITORIUM AT SAN FRANCISCO, WHERE THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION WILL ASSEMBLE IN JUNE



GEN. LEONARD WOOD IN NEW YORK LAST MONTH

(The picture shows Gen. Wood leaving the Harvard Club with Henry L. Stimson, former Secretary of War, after a political conference with Republicans, among whom were Mr. Stimson and Theodore Roosevelt)

the East. Herbert Hoover and Hiram Johnson are Californian notables who are much talked of, but their friends are thinking in terms of the Republican Convention at Chicago. Kansas City was a strong applicant for the Convention, and a Missouri man, Hon. Joseph W. Folk, was Bryan's host at Washington; but the friends of Mr. Bryan would not prefer to have the Convention held in Champ Clark's home State. Mr. Bryan favors the nationalization of railroads and of the wire services; and he might become the favorite of the labor unions in their plan to dominate the political situation this year. It is not certain, however, that the labor vote will accept dictation, or that it will finally believe that governmental railroads would be a good thing for coal miners, steel workers, garment workers, or members of building trades. What is bad for the public is bad for most wage-earners. Government railroading is not a good thing for the public, and therefore it is bad for the ordinary citizen who is a wage-earner. Bolshevism, moreover, is bad for wage-earners, and it is not likely that the activities of Attorney-General Palmer will hurt his prospects as a Democratic candidate. Governor Cox re-

mains one of the Democratic favorites; but Senator Pomerene is also regarded as a candidate, which may prove embarrassing to friends of both in Ohio. Senators Hitchcock of Nebraska and Owen of Oklahoma are on the list of favorite sons; while Senator Underwood's friends, we are told, look to 1924 rather than to the present year.

*Republican
Candidates
Outspoken*

Republican candidates have been growing somewhat in number, but the situation remains very much as recounted in these pages last month. Gen. Wood seems to be the favorite, particularly of the elements that formerly supported Colonel Roosevelt's Progressive movement. Governor Lowden's candidacy has grown in favor, it would seem, with practical business men. Senator Harding, who made a remarkably fine impression in a prepared address at a great dinner given by the Ohio Society in New York, is now more than a "favorite son" expecting Ohio's delegates; he is a candidate on the national plane. His attitude on the railroad bill and on other pending questions has been explained by him persuasively, but with directness and force. Mr. Hoover, as a possible Republican candidate, has grown in prominence since December. A group of Nebraska Republicans has organized publicity work on behalf of Gen. Pershing. The candidacy of President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia has become definite, with headquarters opened in New York City. The New England Republicans are beginning to push the candidacy of Governor Coolidge in a way that looks as if they meant business. Cousin William Allen White had caught the fancy of the country by starting a boom for Cousin Henry Allen, the upstanding Governor of Kansas; but Cousin Henry dashes it all aside, announces himself for Gen. Wood, and admits he is a candidate for another term as Governor.



ON THE CANDIDATES' BENCH
From the *Oregonian* (Portland)

*Daily Problems
of
Our People*

The cost of living, as affecting salaried people, has begun to command the attention that the emergency deserves. Clergymen and school teachers are much worse off than industrial wage-earners. Mr. Rockefeller, on Christmas Eve, showed his practical interest in this question by a new gift of \$100,000,000, one-half of which is to be used by the General Education Board to aid in the movement for increasing the pay of teachers in colleges and universities. The proper treatment of public school teachers is in the hands of taxpayers and officials. The winter has proved unusually cold, and the ending of the coal strike came just in time to prevent great misery. The President's commission of three to investigate wages and prices in the bituminous coal industry are Henry M. Robinson of California, Rembrandt Peale representing the operators, and John P. White for the miners. There has been some question as to the scope of the inquiry and the power of the commission, but valuable results are expected. The President's industrial conference has made some tentative suggestions looking toward methods of regional boards that would diminish the tendency to strikes. The proposals have been condemned by leaders of the American Federation of Labor. The steel strike has been definitely called off, but the status is that of an armed truce rather than a treaty of peace. The movement of alien workers back to Europe is very large; and the scarcity of labor is the most evident factor in the American industrial situation.

*Helping
the Hungry
Abroad*

While Mr. Herbert Hoover has issued several statements to the effect that Europe has diminishing need of American relief work, the production of European food having approached normal quantities, there remain some regions whose conditions must appeal to the generosity of the United States. Even though largely true that the plight of Vienna is due to European political mismanagement, we cannot look on and see all the children of that great metropolis die of starvation. There are particular movements that will continue to deserve ample private support. One of these is the work for child welfare in Serbia, about which we shall publish an article next month. Another is the magnificent work of the Committee for Relief in the Near East, but for which millions of people in parts of the former Turkish Empire—es-



THE THREE MEMBERS OF THE COAL COMMISSION
APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT WILSON

(From left to right: James P. White, Henry M.
Robinson and Rembrandt Peale)

pecially Armenians and Greeks—must have perished before this time. This effort cannot yet be abandoned. It is to be hoped that the League of Nations, with America participating in it, may help speedily to break the economic deadlock which is so largely responsible for the misery of Eastern Europe and Western Asia.

*Troubles
of the
Prosperous*

But it is not hungry lands alone that are in turmoil. Ireland was never before so well-fed and prosperous, and yet Ireland was never before so discontented. The island is held in complete subjection by a large British army. The ordinary rights of assemblage, free speech, and free press are suspended. The Irish members of Parliament will not go to Westminster, and they are no longer allowed to meet in Dublin. Mr. Lloyd George's new plan of Home Rule is disliked in Ulster, and repudiated by the rest of Ireland. The situation is more serious than is commonly understood in America. Egypt also is a prosperous country, its good fortune presenting a marked contrast to the misery of other regions near the Eastern Mediterranean. But Egypt, like Ireland, is in turmoil because the so-called "national self-consciousness" is at odds with political policies of the British Empire. India has now been granted some considerable beginnings of home rule; but India

is seething with political discontent, even though British overlordship has brought manifold blessings to the Indian people. It is this spirit of uneasiness in India that gives the British Government so much anxious concern about the recent success of the Soviet rulers of Russia. Propaganda is the long suit of the Bolshevik forces; and as their victories clear the paths toward India, the British military and civil authorities fear the spread of insidious doctrines of revolution among the easily excited tribesmen. The British Empire is by far the best of all the great imperial aggregations, whether ancient, medieval, or modern; but this beneficent organization is now more widely extended than ever before, and its triumphs are not to be free from grave anxieties.

*The Appeal
to Lincoln's
Memory*

Mr. Lloyd George, in referring to Ireland's attitude, appeals boldly to the memory of Abraham Lincoln, who was ready to consider any solution that did not sacrifice the Union. Throughout the world there is evident a growing regard for the leadership of Americans like Washington, Lincoln, and Roosevelt. Our own citizens, especially, may feel confident in facing the public issues of this year, if they adhere to the principles of the men who have led us in the previous crises of our history. It has been the custom of this magazine to present in each February number, apropos of Lincoln's birthday, some new contribution relating to the life and personality of Lincoln. Dr. Talcott Williams has responded to our request that he should write about Lincoln as a reader of books; and his admirable article will be found on page 193. We are glad to call attention to the act of the legislature and governor of Illinois in accepting for preservation as a State park the site of the former Illinois village of New Salem on the Sangamon River, where Lincoln lived for some years as a young man before he went to Springfield. The local committee that is in charge of this New Salem Lincoln Memorial has plans that many people would be glad to support with modest gifts if fully informed. We shall state this matter more fully in a future issue of the REVIEW. England's interest in Lincoln has been attested by the remarkable success of John Drinkwater's play which has now survived the more difficult test of production in New York (see page 210). The past year also has seen the unveiling at Manchester of Barnard's Lincoln statue.



A GLIMPSE OF SCENERY ON THE SANGAMON RIVER

(Where Lincoln lived as a youth and where a Lincoln memorial park has now been established on the site of the pioneer settlement called New Salem, near Springfield, Illinois.)

*No Government
Owned Merchant
Marine*

In offering for sale, at the beginning of the new year, the passenger ships formerly owned by German interests and seized by us on our entrance into the war, Chairman Payne of the Shipping Board announced the set policy of the Government to get out of the shipping business as rapidly as possible. Both passenger and cargo vessels now owned by the nation are to be sold to private interests, which must be American; and the ships must fly the American flag and be used on lines designated by the Shipping Board. The lot of thirty ocean-going vessels offered for sale in January included the *Leviathan* (formerly the *Vaterland*), the largest ship ever built, and the *George Washington*, used by President Wilson in his trips to and from Europe. The extraordinary elaboration of the modern ocean passenger ship is strikingly shown in Chairman Payne's explanation of the immediate reason for this present sale: that simply to refit these vessels (now arranged for transport service) for passenger traffic will cost about \$50,000,000.

*The Achievements of Our
Shipbuilders*

This move toward exclusively private ownership and operation of our merchant marine is a reminder of the really great progress made during the past three years toward the building of a merchant fleet commensurate with the

wealth and trade interests of the United States. From a negligible factor in the ocean-carrying business, we have already come to a position where American bottoms are carrying nearly one-third of the ocean freight of the world. Great Britain is still the largest ocean carrier, but leads us now by a margin of scarcely 2 per cent. of the whole. The Hog Island plant, constructed with frantic haste, out-of-hand, has already launched ships aggregating 600,000 tons—more than has ever been produced before in the same time by a single shipbuilding unit. Orders for ships are pouring in on our yards, and, indeed, it is said that America furnishes the only market in the world to-day where new construction of ocean-going vessels can be ordered in quantity for delivery within a reasonable time, the English yards being congested with orders that will keep them busy for two years. For the year 1919 our Shipping Board passed the mark called for in its preliminary program, and delivered 1159 vessels of 6,200,000 tons. Of these, 741 were steel ships aggregating 4,800,000 tons, and 103 were wooden vessels amounting to 1,300,000 tons. These launchings for the single year 1919 amount to just about two-thirds of all the vessels constructed under the Emergency Fleet Corporation since it began its work.

*The Railway
Bill in
Conference*

On December 24 President Wilson announced that the railways would be returned to their private owners on March 1, instead of on January 1 as previously determined. The change of date was obviously made to allow time for such constructive legislation as may promise to save the roads from the financial ruin which would quickly overtake them were they thrown back on their owners' hands under present conditions. The Cummins Railway Bill having been passed by the Senate just before the holiday recess, conferees from the two houses have since been in session attempting to reconcile the Cummins measure with the Esch bill, passed by the House. It will be remembered that the outstanding difference between the two proposals is that, whereas the Senate measure provides for a definite rule of rate-making, instructing the Interstate Commerce Commission to make such rates as will give the roads in the aggregate a net income of 5½ per cent. on their consolidated property value (with elaborate provisions for the division of any earnings above this rate), the

Esch bill provides no definite rule for rate-making at all, but relapses into the vague phrase "reasonable rate," which, during the ten years preceding the assumption of Government control, was largely, if not chiefly, responsible for the gradual approach of the roads toward bankruptcy.

*Very
Slow
Progress*

In the middle of January, it was reported that the conferees had not even reached a discussion of the big questions involved in the railway problem, such as rate-making and labor regulations, but that in clearing away details it had been agreed that the roads should be allowed the Government payment of the "standard return" for six months after their return to private ownership to tide over the transition period during which arbitrarily diverted traffic will be restored to its natural channels and the much-disorganized forces of the companies will be put into shape again. There are strongly divergent views even among the railroad owners and managers as to the value and justice of the Cummins rate-making plan, but it seems to have grown in favor as being probably the most promising solution that can be obtained in the present mood of Congress. The impression is becoming continually stronger among thoughtful men, free from both political and "Wall Street" influences, that there is, after all, not much to the present railway problem except the single matter of giving the business enterprise of railroading such reasonable rewards as will attract the funds of investors. With this done, it is asserted, we shall have good service at rates comparing favorably with those in other parts of the world. No one pretends, however, that this single matter is simple or easy to arrange.

*The
Railroad Plant
Diminishing*

With the present lack of assurance that money invested in railways will receive any proper return; with the present object-lesson of billions of honestly invested dollars not only going without a return but disappearing in large part,—the business of railroad building has come to a condition of stagnation never seen before since locomotives were invented. The *Railway Age* calls attention to the fact that the country not only failed to enlarge its railway plant during the year 1919, but actually abandoned more main-line trackage than was constructed, while the total amount of new construction was only 686 miles, the

smallest on record. Prior to the year 1910 (when rate restriction by the Interstate Commerce Commission began to be felt acutely), there was each year a regular and substantial addition to trackage. Between 1910 and 1915 the rate of increase fell off decidedly, and since 1916, while America has grown so magnificently in general industry and trade, the country has actually abandoned more track than it has added. The falling-off in such additions to plant as are represented by locomotives and freight cars is no less startling. The railroad industry is actually going backward, while the country is each year adding huge new demands for transportation service.

*Great
Crops of
1919*

The Department of Agriculture has published figures showing that the harvests of the past year were the most valuable (measured in the number of dollars they would cost at the prices obtaining December 1 last) of any in history, amounting to more than \$14,000,000,000, and showing an increase over 1918 of a billion and a half. It must be remembered, however, that these proud figures are of dollars—fifty-cent dollars—and not of bushels and tons of grain and hay. Corn has always been America's biggest crop, in both bushels and dollars; the 1920 harvest is put at \$3,934,000,000. Cotton, including its seed content, comes next with \$2,332,000,000. Hay is third, worth \$2,129,000,000, and wheat is a close fourth, valued at \$2,028,000,000. The year was a bad one for oats, which, a billion-dollar crop in 1918, were, on account of the smaller production, worth only \$895,000,000 in 1919. Dismissing the dollar sign, the crops of winter wheat, rice, sweet potatoes, and hay were actually the largest ever known, while rye and tobacco were the second largest on record. Higher prices were paid by consumers for every crop except beans, cranberries, and oranges. The Government was never called on to raise its billion-dollar fund, or any part of it, to carry out its guarantee to the farmers of \$2.26 per bushel for wheat, the open market absorbing all offerings at prices substantially greater than the guaranteed figure.

*Not Enough
Paper to
Go Around*

The shortage of paper, especially of the grades used for newspapers, is becoming increasingly acute. The Anthony bill, originating in the House of Representatives, attempted to pro-

tect the smaller newspapers in their paper supply by restricting the number of pages in the dailies and other periodicals. Under its provisions, no daily paper could be transmitted through the mails at second-class rates if it contained more than 24 pages; no Sunday edition with more than 36; no weekly with more than 75, and no monthly with more than 100 pages. Hearings were held at Washington and presumably it was shown that this method was not only harmful to large publishing interests but utterly ineffective, as the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads laid the bill away for six months' further observation. It is sufficient to point out that with the great city dailies using the mails for only 2 to 4 per cent. of their circulation, it is inconceivable that they should utterly disrupt their business for the sake of observing restrictions applying to such a small fraction of their operations.

*Another Case
of Demand
and Supply*

The shortage in paper is caused by the monotonous law of demand and supply. Advertising has suddenly increased in volume about 25 per cent., which may mean, with normal increases in circulation, something like a 15 per cent. increase in the total demand for paper for periodicals and newspapers. The supply has not increased nearly so much. The area of forests suitable for pulp-wood is diminishing instead of increasing, and new paper-making machinery cannot be obtained without many months of waiting, with perhaps years instead of months of experimental running of a new mill before the product is just right for the market. The present consequence of these facts is that newspaper publishers who were paying \$50 per ton for their paper five years ago are now glad to get it at \$100 a ton on large contracts, while small purchasers driven into the open market for job lots have been known to pay as high as \$200 per ton. The great metropolitan dailies have in many cases only a very few days' supply of paper on hand, and the slightest dislocation of production or distribution arising from strikes, floods, or transportation tie-ups would simply stop the presses for lack of paper. In the better classes of print paper, such as are used for magazines and books, the situation is nearly as bad; prices have somewhat more than doubled, and a good authority reports that with a total (and inadequate) daily production of 30,000 tons, there is in sight new production of only 150 tons per day.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From December 16, 1919, to January 15, 1920)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

December 16.—The House passes the Senate bill extending Government control over sugar through 1920.

December 17.—The House passes a bill ordering the sale of Government housing facilities created during the war.

December 18.—The Senate rejects a proposal to eliminate the anti-strike provisions of the Cummins railroad bill.

December 19.—The Senate passes the House bill increasing war-risk allowances to soldiers and sailors by \$80,000,000 annually, and providing for simplified administration.

December 20.—Both branches accept amendments to the bill extending Government control over sugar through 1920, and the measure is sent to the President.

The Senate passes the Cummins railroad bill, by vote of 46 to 30; the measure goes to a conference committee along with the Esch bill passed by the House.

The House adopts drastic amendments to the Immigration law, to facilitate exclusion and deportation of alien radicals.

Both branches go in virtual recess until January 5, over the holiday period, under an agreement not to transact important business.

January 6.—In the House, Mr. Mondell (Rep., Wyo.), the Republican leader, declares that in the interest of economy a Public Building and a River and Harbor appropriations bill must not be passed this year.

January 10.—The House, by a vote of 328 to 6, for the second time refuses to seat Victor Berger, Socialist Congressman-elect from a Milwaukee district, on the ground of disloyalty.

January 15.—The Senate passes the Water Power Development bill (similar to one adopted by the House in July).

The House passes the Post Office appropriation bill (\$460,000,000), eliminating provision for air-mail service.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

December 17.—Officials of the American Federation of Labor and the four principal railroad brotherhoods submit a plea to the President to delay returning the railroads to their owners for at least two years.

December 18.—Attorney-General Palmer announces that the five large packing companies agreed to dispose of their holdings in food-products subsidiaries, in public stockyards, railroads and terminals, and public cold storage warehouses.

December 19.—Victor L. Berger, the Socialist elected from the Milwaukee Congressional District and barred by the House on the ground of disloyalty, is reelected by a plurality of nearly 5000 votes.

December 20.—The President names the members of the Coal Commission: Henry M. Robinson, of California; John P. White, ex-President of the United Mine Workers; and Rembrandt Peale, a Pennsylvania mine owner.

December 21.—Two hundred and fifty alien radicals are deported from the United States, on the transport *Buford*, bound from New York to a Russian port (see page 161).

The bituminous coal-mine owners repudiate the plan of Attorney-General Palmer, under which the Coal Commission was created, and declare that they were not consulted; they did accept the plan of Fuel Administrator Garfield.

December 23.—Admiral Sims refuses to accept a Distinguished Service Medal, and writes at length to the Secretary of the Navy in criticism of the method of awarding medals.

December 24.—The President issues a proclamation terminating Government control and restoring the railroads to their owners on March 1.

December 28.—The President's Industrial Conference presents preliminary suggestions for preventing strikes; it proposes the establishment of a national industrial tribunal and regional boards of inquiry and adjustment.

December 29.—The Coal Strike Settlement Commission holds its first meeting, in Washington.

January 1.—The President signs the bill extending for a year Government control over sugar.

January 2.—The Department of Justice carries out simultaneous raids against radical aliens in more than thirty cities throughout the country.

The United States Shipping Board offers for sale thirty former German-owned passenger ships, including the *Leviathan*, the largest ship afloat; it is required that the ships must fly the American flag.

January 4.—The Department of Justice estimates that 2700 aliens have been arrested, against whom "perfect cases" for deportation have been established.

January 5.—The United States Supreme Court, by a 5 to 4 decision, upholds the constitutionality of war-time prohibition as enforced by the Volstead Act; the making of so-called "2.75 beer" comes to an end.

January 6.—The legislatures of Rhode Island and Kentucky ratify the woman-suffrage amendment to the federal Constitution, bringing the number of ratifying States to twenty-four.

January 7.—Governor Smith urges the New York legislature to rescind its ratification of the prohibition amendment and submit the question to the voters.

January 8.—The Democratic National Committee decides to hold the party's national nominating convention at San Francisco on June 28.



CENSUS ENUMERATORS WORKING LAST MONTH AMONG THE FOREIGN BORN IN NEW YORK CITY

At a Jackson Day dinner in Washington, half a dozen avowed candidates for the Democratic Presidential nomination, including Mr. Bryan, speak on national issues; a letter from President Wilson is read declaring that the Senate must not alter the meaning of the peace treaty and proposing that the question be submitted to the voters at the next election.

January 10.—The Secretary of the Treasury urges the House Ways and Means Committee to appropriate \$150,000,000 to prevent starvation in Poland, Rumania, and Austria.

The New York Legislature, with but two dissenting voices, votes to exclude the five Socialist

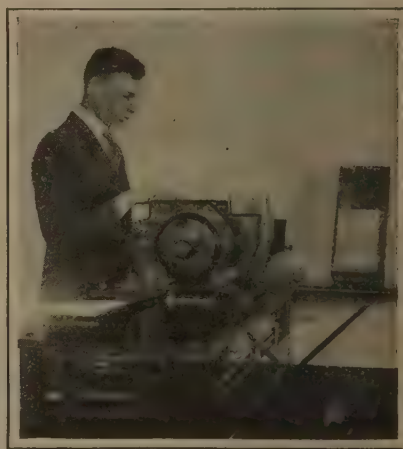
members pending trial on charges that their party's platform is revolutionary.

January 12.—The New York Assembly, by vote of 71 to 33, refuses to reconsider its action in suspending five Socialist members.

January 13.—The Oregon Legislature completes ratification of the woman-suffrage amendment to the federal constitution.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

December 18.—In Canada it is decided that no successor to Premier Borden shall be chosen, but that he will take an extended vacation necessary because of ill health.



HOW CENSUS STATISTICS ARE COMPILED

(The little machine at the left punches holes in a card, each hole representing a complete statement as to age, ancestry, occupation, or other similar fact. The machine at the right sorts these punched cards, counting and recording the "holes" which represent facts)

December 19.—An attempt is made to assassinate the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Viscount French; the conspirators work from ambush, near Dublin, and the attempt is unsuccessful.

December 22.—A new Irish Home Rule proposal is outlined to Parliament by Premier Lloyd George; he would create two Irish Parliaments (one in the north and another in the south), with a Council chosen by both legislatures to undertake common services.

December 23.—Royal assent is given by King George to a new measure extending a larger share of self-government to India, with popular assemblies and elected representatives of the people.

In the French Chamber, Premier Clemenceau speaks on foreign policies and is sustained in a vote of confidence by 458 to 70.

December 24.—General Semenov is reported to have been appointed by Admiral Kolchak as supreme military commander in the Irkutsk, Transbaikai, and Amur districts.

December 26.—Bolshevist forces in Siberia report the capture of Tomsk and Taiga, defeating Kolchak's Siberian and Polish troops.

January 4.—British railway workers at various mass meetings vote to reject the Government's schedule of wage increases.

January 11.—Elections are held in France for 240 members of the Senate, the first Senate elections since the beginning of the war.

January 13.—Rioting in Berlin—a mob demonstration against the Reichstag building in protest against weakness of the pending Workmen's Council measure—causes the death of 42 persons, the police finally using bombs and machine guns.

Paul Deschanel is elected President of the French Chamber of Deputies.

January 15.—Premier Clemenceau authorizes his supporters to place his name before the presidential electors, who meet on January 17 (see page 153).

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

December 16.—The Supreme Council decides to undertake the problem of obtaining food for starving Austria.

December 17.—The Supreme Council fixes as \$70,000,000 the sum needed to finance the feeding of Austria.

December 28.—Premier Kei Hara is reported as declaring that Japan will withdraw from Siberia when the Bolshevist menace is over.

December 30.—Viscount Grey, British Ambassador, leaves Washington for home, it being understood that the President's illness has prevented fulfilment of his special mission.

January 3.—Polish and Lettish troops enter Dvinsk, ejecting the Bolshevist armies.

January 5.—The Supreme Council reaches an agreement with the German delegation, reducing to 275,000 tons its demand for maritime material as indemnity for the scuttling of the German fleet.

January 10.—The Peace Treaty of Versailles becomes effective with the exchange of ratifications (at Paris) by Germany and fourteen of the powers allied in the war; the United States, China, Greece, and Rumania take no part in the proceedings; the German delegates also sign the protocol settling issues raised since the writing of the treaty.

January 12.—Herbert Hoover declares that establishment of American credits for \$150,000,000 will feed Europe until the next harvest, and that the loans would soon be repaid.

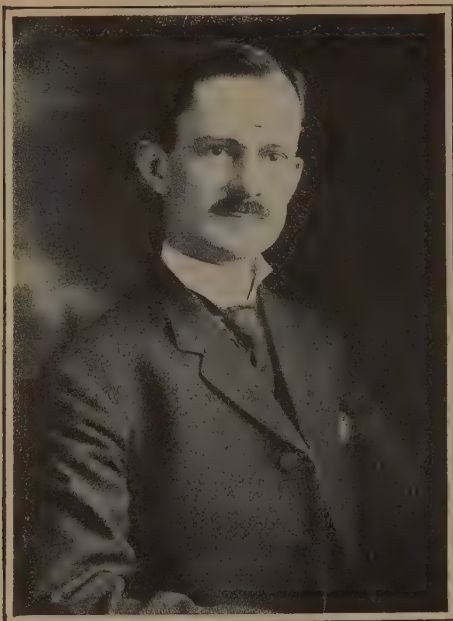
January 13.—In compliance with a provision in the covenant of the League of Nations, President Wilson calls the first meeting of the Council of the League, to be held in Paris on January 16.

The State Department announces that the United States has refused to accept any part of the indemnity assessed by the Allies against Germany for scuttling its fleet.

January 15.—The terms of peace offered to Hungary are handed to that country's delegation at Paris.



THE UNITED STATES TRANSPORT "BUFORD," LEAVING NEW YORK IN DECEMBER AND CARRYING BACK TO RUSSIA SEVERAL HUNDRED ALIEN RADICALS



© Harris & Ewing

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE, INAUGURATED MAYOR OF PHILADELPHIA ON JANUARY 5

(Mr. Moore has been well known to the country as a result of ten years' service in the House of Representatives. In his early youth he had been a reporter and editorial writer on the *Public Ledger*, and later had filled various municipal offices in Philadelphia. He is the first Mayor to serve under the new charter, and in his inaugural address he gave strong pledges for a clean and efficient administration.)

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

December 18.—At a public consistory, Pope Benedict creates seven new cardinals.

December 30.—Dr. Marion Leroy Burton (president of the University of Minnesota) accepts the presidency of University of Michigan.

January 2.—The taking of the Fourteenth Census begins throughout the United States.

It is reported from Panama that 2396 ships passed through the Canal in 1919, a larger number than in any previous year.

January 3.—A violent earth shock is felt throughout central Mexico, causing the death of several thousand persons; the damage is particularly heavy in the western part of Vera Cruz.

January 8.—The steel workers' union calls off its unsuccessful strike, begun on September 22.

January 11.—The French steamer *Afrique* is wrecked on a shoal during a storm in the Bay of Biscay, scores of lives being lost.

OBITUARY

December 16.—Florence Nightingale Ferguson Ward, a distinguished homeopath and surgeon, 59.

December 17.—Luigi Illica, the Italian composer of words for many famous operas.

December 18.—Rear-Adm. Benjamin Tappan, U. S. N., retired, 63 . . . Horatio William Parker,

the distinguished American composer of operas and church music, 66.

December 19.—Homer S. King, the San Francisco banker. . . Cleofonte Campanini, the famous conductor, general director of the Chicago Opera Association, 59. . . Capt. John Alcock, the British aviator who crossed the Atlantic in an airplane, 27.

December 20.—Peter J. Campbell, President of the Maryland Senate.

December 21.—Henry W. Hodge, of New York, a foremost authority on bridge-building, 54.

December 24.—Walter Allen Watson, Representative in Congress from Virginia, 52.

December 26.—Brig.-Gen. David L. Stanton, a distinguished Civil War veteran of Maryland, 80. . . Brig.-Gen. William Ruffin Cox, Confederate veteran and member of Congress from North Carolina, 78.

December 27.—Caleb M. Van Hamm, widely known as managing editor of New York newspapers, 58.

December 29.—Sir William Osler, the famous British physician who for fifteen years was professor of medicine at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, 70 (see page 206).

December 30.—Major-Gen. Thomas H. Barrie, U. S. A., recently retired, 64. . . Rear-Adm. John E. Pillsbury, U. S. N., retired, 73.

December 31.—Jean Dupuy, former Premier of France and prominent journalist, 75. . . Samuel S. Barney, former member of Congress from Wisconsin and recently Justice of the United States Court of Claims, 73. . . George Farmer Burgess, former representative in Congress from Texas, 59. . . Frank Pixley, author of many successful plays and musical comedies, 52.

January 1.—Brig.-Gen. Alfred H. Stead, of Pennsylvania, a veteran of the Civil War.

January 2.—Feng Kuo-chang, a former President of China, 60. . . Sir Frank Cavendish Lascelles, a distinguished British diplomat, 78.

January 4.—George Macloskie, professor emeritus of biology at Princeton University, 84.

January 5.—John D. White, former Representative in Congress from Kentucky. . . Lord Cunliffe, recognized as England's foremost banker, 65. . . Sir Thomas Richard Fraser, for forty years professor of materia medica in the University of Edinburgh, 78.

January 7.—Sir Edmund Barton, former Premier of Australia, 70.

January 8.—Maud Powell, the world's foremost woman violinist, 51. . . Prof. Heinrich Lammasch, former Premier of Austria and noted as an international arbitrator, 67.

January 11.—Rev. Hunter Corbett, D.D., for more than half a century a Presbyterian missionary in China, 84.

January 12.—John A. Mead, Governor of Vermont 1910-'12, 78.

January 14.—Charles E. Magoon, former Governor of the Panama Canal Zone, and Governor of Cuba 1906-'09, 58. . . John F. Dodge, a prominent Detroit automobile manufacturer, 54. . . Brig.-Gen. Charles H. Lauchheimer, of the U. S. Marine Corps, 60.

January 15.—Richard C. Maclaurin, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 50.

TOPICS OF THE MONTH IN CARTOONS



WHO'S DRIVING? From the News (Chicago, Illinois) *

THE emergence of Mr. Bryan—who had been in comparative obscurity since his retirement from the office of Secretary of State in President Wilson's first Cabinet—has given the cartoonists a new sphere of ac-

tion, for no public man is more popular with the artists of the pen. On the following page are reproduced a number of Bryan cartoons, while on this page some recent activities of Congress are illustrated. On the



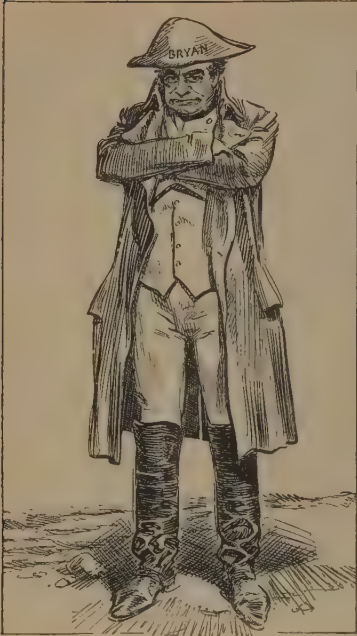
NEARING THE END

(Uncle Sam will drop his Railroad burden on March 1)
From the World (New York)



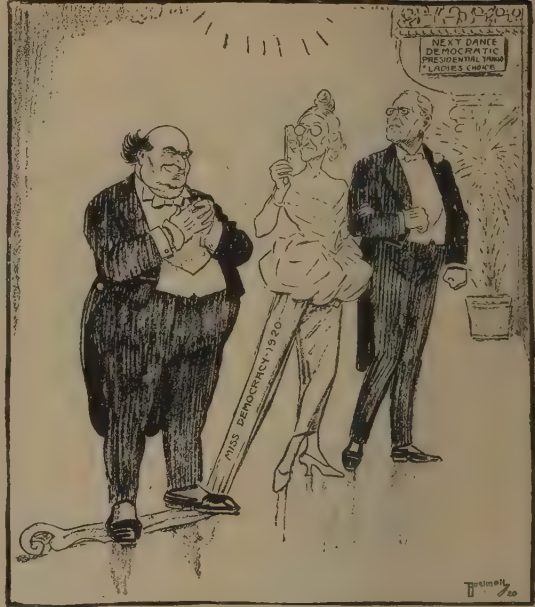
"NOW LET'S HAVE SOME ACTION!"

From the Central Press Association (Cleveland, Ohio)



BACK FROM ELBA

By Reid, in the *Call* (Paterson, N. J.)



"WILLIAM, KINDLY REMEMBER THIS IS A LEAP YEAR AFFAIR!"

From the *Central Press Association* (Cleveland, Ohio)

fourth page of the department attention is given to some of the important problems now confronting the British people.



WHAT, IS HE HERE AGAIN?

From the *Tribune* (New York)



AT IT AGAIN

By Kirby, in the *World* (New York)



FOOLING WITH THE OUIJA BOARD

From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



AMERICA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

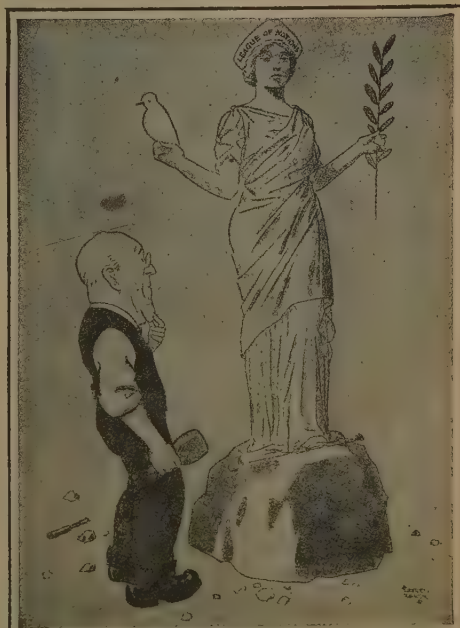
JOHN BULL (to Jonathan): "Come and play. Otherwise the other children over there can't."
 JONATHAN: "I don't know whether I'll play or not. The stakes are too high."

From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



ANOTHER CURFEW

UNCLE SAM: "Curfew shall not ring—yet."
 From *Opinion* (London)



PYGMALION WILSON: "CONFOUND IT! I DON'T BELIEVE SHE WILL EVER COME TO LIFE!"
 From the *World* (London)



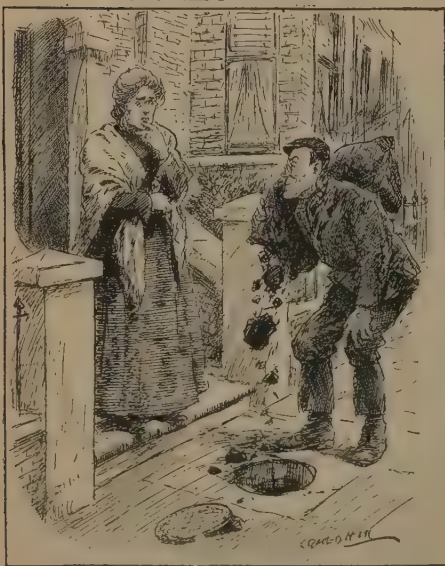
LLOYD GEORGE, AS JACK THE GIANT KILLER
From the *Daily Express* (London)



OUT OF HAND!
From the *Passing Show* (London)



THE INTERRUPTED FLIRTATION
DISTRESSFUL DAMSEL: "Here comes my rescuer again.
Looks like business this time."
From *Punch* (London)



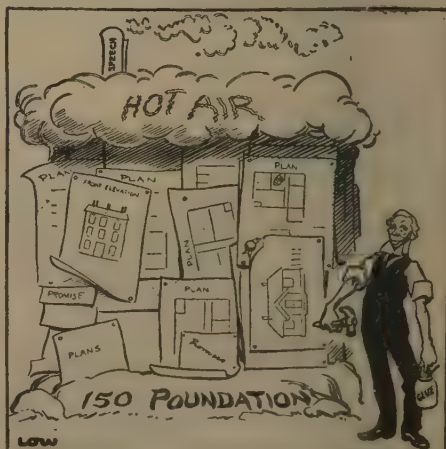
TOO GOOD FOR BELIEF

SIR AUCLAND GEDDES (heaving): "Your coal will cost you less, mum."

SCEPITICAL BRITISH MATRON: "Ah, I daresay! But if I know anything of these things there's a catch somewhere."

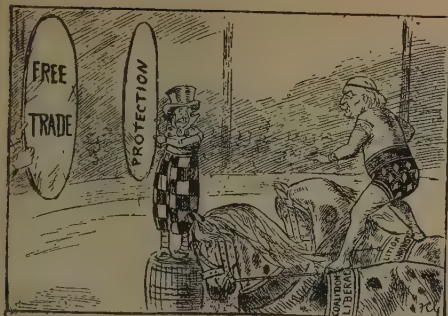
From *Punch* (London)

[The coal strike in the United States was settled by advancing wages without increasing the price of coal. In Great Britain, Sir Auckland Geddes' plan raised miners' wages and at the same time reduced the price to the consumer.]



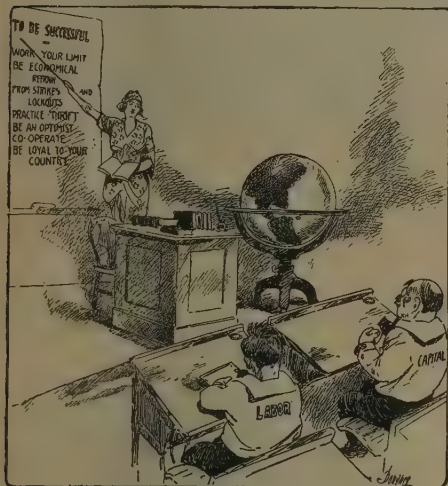
THIS IS THE HOUSE THAT ADDISON BUILT
From the *Star* (London)

[Referring to Government plans, under Dr. Christopher Addison, to remedy the shortage of housing accommodations.]



THE TWO HOOPS

(Whichever hoop he chooses, Lloyd George is sure to lose either his Liberal or his Unionist horse)
From the *Westminster Gazette* (London)



SCHOOL BEGINS AGAIN

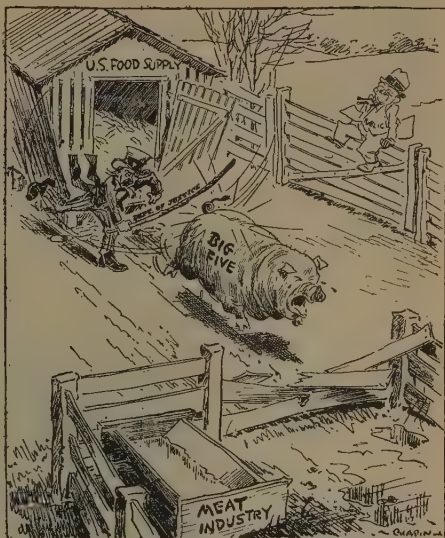
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio)



"SUGAR, SUGAR! WHO'S GOT THE SUGAR?"

From the *Daily Tribune* (Sioux City, Ia.)

Feb.—3



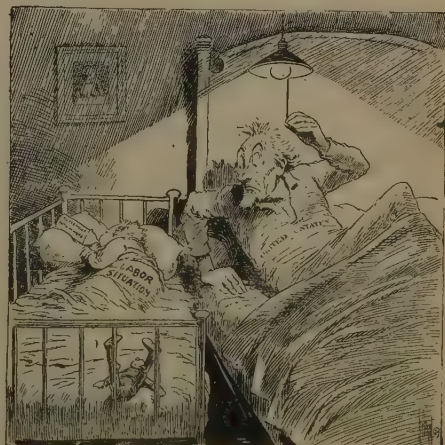
UNCLE SAM TO THE PACKERS: "DURN YE, GIT BACK TO YER TROUGH"

From the *Star* (St. Louis)



WHY NOT STOP FEEDING HIM!

From the *News* (Chicago)



NOW FOR SOME REST

From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

RUIN AND RESTORATION



THE RUINS OF YPRES, BURNED BY THE GERMANS ON NOVEMBER 22, 1914, AND BOMBARDED FOR FOUR YEARS
(The famous Cloth Hall and belfry, with the foreground showing some attempt at clearing the wreckage)

A portion of the French press, on the anniversary of the Armistice and again at the beginning of the New Year, seemed inclined to the pessimistic view that a year had been wasted; but others have told of real progress in clearing away ruins and bringing industrial, agricultural, and living conditions back toward normal.



AMONG THE RUINS OF YPRES—CLEARING AWAY THE DEBRIS



RESTORING ORDER TO THE RUINS OF LENS



SCHOOL INSTALLED IN A TEMPORARY BUILDING AT LENS



A STREET IN THE NEW PORTION OF PÉRONNE

PARALYSIS OF MIDDLE EUROPE

Racial Phases Disappear and Economic Aspects Emerge—
Clemenceau, the Great Hero of the World War—Russia and
the Bolshevik Menace

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I N the present article I mean to discuss two things which constitute the major circumstances of the last few weeks of European history—first, the development of chaos in Middle Europe and, second, the passing of Clemenceau as Prime Minister and his probable translation to the Elysée Palace, spending such remaining space as there may be, with certain other almost equally important incidents.

I. THE RACIAL PHASE

To begin at the beginning, the chaos in Middle Europe has its origin in two conflicting circumstances. That portion of Europe which lies south of the frontiers of the old German Empire and east of the Alps, mainly occupied before the World War by the Austro-Hungarian Empire, represents a welter of races and nationalities separated by animosities a thousand years old. And it also represents, in part at least, an economic whole.

One of the main purposes of the war, one of its great justifications in the eyes of many, was the prospect that victory for the Allies held out of the liberation of these various races of Austria-Hungary.

At the moment when the World War broke out, nearly thirty millions of Slavs and Latins in the Hapsburg Empire were held in subjection by not more than twenty-four millions of Hungarians and Germans. The Czechs in Bohemia, the Italians on the Adriatic, were subjected to persecutions and prosecutions which had no end. In the same way the Slovaks, the Croatians, the Serbs, and the Rumanians in Hungary were the victims of a tyranny as stupid as it was malignant. Of all the Slavs in the Hapsburg State, only the Poles, and they all too tardily, were permitted to follow their racial customs.

We had, then, a situation which carried with it the ultimate doom of Hapsburg

power. Count Czernin, who directed the foreign policy of the Dual Empire in its closing days, has recently indicated in his book that this confusion and clash of racial aspirations and ambitions had insured the downfall of Austria-Hungary even before the war came to destroy her last restraining bonds.

As a consequence of the defeat of the Central Powers the several races were liberated. On old Austro-Hungarian soil there suddenly sprang up an independent Czechoslovakia and an independent Yugoslavia, while the Latin provinces of the Dual Monarchy were occupied by Rumanian and Italian troops, and the Poles and Ruthenians beyond the Carpathians were assigned to the new Poland, created from Austrian, German, and Russian lands.

By virtue of the Allied victory more than twenty-five millions of people were thus set free. The principle of nationality which had supplied the controlling force in the history of the Nineteenth Century acquired a new importance in the development of the Twentieth.

On the whole, no similar deliverance of millions from tyranny and servitude is discoverable in history. Taken in conjunction with the liberation of the people of Alsace-Lorraine and of the German and Russian borders, this constitutes one of the great feats in all human history.

At Paris the debates were over the proper fixing of the frontiers between the several races which would do substantial justice to the rights of each. A great volume of documents, a long period of debate, turned on the question of whether Hungarians or Rumanians were entitled to the regions along the Theiss, and on the rival claims of the Slav and the Latin along the Adriatic shore. The newly freed tribes quarreled among themselves, and some of the quarrels have resulted in the creation of new antipathies, while in no instance have old hatreds been

modified. And as a consequence of these quarrels the attention of the world had been fixed upon the racial and national aspects of the new Europe, to the exclusion of all else.

II. THE ECONOMIC ASPECT

In recent months, however, with a daily increasing force, the world has been compelled to recognize that it had ignored one of the vital elements in the problem. Accepting for the moment the assumption that the frontiers between the several races in old Austro-Hungary had been drawn with relative fidelity to the ethnological map, it becomes clear that this solution has liberated millions of people from political tyranny only to impose upon them economic misery which, in turn, seems to threaten them with actual extermination. We read in current despatches of starvation in Vienna, of the certain doom of the vast population of that city, while in Hungary and elsewhere similar circumstances are being forced upon our attention.

The explanation is simple. We have in partitioning Austria-Hungary created a state of Czechoslovakia, separated from the sea, rich in minerals, possessing considerable industrial machinery, but incapable of feeding its considerable population. And in joining the territory of the Slovaks to that of the Czechs we have separated the Slovaks from their natural economic association with the Hungarians and cooped them up in a mountain region without any direct rail or road communication with Bohemia and Moravia. We have dealt even more harshly with the old Hapsburg provinces inhabited by Germans and containing the city of Vienna. A third of the population of this state live in Vienna. They have no source of food, of raw material, of any of the elements necessary to exist on their own territories. Vienna is dying, as the brain would die if it were separated from the body. We have denied these Austrian Germans the privilege of uniting themselves with Germany, although in such an association they might find food, raw materials, and a chance for existence.

Quite in the same fashion, Yugoslavia, a state almost as large as Italy, will find itself—if Italian purposes prevail at Fiume—without any natural outlet upon the sea. In this territory more food is produced than is consumed, but this food cannot be exported save under hindering Italian supervision.

Out of Hungary, which was once a great state, we have created a mutilated fragment, without natural frontiers, with no outlet on the sea, surrounded by enemies, with all its gateways in the hands of races which hate the Magyars. We have deprived the Hungarian of all his minerals. We have placed his intercourse with other nations at the mercy of his secular enemies, and left him no choice but to perish or surrender his independence.

At the present moment, with very few exceptions, all the railroad systems of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire have been transformed into short lines which end at the frontiers we have traced between the races. Through trains are practically unknown. Railroad rolling stock does not pass any frontier, as a result of the fear that it would not return.

It is as if the United States had been broken up into its component State units, the minerals of Pennsylvania had been shut off from the manufacturing districts of New England; the foodstuff of the West stopped at arbitrary frontiers west of the Alleghanies. It is as if, traveling from New York to Boston, one had to change trains at the Connecticut boundary, at the Rhode Island frontier, and finally at the Massachusetts line.

We have in the matter of communications created a condition surpassing the chaos of the Middle Ages. Austria-Hungary produced food and minerals and possessed great manufacturing regions. All three were necessarily united in the economic whole. Now all three are separated, and the result is starvation, paralysis, a condition growing worse every week and becoming more and more a peril difficult to exaggerate and perhaps presently becoming impossible for us to check.

In the days when Hoover ruled in Middle Europe he set afoot a system of barter and exchange, while he placed his own men on railroad trains to guarantee the return of the rolling stock. For a period he kept economic breath in the frame of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. But Hoover is gone. The system of barter and exchange has practically come to an end. Communications are almost non-existent. The Rumanians who invaded Hungary took back with them the railroad equipment which they found—largely, to be sure, their own equipment which the Hungarians had in their turn stolen from Rumania.

III. THE SOLUTION

If we are to have any solution of the problem which is presented in Middle Europe to-day, it is patent that we must have now some process of economic reintegration. In some way or other the eggs must be unscrambled. Some method must be found by which the raw materials can reach the factories, the product of the factories reach the markets, and the food of the great wheat regions arrive at places where men and women and children are starving.

In separating the Poles and, Ruthenians from the Hapsburg Empire, the Conference of Paris was able to act in accordance with ethnographic and economic facts. These regions were naturally a part of the East rather than the West, and they will properly become parts of the new Polish state. In the same way, the people who live in the regions assigned to Rumania will in no distant time become a part of a nation which has an outlet on the sea and all the necessary resources of a virile state.

But the case is far different with the Austria that remains, with Czechoslovakia, with Hungary, and with Jugoslavia. Unless some means can be found to bring about a federation between the peoples dwelling in this area—an economic, not a political federation, a system of tariff boundaries rather than strategic frontiers—the fate of all four seems to be sealed.

The problem of Jugoslavia is at once the simplest and the most difficult. It turns upon the guarantee to the southern Slavs of unimpeded access to the Adriatic. The Italians have frequently promised that if they obtain Fiume they will concede to the Slavs full and free approach to the sea. But Austria-Hungary, when she possessed the outlets necessary for Serbia, used them again and again to close her frontiers to Serbian exports. The prosperity of Fiume would mean the ruin of Trieste, and every influence that one can conceive of will be exerted by the people of Trieste to hamper the development of Fiume.

Precisely as long as the Italians occupy Fiume, the economic existence of Jugoslavia will be at the mercy of a hostile nation. To-day it is one of the anomalies of the situation that while Italy suffers for food, Jugoslavia possesses that food, for which she has no outlet. There are conceivably 25,000 Italians in Fiume. But there are at least eleven million Slavs in the hinterland. And

the future development of this great Slav state turns upon the question of proper access to the sea. All the proposals for other ports are idle, since it would be a matter of years and of enormous expense to build new railroads and create another port; and the situation that Middle Europe faces is one in which relief to be effective must be prompt.

Far more difficult of solution is the problem of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Austria. Together, these three fragments might make an economic unit. Separated, they must inevitably be at the mercy of their neighbors.

The Conference of Paris may forbid the union of German Austrians with the German Empire; the League of Nations may forbid it; but as between starvation and extermination on the one side and union with Germany on the other, no one can doubt the ultimate result.

And the case of Czechoslovakia will not be different. Already the Slovaks are beginning to break away from the association with the Czechs and demand union with their old oppressors, the Hungarians. All the valleys which constitute the fertile lands of the Slovak districts open into the Hungarian plain. All the railroads in the country go south to Budapest. As for Bohemia and Moravia, constituting the bulk of the Czechoslovak state, they are only a peninsula in the German sea. If German-Austria ever succeeds in joining Germany, practically every outlet of the Czechs by which their products can reach their markets will be in German hands.

It is necessary to face the fact. Self-determination as a principle was a natural and necessary circumstance in the settlement of the World War. It was an intolerable situation which existed when a minority dominated a majority. But the history of the last year and the progress of events since the armistice, and since the signing of the several peace treaties, have demonstrated that the German-Austrians, the Czechoslovaks, and the Hungarians are as incapable of permanent prosperity and independence when economically separated as they were of living together peaceably under the old régime.

Some system of coöperation must inevitably succeed the present chaos if Middle Europe is not to be reduced to a condition without modern parallel. Already there is talk of Hungarian federation with Rumania. The demand of Austrian-Germans for union with Germany has never ceased. Jugoslav sol-

diers stand ready to fight if Italian occupation of Fiume becomes permanent.

IV. A "BALKANIZED" MIDDLE EUROPE

For many months the world has been familiar with the statement that the Conference of Paris had "Balkanized" Middle Europe. It must be conceded that the Austro-Hungarian Empire could not have persisted, given the conditions of 1914. Count Czernin believes that the great scheme of Archduke Ferdinand, whose death at Sarajevo was the signal for the storm, his dream of substituting for the dual system a federation of races, could not have succeeded. But it is apparent that what now exists cannot endure.

Unless some system of order, some method of coöperation is found, and found promptly, it is almost inevitable that portions at least of the old Hapsburg monarchy—the most fertile and progressive portions—will sink into anarchy, and even the Czech fragment, conspicuous to-day for its prosperity and good order, will fall in the general disaster.

The past had demonstrated that two races could not permanently tyrannize over other races more numerous and determined to be free. The present has demonstrated with equal clarity that there are economic units exactly as there are racial groups, and people who live on one street cannot separate themselves from the community in which they live without interrupting the traffic of the community, paralyzing its business, destroying the essential and necessary coöperation. Austria-Hungary to-day is in as impossible a situation as a man whose hands and feet and head all set out to establish their own independence and separation. We have studied the ethnographic maps of Europe for the last five years with care, with complete absorption. But the time has come when it is quite clear that we must study the economic and geographic maps with equal care.

France and Italy are examples of states whose political frontiers conform substantially to economic and ethnographic circumstances with equal fidelity. And yet in the case of France, recent months have shown with increasing definiteness how great is the problem of rejoining Alsace-Lorraine to the motherland, although the separation lasted but half a century.

No one who knows anything about the case can question the desire of the great

majority of the people of the "Lost Provinces" to rejoin France. And yet the fact that the Germans in half a century had built the railroads, developed the canals, expanded the industries, and made the whole economic existence of the two provinces dependent upon Germany, makes the change one of great difficulty.

To take the case of Italy: Joining Trieste and Fiume to the Italian kingdom, granting that both have an Italian majority in their population which desires such a union, not impossibly spells the ruin of both cities. Certainly if Fiume falls to the Jugoslavs, Trieste will lose its importance; while if both become Italian, Fiume will be sacrificed.

But the "Balkanizing" of Middle Europe does not merely mean chaos and paralysis in the territory immediately affected. Day by day and week by week the menace which is Bolshevism, which is Russia, grows as all the several efforts of Russians to destroy the Bolshevik régime fail. We begin to perceive more and more clearly the possibility that the Bolsheviks, having presently disposed of their domestic enemies—as the French Revolution mastered its foes at home—may begin to push westward. If when that hour comes there lies before its great armies only the thin facade of Rumanian and Polish forces separating them from that vast chaos of misery and despair which to-day extends from Bavaria to Belgrade, there is every possibility that their troops will overflow, as did the Revolutionary and Napoleonic armies, sweeping aside insignificant obstacles.

We shall not save the situation in Middle Europe by sending food or by sending money, however necessary it may be momentarily to send both. The states which we have created at Versailles out of the old Hapsburg Empire are incapable in several instances of supporting themselves—that is, of separate economic existence. Unless some system of coöperation can be found, Middle Europe will be Boche or Bolshevik within the next decade. And it may be both. The pathway of Germany southward, of Russia westward, must lie through regions in which every semblance of order is rapidly disintegrating. It is a great triumph to have rescued millions of men and women from tyranny, to have established equality between races. It was not possible to preserve the old system. But the great single circumstance in our recent victory will be vitiated unless we can now find some method of restoring economic equili-

brium. If we fail, millions of men and women and children will perish from starvation. Following this tragedy one must look for political disasters of incalculable gravity.

V. CLEMENCEAU

Within the next few weeks the most conspicuous single figure in the great drama of the World War, M. Clemenceau, will lay down the burden which he took up in the awful crisis of 1917. The "Father of Victory" will, it now seems, exchange the responsibilities of the Quai d'Orsay for the less onerous duties of the Elysée Palace.

The greatness of the achievement of Clemenceau will be more appreciated with every succeeding year, as there is set forth more and more clearly the desperateness of the situation when he took office. While he was in the opposition in the first three years of the struggle, his voice was the one clear note urging the prosecution of the war and insisting that victory was possible.

I remember well a talk I had with him in 1916 while the German armies were still advancing before Verdun. I recall the clarity with which he criticized the mistakes and blunders that had made Verdun almost a disaster before it became a permanent glory. At that time he said to me: "There was an hour when I almost despaired of the future of my fellow-countrymen, but now I do not need to tell you what they have done and are doing. Look about you."

Always Clemenceau saw the greatness of France as a nation and of his fellow-countrymen as human beings in the most terrible crisis in their history. When he took office the French army had been defeated at the front, and behind the front treason and defeatism had flourished. The will to win was crumbling. Supreme disaster was avoided only by his indomitable perseverance and by the confidence which he imparted to those about him.

France knew at last that she had a civilian chief worthy of her, and through Clemenceau's efforts the Allied armies presently had in Foch a military commander who brought victory. In the closing days of 1917 Clemenceau restored the courage and determination of France. He drove traitors from power; he eliminated incompetents; he communicated to the masses the spirit which was his own.

In the early disasters of 1918 he found the necessary impulsion to push through his

project of unity of command. In the first days of April, when the Allied front had been broken, his practical ultimatum gave Foch the opportunity to prevent defeat and organize victory. When the French and British forces were broken at the Chemin-des-Dames, and Paris seemed in danger, Clemenceau displayed a courage and confidence which were worth armies. While providing for the defence of Paris he asserted that France would continue to fight even if the capital fell. His days and nights were divided between the soldiers at the front and the government in the rear. Every criticism, every protest, every argument of the weak, the weary, the thoughtless, he brushed aside with his famous declaration: "I make war. I make war. I make war." He had the singleness of purpose, the clarity of vision, the ultimate moral courage to save a situation compromised almost beyond hope.

America's great military effort would have gone for nothing if Clemenceau's spirit had not availed to hold the line until we could arrive. Even more than Foch, Clemenceau was the great hero of the World War. He, more than any other one man, saved France, and in saving France saved Europe and the world from German domination.

VI. AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

In the Peace Conference, Clemenceau's role was frequently misunderstood and generally misinterpreted. He sought to preserve in the presence of the enemy the unity which he had achieved for the Allies on the battlefield. An old man, familiar in his own experience with half a century of European history, he viewed with impatience British and American dreams of world adjustment—of perfect and permanent pacification.

He fought for France in the Peace Conference as he had striven for his country in war. Hard pressed on the one side by the Imperialists, but even more compromised by the demands of the soldiers for geographical and military considerations, Clemenceau resisted the demands for annexation on the left bank of the Rhine, and sought rather to obtain for his country a guarantee for the future, in association with the United States and Great Britain.

He never shared the American hopes for a League of Nations. He never accepted the British modifications of the American conception. He believed that history would continue to flow as it had flowed in the past;

that the strife between races, tribes, and nations would continue. He endeavored to build on a foundation of fact rather than upon a corner-stone of hope.

As a consequence, Clemenceau has been abused and assaulted in Great Britain and in the United States as the champion of reaction and the proponent of old-fashioned militarism. There could be no greater irony, no greater misconception of fundamental facts than this. As a boy Clemenceau defied the Third Empire because he was what he has remained throughout a long life, a republican and a radical. With militarism, with colonial dreams and ambitions, he has had no sympathy. In opposing the extreme aspirations of Americans and of Britons at Paris, he did not think or act as a reactionary, but rather as a realist. The same appreciation of fundamental facts which shone through all the darkest periods of the war, which led him to demand unity of command, moved him again and again to protest against a total ignoring of history, of military and geographic considerations at Paris.

It is, however, unfortunate that as a result of careless and unintelligent criticism, Clemenceau's true grandeur has been somewhat obscured in the United States and in Great Britain. He has been more fortunate at home. The recent election was one of the most magnificent and tremendous vindications any public man ever achieved in a democracy. He had won the war for France. He had fought to make the peace secure. And in his memorable speech at Strasbourg, which opened the campaign, he told his countrymen plainly that the salvation of France lay in work and nowhere else.

The result of his conduct of the political campaign was like that of his direction of the military effort. The forces of disorder, of anarchy, of revolution, were beaten. France, on the morrow of victory, elected to the Chamber of Deputies men whose character was the guarantee against Bolshevism. The victory of the First Marne, the supreme success of the Second Marne, neither was more important as a contribution to world order than the victory of democratic France under Clemenceau at the polls.

Had he so chosen, Clemenceau might have continued as Prime Minister. His decision to retire, and his consent to succeed Poincaré, leaves the field open for a younger man, not impossibly for M. Millerand, who was sent to Alsace-Lorraine by Clemenceau to

repair the blunders of the early days of occupation, and who revealed a capacity for organization and government which has excited admiration on all sides.

As President of the Republic, Clemenceau must face limitations which have obscured the occupant of that office since the days of Thiers himself. It may be that after the great renown of his recent triumph, and with some support from the men elected under his direction, he will, as President, for the moment at least, remain a force.

On the other hand, it seems far more likely that he will become now a voice, that he will be able from his high office to address to his fellow-countrymen those appeals and those statements which in the days when he, single-handed, was fighting official incompetence early in the war, were the most considerable contribution in the shape of the spoken or the written word. In office or out of office, Prime Minister or President, Clemenceau, until the breath of life leaves his body, cannot fail to be a force. France has recognized his value and appraised his service; and in the critical months which are now to follow the whole world is fortunate in having, in some measure at least, the services of Clemenceau. Given all his human limitations, his excesses of phrase and of temper, his grim, sardonic outlook upon life, he remains the greatest figure of our own time—the man who saved France in the hour of her deadliest peril, and the man who now, having led France to victory, is leading her back to peaceful effort which will consolidate the victory. To-day he is as great a bulwark against Bolshevism as he was yesterday against the German.

VII. AS TO RUSSIA

It remains now to turn for a moment toward the Russian situation. In the West we see France and Great Britain, despite many handicaps and various industrial crises, slowly but surely undertaking again the business of life, and, thanks to their economic as well as their political unity, starting on the road to prosperity.

By contrast, in Middle Europe we see chaos and political disorder spreading because necessary economic association has been forbidden by the recognition of racial aspirations to the exclusion of industrial considerations.

At the same moment it is becoming clear that the feeble and futile policy adopted at

Paris toward Russia has completely collapsed, as I have warned my readers for many months that it was collapsing. The armies of Kolchak, Denikine, and Yudenitch have been defeated and are disappearing with a rapidity which is almost astonishing. In all of the vast Russian Empire there remains not a single force capable of sustained opposition to Lenine and Trotsky.

We are actually at the moment of the third anniversary of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, imposed upon a helpless Russia by an organized and victorious Germany. And yet at this moment it is Trotsky and Lenine, not Ludendorff and the Kaiser, who have realized the expectations of three years ago. Military resistance to Bolshevism has broken down. Victorious Russian armies are approaching the Black Sea, have reached the Azov, are overflowing into Persia and pressing southward toward India. The Balkan states have capitulated. Rumania is prepared to make a separate peace. The sole forces that we have now in the East and in the West to oppose the advance of Bolshevik armies are the Japanese and the Poles.

Unless all signs fail, the coming of spring will see an enormous attack upon Poland by the victorious Bolshevik armies, now fully equipped and munitioned as a result of the capture of equipment and supplies.

There remains, then, for the Western nations a choice between munitioning and supplying Polish armies and those sustaining it against the Bolsheviks in the West—at the same time conceding to the Japanese the right to occupy Siberia and Manchuria—or making peace with Lenine and Trotsky.

To guarantee Poland financial and material assistance may, however, prove insufficient; and we may find ourselves compelled to send armies to Poland or abandon people we have called into existence and exhorted to resist Russian attack. And it is a notorious fact that there is no great power to-day whose rulers dare ask for men to serve in another foreign war.

In the United States we are going through a temporary excitement over the domestic manifestations of Bolshevism. We are engaged in arresting and exiling a few hundreds or thousands. In some curious fashion this minor activity has seized upon popular imagination and serves to satisfy the mass of Americans that effective measures are being taken against the Bolshevik peril.

The truth is obviously otherwise. While we are engaged in disposing of a handful of

agents of anarchy, that vast and terrible menace, which is Bolshevism, is gathering under its control millions of men and women and enormous areas of fertile territory. It is consolidating its power, preparing itself against the hour when it can attack the systems and the political ideas of the West.

In my judgment, so far from world peace having been restored, the World War is entering a new phase. We have been victorious over Germanism, but our very victory has left us weak in the presence of Bolshevism, which is a peril hardly less menacing. Our governments affirm that they will not make peace with the Bolshevik, and our people refuse to make war upon them.

Activity along the Hudson River will not materially affect the Bolshevik advancing along the Vistula. A truce with the Bolsheviks in arms in Europe now will be no more than the kind of truce the Treaty of Amiens was with the French Revolution, at that moment emerging into the Napoleonic phase. The world cannot exist half-Bolshevik and half-Republican, just as the United States could not continue half-slave and half-free. While the Paris Conference has struggled over the making of frontiers and the adoption of principles designed to promote peace, a great new peril has arisen and a new enemy has consolidated his hold upon one of the greatest empires on this planet.

When next spring comes, nothing is more probable than that Europe will suddenly find itself face to face with a new war on a grand scale; nothing is more likely than that the nations which conquered Germany may have to turn to the Germans and seek in them allies against the Bolshevik peril, risking thereby the loss of all the reparations provided for in the treaties of Versailles and the possible reappearance of militarist control in the German Empire.

As I close this article, the signatures are being attached to the documents which put into operation the several treaties liquidating the World War. But it is perhaps significant of the disappointment of the hopes of a year ago that at the moment when the recent war is officially terminated the prospect of a struggle hardly less dangerous to our civilization becomes unmistakable.

Absorption in domestic political questions continues to blind the American people to the meaning of recent events in Europe, and yet for them no less certainly than for the Western nations of Europe the progress of events in Russia carries a deadly significance.

WHY SUGAR IS SCARCE

BY ALBERT W. ATWOOD

OF all the varied industries whose importance has been accentuated by the war, probably none comes closer to the public at large than sugar. Almost everyone eats sugar and has had difficulty in getting enough of it. The shortage of this desirable and, for the most part, necessary commodity has aroused a keen and universal interest in every phase of the sugar industry.

At first sight it would seem as if the sugar industry had assumed a new and rather formidable status. All of us are at the mercy of the man who has sugar to sell. The newspapers are filled with tales of profiteering hunts. Wall Street is eager about sugar and candy stocks, old and new. But the industry has always been important. It has merely of late attracted a somewhat startled attention, chiefly because of the scarcity and high prices of its product, and partly because of the large profits of the sugar producers.

The statement that sugar has *always* been important is not literally true. It was scarce enough a hundred years ago, and used only by the rich. But the majority of us have taken it pretty much for granted most of our lives, somewhat as manna from heaven. Naturally we are both interested and disturbed to find sugar no longer the absurdly cheap commodity that it used to be.

Curiously enough, however, while sugar has been a matter of course to the people who read this article, it is just becoming known to hundreds of millions of human beings. As the great masses of the East, in China, India, and Japan, become more free and independent, there is almost certain to be an expanding consumption of sugar. For it must be remembered that these great masses have never had enough of the sweet stuff in anything like the sense in which we and many of the European peoples have enjoyed it.

Ever-Increasing Consumption

The use of sugar has shown a fairly steady increase for fifty years, and it always goes up with prosperity and high wages. A very large part of all sugar is used indirectly—that is, for canning, preserving, candy, ice

cream, powdered and malted milks, cakes, pies, pastry, and the like. Such articles are bound to be consumed, it would seem, to an increasing extent with the growth of population, congestion in cities, and high wages. Even before the war the production of sugar reached the enormous total of seventeen million tons a year, and the Food Administration ranked it close up to wheat and beef in importance as a food product.

Obviously the use of sugar will not diminish with prohibition. Indeed, there are many signs that consumption will increase as candy, rich pastries, soft drinks, and the like more and more take the place of alcohol. The effects in this direction are already apparent.

From whatever point one views sugar, whether from that of the enraged housewife, the investor in sugar and candy stocks, or the student of industrial tendencies in general, the first question which comes to mind has to do with the high price of sugar. Why have prices risen to such an extent, and will they continue high? From the consumer's point of view, and it concerns the investor also, the question of scarcity is just about as important and, of course, the two questions are closely related.

This article is in no sense a plea for anyone or a defense of the despicable quality of greed. But I am certain that any fair-minded person who studies the sugar question will thereafter be a little less positive on the subject of "robbers" and "profiteers." Normally the world's consumption of sugar increases about half a million tons a year; but the production in 1919 was about two million tons less than in the year before the war, although many forces had in the meantime enormously stimulated the demand even above the normal annual increase.

In plain language, the trouble with sugar is that the world's demand far exceeds the supply. People want more sugar than there is. This is not true of every particular spot in the world, but it is true as a whole. Prices are bound to rise, there is sure to be a scarcity here and there, and mistakes and irregularities of merchandising are certain to happen when there isn't enough to go around.

For sugar is a world crop like wheat and cotton, and prices at all times are intimately related to international conditions. Indeed, most of the important countries of the world normally possess either large surpluses or deficits of sugar, England and the United States usually having annual deficits of from two to three million tons. Before the war France and Italy were about the only western countries which did not have either an enormous surplus or deficit of sugar.

Failure of Europe's Supply

Under normal conditions, England, which up to the war had been relatively the greatest consumer in the world, buys 60 per cent. of her sugar supply from Germany and Austria. The war naturally stopped that. France had partly taken care of herself in the matter of sugar, but, roughly speaking, two-thirds of her beet-sugar factories were in the war zone, and it is said that 85 per cent. of these were destroyed. The same was true of Belgium.

In Europe, as a whole, from 1914 to 1919 the production of sugar fell off 4,573,515 tons, or about the amount of the entire consumption in this country. The falling-off amounted to about a million tons each in Germany, Austria, and Russia. Two-thirds of the entire source of supply in Europe was within the battle lines.

Allowing for the normal yearly increase in consumption and the actual falling-off in production, the world is probably short some four or five million tons of what it might use in the way of sugar. Cuba and Java are the only countries which have increased production, but Java sugar is pretty well snapped up in the Far East. India is a very large sugar producer, but solely for domestic consumption, and its last year's crop was disappointingly small.

Cuba Dominates the World Market

At first England turned to tropical islands, including Java. But as the war went on, shipping became too scarce to bring sugar all the way from Java. More and more England had to draw upon Cuba. Formerly Cuba had marketed its entire crop in this country. Soon Cuba had two anxious purchasers, with a third—France—looking on eagerly, where before it had had one indifferent purchaser who had known that the Cuban producers must come to it sooner or later. In 1918-19, Europe (chiefly England) took one-third of the Cuban crop,

although before the war it had taken practically none.

Thus the whole weight of sugar production for this part of the world was thrown on Cuba, practically speaking; for while sugar is raised in the Hawaiian Islands, Porto Rico, and Louisiana, as well as from beets in our own West, the Cuban production so exceeds that of any other place as to dominate the world market since the closing of Russia and Germany. Furthermore, its ability to increase production in a period of extreme scarcity gave Cuba another powerful lever. It found itself almost with a monopoly.

During the war, producers, refiners, dealers—all the various factors in the industry—could be compelled to keep prices down. But control is now over, to all practical purposes, and the natural laws of supply and demand are asserting themselves. Prices in this country during the war were kept artificially low, lower than the world price, and this fact stimulated exports of all the available sugar not owned by the Government, and also tended to stimulate consumption.

A Nation of Candy and Cake Eaters

To make matters worse, the increase in the consumption of sugar in the last year or so has been extraordinary. It has been estimated that the American people have used perhaps half a million more tons in 1919 than in 1918, or the normal increase for the entire world. How much they will use in 1920, with the rapid increase in candy-eating, is impossible to say. Prosperity, high wages, luxury spending, prohibition, all these help to account for the increase in consumption. No doubt also the war-time advertisement of the fact that at the same price sugar contains probably more food calories than any other eatable has had something to do with its wider use.

Then, of course, it must be remembered that England and France were on a severe and increasing sugar ration during the war. The potential demand due to a normal increase in consumption was held back. Now it is asserting itself, for, although England received one-third of the last Cuban crop, she is buying eagerly and largely of the present crop.

Sugar, after all, is a relatively small item of expense. The total amount which a family spends for sugar in a year is not enough, when wages are high and prosperous conditions prevail, to keep people from buy-

ing it if they can get it. By sugar I do not mean only that which is used in tea and coffee, in cooking, and on the breakfast cereal. I mean the sugar used indirectly, in candy, soft drinks, ice cream, sweet crackers, condensed milk, and the like. When we buy these things perhaps we do not realize how much we are adding to the consumption of sugar.

The prosperous worker will not stint his children on candy or sweet crackers, any more than he will stint himself on tobacco. It is an easy way to spend his increased wages. There is nothing apparently vicious about it, as there might be about a heavy increase in the use of whiskey and beer (if he could get them). It is a natural way of spending.

Why Sugar Was Formerly Low in Price

Furthermore, it must be remembered that until recently sugar was about the cheapest commodity we had. For more than a generation prior to the war it had not risen in price, although nearly all other commodities had gone up to some extent. It is interesting to note, by way of illustration, that in 1911 the retail price of sugar was exactly the same as in 1900. Even in 1915 it had risen only a trifle. One reason for the continued low price over a long period of years was the extreme sensitiveness of the consumer in that period to any considerable increase in sugar prices, and perhaps more to the fact that production could be increased from relatively low-cost cane sources, that is from tropical countries.

But the sensitiveness of the consumer, it must be said, was artificial. He had been taught that he could often buy sugar at less than it was worth. The bad habit had grown up by which wholesale and retail grocers used sugar to carry other products, such as coffee, tea, spices, canned goods, and the like, on which the margin of profit was higher. Sugar was for years sold by these wholesalers and retailers at prices less than the business could be carried on for, but they made it up on other articles. Other goods bore the expense of distributing the sugar, and sugar induced people to buy the other goods. Sugar for years reached the consumer at prices less than the service was worth.

Fortune Comes to the Cuban Planter

But the conditions brought about by the war, together with increased consumption

which I have already described in detail, changed the whole situation. From the point of view of the Cuban sugar producer, Providence has been more than gracious. As one sugar broker said to me, "the Cubans are eating from gold instead of silver plates"—a figurative expression which describes the placing of the Cuban producer in a strategic position, the like of which industry has rarely seen.

But let us not be unfair to the Cuban producer. He has seized his opportunity, of course. He is selling his crop much farther ahead than ever before, avoiding the former slumps in prices and getting a uniformly high price. He is making large profits, as anyone else would do in the same extraordinarily favorable circumstances. He is not, however, making quite the profits which some persons imagine.

The cost of producing sugar in Cuba in five years has probably at least doubled, and perhaps nearly trebled. Mill supplies cost three or four times as much. Bags are 65 cents instead of 15. Coal and ocean and railway freight rates have jumped, while labor has soared. A cane-cutter who used to get \$10.80 for a six-day week would now get \$30 a week if he had not reduced his working days to five and his hours to much less than before.

The Government Guessed Wrong

The United States Government last summer could have bought the entire Cuban sugar crop of this winter and spring (1920), if it had decided to do so, at a price of about 6½ cents a pound. But the purchase was not made; and foreign buying, together with the purchases direct by American manufacturers of candy and the like, shot the price up much higher. The Government has been criticized for its action, but, according to one of the leading men in the world's sugar trade who spoke very frankly on the subject, it would have taken "almost divine foresight" to have decided a year in advance just what action to pursue. Those acting for the Government feared a large surplus of sugar, in view of the increasing size of the Cuban crop, and were afraid of heavy losses. The rapidity with which consumption mounted in 1919 also was not fully foreseen.

Much annoyance has been caused by the apparent unevenness of retail distribution, but this has been primarily a question of scarcity. Every food administrator and district attorney in the country has been trying

to unearth hoards and profiteering, but the net result of such action has been almost nothing. The hoards have not been found, and the profiteers prove to be few, small, and unimportant. The natural inference is that the distribution of sugar has not been as faulty as many suppose, at least not especially faulty in view of world conditions.

The scarcity has been made worse, no doubt, by heavy buying on the part of manufacturers. But these people do not keep sugar for the fun of it. They make it into candy and other products which are pushed out to the public. The person who complains most bitterly of a lack of sugar for his morning coffee or cereal may be the very one who is eating more candy, ice cream, crackers, jelly, and other substances which absorb sugar.

Talking against high prices and calling everyone who handles sugar a profiteer will not increase the production of sugar. High prices themselves are bound, however, to stimulate production; and gradually a point will be reached where a surplus supply exists. One of the greatest gambles in the world to-day is the question of how soon Europe will again reach its normal point of production. It may be two years; it may be five. No one really knows. Germany will probably come back first. France has her factories to rebuild, Russia has to re-establish her transportation system.

What Will the Future Bring?

"I don't know when we will reach the crest of the wave," said a leading sugar man, "but I know we are on our way.

"The Cuban sugar planter is putting most of his earnings back into sugar. That is all right in its way under present conditions, if he does not reach a point where he overdoes production. You can't use a sugar mill for anything else."

Obviously, the stocks of sugar companies, especially of the Cuban producing companies, have proven very attractive investments and, along with candy stocks, show increasing popularity. Many of these sugar stocks are selling at prices which are low as compared with their earnings. Moreover, they are paying out in dividends in many cases much less than their earnings. This very fact, however, indicates that the present abnormal conditions are not expected to last.

"It is a question whether the resumption of German production within a couple of years is not reflected in the prices of some

of these stocks," said one of the largest of the country's investors in sugar shares, upon being asked about sugar investments. "Here is a stock earning from \$70 to \$100 a share and selling at \$400. If the present conditions were to last, for say twenty-five years, that stock ought to be selling at \$700."

"At the same time," he added, "I would hardly say that sugar investments have what you would call a dismal future."

Sugar has one great advantage as a crop in the tropics. It is largely non-competitive. Very little else can be raised in place of it. Cuba, of course, is blessed with favoring climate and soil, and appears to have only one really serious potential competitor, Russia. But it will take Russia a long time, according to the best authorities, to reach a position which threatens Cuba's supremacy. At present Cuba has about two million acres under sugar cultivation and there are probably six million more acres which could be cultivated in the same way if the demand should continue. The only limitation is the labor problem and the question of finding a workable mechanical cane-cutter.

The labor problem in Cuba is serious, but whether more so than in other industries or other parts of the world is a question. After all, the climate simplifies the problem and makes life easier in many ways.

The Sugar-Producing Companies

By far and away the largest producer of sugar in Cuba is the Cuba Cane Sugar Corporation, whose stock is so actively dealt in on the New York Stock Exchange. This company has had its difficulties, but in the opinion of many Wall Street people has, perhaps, seen the worst of them. It is not the purpose of this article, however, to appraise the value of individual sugar enterprises.

About half the entire production of sugar in Cuba is controlled by American companies, and ranking next to the Cuba Cane properties are those of the Cuban-American Co., whose stock also is listed on the New York Stock Exchange, and whose profits are at present very large. The third largest production is that of Mr. Rionda, the president of the Cuba Cane Sugar Corporation; and the fourth is that of the United Fruit Company, whose stock is listed on the New York Stock Exchange. There are only a few other large producers (the figures are those of the 1919 crop) among American-owned companies, including the Punta Alegre and Guantanamo companies, whose

shares are dealt in on the "outside" market in New York City.

The actual raising of the sugar is done in most cases by small tenant farmers, or colonos, of whom there are about twenty thousand in Cuba. The companies advance credit for oxen, tools, supplies, and the like, and it is important for a prospective investor to understand the relations which the companies bear to the colonos.

There are, of course, many smaller companies in Cuba, some of which are exceedingly prosperous. In most cases their stocks are available on the outside market in New York, and are handled by specialists in sugar shares. Also a tendency is discernible among other classes of enterprise to purchase sugar concerns in Cuba. One of the largest of the American refining companies recently bought into Cuban production; a fruit company (other than the United Fruit Co.) engaged in growing, shipping, and selling bananas, coconuts, and other tropical fruit has done the same; and it is more than probable that large manufacturers of candy and the like may be tempted to acquire production in order to assure a supply of raw material.

The refining end of the sugar business is better known to the American investing public; chiefly through the American Sugar Refining Company, which refines 40 per cent. of the sugar in this country. There are many other large concerns, however, such as

the National, Arbuckle, Federal, Savannah, Revere, Warner, and so on.

For many years the refining companies have financed themselves out of earnings and have rarely appealed to the general investment public for funds. The Cuban producing companies also in the main have taken care of their own needs out of earnings. But at the same time a certain number of Cuban stocks have been or are in process of being "floated." As in any other industry, there is danger here and there of overcapitalization, of putting too high a value upon the plant and product, in this case upon the bag. But good authorities say that, in the main, there has not been much inflation as yet in the capitalization of sugar companies.

"Perhaps the main thing in choosing a sugar investment," said one of the foremost sugar men, "is to be sure that the cost of production is not too high. While the industry is sound and basic, yet it is a question of selection. You cannot buy sugar stock indiscriminately, any more than you can buy those of oil, steel, copper, or any other industry. It is a question of choice, of whether the financial set-up is sound, whether there are enough liquid assets, whether the raw supply is sure, the cost of production low, and the management good. Management plays a more important part perhaps than in most other industries. Individual experience counts heavily."



CUTTING AND LOADING SUGAR CANE IN THE WEST INDIES

THE "REDS" IN AMERICA

From the Standpoint of the Department of Justice

BY ARTHUR WALLACE DUNN

NOT until the people of the United States comprehend the full significance of what may be termed the Anarchist movement in this country—whether called Anarchist, Communist, or Bolshevik—will they realize that a great peril is threatening the free institutions of America, and that efficient and rigorous action must be taken to preserve the government of the United States.

No doubt the activity of the Department of Justice in rounding up the "Reds," followed by many arrests and steps for the deportation of alien enemies of the United States, has made an impression on the public mind. But as yet most people have only a superficial knowledge of what has been going on; and it is doubtful whether the country as a whole has fully grasped the seriousness of the situation that has made necessary such drastic action by the Government. The people of the United States are easy-going, content for the most part to attend to their own affairs, and it is only when something of great importance to the nation is pending, or when the country is actually in danger, that they become aroused.

At the present time there are comparatively few persons in the United States who really believe there is any danger to the Government in the Anarchist movement; consequently the people as a whole have not given attention to it. They have not been unusually stirred by the developments thus far, and have shown little more than passing interest in the thousands of arrests made under the direction of the Department of Justice. There is surprise, but little real understanding, as to why the Government should find it necessary, all at once, to begin making wholesale arrests, and to deport aliens by the shipload.

Rapid Growth of the Anarchist Element Since 1914

The evidence which has been collected by the Department of Justice is so conclusive

of a gigantic conspiracy to destroy the government of the United States that it is really alarming. But the machinery of the law—once set in motion and backed by strong public sentiment—is sure to defeat the movement, which has for its sole purpose the overthrow of all organized governments in the world, and the establishment of oligarchies, communes, soviets—any or all of the anarchistic schemes with their sequence of bloodshed and ruin. Stripped of all subterfuge, and held up to the light of day in all its hideous aspects, the anarchistic movement is simply an attempt of the very few to control the vast majority.

In the United States the anarchists have found a fertile field and for many years they have been working without any particular opposition. The great war gave them encouragement, and recent events, not only in Europe, but also in this country, have confirmed them in the belief that a minority, active and well financed, can control the majority. They were given an example of the possibility and power of minority control by Germany. This was followed by the control of Russia by a comparatively few active anarchists, calling themselves Bolsheviks, who have secured possession of an immense area and assumed to govern a large number of people under the name of Soviet.

In the United States the Anarchists had the example of what can be accomplished by determined leadership of minorities in the success of prohibition and woman suffrage. It is already well known that the so-called "mild" Socialists have determined to adopt the methods of those who succeeded with prohibition and woman suffrage, and by so doing turn the United States over to the Socialists. The leaders in this movement say that it may take from twenty-five to forty years, but they point out that prohibition and woman suffrage struggled for a longer period before their advocates achieved success.

The Anarchists have attempted a shorter cut. The leaders had no desire to wait a quarter of a century or more in order to secure control, and when they observed the success of the Bolsheviks in Russia they increased their activities in this country, resorting to what they term "direct action," which means bombing and destructive tactics of every sort. The United States offered an easy field, because its lax immigration laws allowed any and all kinds of people to land in this country and to do about as they pleased after they were once within our borders. Anarchist leaders found a soil ready for their seed. There has been and still is very much discontent; high prices and high taxes create intense dissatisfaction among the people. The "I. W. W." and kindred organizations have preached the gospel of discontent, and labor has become restless; strikes have added to the general confusion, making it very easy for the anarchists to impress upon the minds of many people their idea of the overthrow of all government and the confiscation of all property.

The firm stand taken by Attorney General Palmer and those associated with him has met the approval of the law-abiding, government-loving citizenry of the United States. While the people are not fully aware of all that has been done to involve this country in anarchy, those who do know have a deep sense of gratitude toward the men who have boldly reached out and laid their hands upon the enemies of the country. It was during the war that the Department of Justice gained its first real knowledge of what the Anarchists were doing in the United States. In fact, the movement of the Anarchists on the present gigantic scale was a development of the war. Previous to that time there were comparatively few anarchists in this country—possibly two or three hundred who might be classed as of the more dangerous types, and only a few of these were violent or would go to the length of destroying property and committing assassinations.

The Department of Justice Grips the Situation

The war afforded them an opportunity of exploiting their ideas. The destruction of munition plants and other property in the United States previous to the entry of this country into the war gave them their cue. When the United States entered the war the anarchists were found to be anti-war, individually and collectively. They were easily

able to gather about them the pro-German element, the anti-draft element, the pacifist element; in fact, all those who were protesting against the participation of the United States in the war furnished encouragement and many adherents to the anarchist movement.

It became the duty of the Department of Justice to enforce the laws against sedition, and to prosecute those who were interfering with the Government in its efforts to prepare for and successfully wage the war against Germany. In nearly every case investigated the Department found that the lines of sedition led back to anarchistic groups. But so successful were the anarchist leaders in spreading their propaganda and enlisting adherents during the war, that they continued their activities when the war was over, taking advantage of the less rigorous enforcement of wartime sedition measures, and becoming bold to an extent theretofore unknown. By so doing they paved the way for their own destruction, at least in this country. For the heavy hand of the law has been laid upon them, and the general approval which has been given the Attorney General by the people will have a very wholesome effect.

Before he became Attorney General, A. Mitchell Palmer was Alien Property Custodian, and in that capacity he gained a wide knowledge of the anti-American propaganda that was being spread all over the United States. Carrying this knowledge into the Department of Justice he began a systematic search for the enemies of the country, with the result that thousands of arrests have been made and many more thousands of anarchists sent into hiding.

What Is the Communist Party?

The principal activities of the anarchists in this country are through what is called "The Communist Party." This party was the outgrowth of the split in the Socialist party over the war. There were a large number of Socialists who supported the Government during the war and who would not endorse the activities and declarations of the more radical Socialists who opposed the war and circulated propaganda all over the country against the draft and other measures which were so essential to the successful prosecution of the war. The Communist Party in America is identified with, and in fact a part of similar organizations in Europe, one of which is called the Com-

munist Party of Russia, and which is really the Bolshevik party controlling the Soviets, with Lenin and Trotsky its leaders.

The Communist Party in America has been intensely active in sending out literature, much of which denounced the milder Socialists for their refusal to oppose the war and to espouse the radical doctrines of those who were foremost in the movement to overthrow all governments. From its inception the Communist Party has been a champion of the proletariat and denounced capitalism. Its literature furnished a vast amount of evidence, now in the hands of the Department of Justice, which led to the arrest and deportation of the aliens who are now on the road to the countries of their nativity. Membership alone, involving as it does acceptance of the teachings and doctrines of the Communist Party, is sufficient evidence to cause an arrest. Every case is made up separately and is complete in itself, with evidence against the individual showing that he comes within the class of aliens that should be deported under the law.

A member of the Communist Party subscribes to the following:

The undersigned, after having read the constitution and program of the Communist Party, declares his adherence to the principles and tactics of that party and the Communist International; agrees to submit to the discipline of the party as stated in its constitution, and pledges himself to engage actively in its work.

There are several restrictions to membership, one of which is that:

No person shall be permitted to join who is a member or supporter of any other political organization. Nor is any person who has an entire livelihood from rent, interest or profit, eligible to membership in the Communist Party.

A far more important restriction declares:

No person shall be accepted as a member who enters into the service of the nation, state, or local governmental body other than through the Civil Service or by legal compulsion.

The manifesto of the Communist Party, as well as its constitution, is also used as evidence against members of that party. Throughout the manifesto, as in all other documents and literature of the party, there are strong declarations against present governments, and particularly against capitalism. Frequent references are made to an endorsement of the Soviet of Russia. One of the declarations of the Communist Party is that:

Communism does not propose to "capture" the bourgeoisie parliamentary state, but to conquer and destroy it. As long as the bourgeois state prevails the capitalistic class can baffle the will of the proletariat.

And again:

It is necessary that the proletariat organize its own state for the coercion and suppression of the bourgeoisie. Proletariat dictatorship is a realization of that fact. It is equally a recognition of that fact that in the Communist reconstruction of society the proletariat alone counts as a class.

And still further:

The Communist Party prepares itself for the revolution in the measure that it develops a program of immediate action expressing the mass struggles of the proletariat. These struggles must be inspired with revolutionary spirit and purposes.

The very activity of the Communist Party, its establishment of branches, its enrollment of members, its signed cards, affords the bulk of the testimony which has accumulated in the Department of Justice and furnished clues to the agents of the Department for the many arrests which have been made.

How Evidence Was Obtained

It was necessary for the agents of the Department of Justice to secure evidence of membership in the Communist Party, or of other anarchistic organizations before making the arrests. All members of the Communist Party were supplied with cards, and these membership cards have been regarded as *prima facie* evidence and sufficient for making an arrest. Quite a number of suspected persons have torn up their membership cards, and the Department of Justice has had to rely on records and papers captured in different raids at headquarters and branches of the Communist Party, and at other places where the "Reds" congregated, for evidence in making arrests. Participation in the meetings has also furnished the secret service men of the Department of Justice clues to follow up the agitators and locate persons who have been active in organizations which have for their purposes the overthrow of all governments, and particularly the government of the United States.

The Case of "Ambassador" Martens

The methods of the Department of Justice in its endeavor to obtain evidence against the Anarchists are interesting. As an example may be taken the case of Ludwig Christian Kaslovitch Martens, the self-styled

Ambassador of the Russian Soviet to the United States, who for a considerable time maintained offices in New York City which were used for the spread of all kinds of propaganda looking to the destruction of the government of the United States. First, the Department found out all there was to be known concerning Martens. The agents investigating Martens' career learned that he was born in Russia forty-six years ago, of German parents who had migrated from Germany four years previous to his birth. Martens was denied Russian citizenship because he had not served his time in the German army—the Germans under the old régime never overlooking a man who was due to give military service to the country. He was compelled to serve his time in the German army and was released in 1901. He smuggled himself back into Russia during the Russian Revolution in 1905, but a year later he left that country and went to England and has not since returned to Russia.

In 1914 Martens registered in England as an alien enemy born of German parents, and in 1915 he was granted permission to come to the United States, arriving here early in January, 1916. It was not until recently that he was granted Russian citizenship, which was extended by the provisional government of Russia after the revolution of March, 1917, more than a year after the establishment of the Lenine-Trotsky régime in Russia. Martens obtained credentials from that group making him the official representative of the government in this country.

After tracing Martens' career that far, the Department painstakingly and systematically looked into his activities, not only since his arrival in this country, but before he came to the United States. It was established beyond all question that he was a member of the Communist Party in Russia, as well as the Communist Party of America; and that both these parties were engaged in an effort to overthrow and destroy the government of the United States. The evidence in this case also showed that the Communist Party of Russia, of which Martens was a member, was actively engaged in the circulation of literature and propaganda among the American soldiers in and about Archangel, Russia, trying to induce them to renounce the service of the United States and also to convince them that they should, upon their return to their homes, join the movement to overthrow our government.

The result of this investigation proved that Martens was subject to deportation under the Act of October 16, 1918, which provides:

That aliens who are members of, or affiliated with, any organization that entertains the belief in, teaches or advocates the overthrow, by force or violence, the government of the United States, shall be deported.

The official who prepared the case against Martens demonstrated that the Communist Party of Russia is an organization advocating the overthrow, by force or violence, of the government of the United States, and went into considerable detail to show how that party in Russia was operating, and also to show that Martens was a member of it.

In this connection it was stated that a call had been issued for what was termed the "Third International," a meeting of organizations advocating the overthrow of governments. Among the organizations listed in the call were, the Spartacus Association of Germany, the Communist Party of Russia, the Socialist-Labor Party of America, the Left Wing Element of the Socialist Party of America, the I. W. W. of America, and the Workers' International Industrial Association of America. The "Left Wing Element of the Socialist Party of America" is practically the Communist Party in this country. It is that element of the Socialists which became so prominently identified with anti-war activities in the United States. The case against Martens having been found complete, the Department decided to arrest and deport him.

The case of Martens is naturally more prominent than most of the others, but it shows the methods of the Department in obtaining the evidence in all cases where arrests and orders for deportation have been made.

There is a slight distinction between the Anarchist and the Communist, but it is a distinction without any particular difference. As stated by an official of the Department of Justice, the Anarchist is for no government whatever, and the Communist generally supports the Soviet system of government, which reduced to cold fact means anarchistic control as shown by the control of Russia.

Attorney General Palmer's Reasons for a Deportation Policy

Beginning when he was Alien Property Custodian, and continuing the work when

he became head of the Department of Justice, Attorney General Palmer has been gathering all kinds of evidence relating to the disloyal aliens in the United States, and particularly to the anarchistic class that advocates revolution and violence. One of the reasons for the attempt upon the life of the Attorney General by the explosion of a bomb in front of his house, was that this dangerous element, which has been making so much headway in the country, was well aware that the Attorney General has been using every possible means to gather evidence, and was taking steps to destroy the anarchistic movement.

After the Attorney General collected an immense amount of information concerning anarchism and communism he became convinced that the best method of reaching this dangerous class, and stamping out the growing anarchy in America, was by arresting and deporting the alien portion of the various organizations and groups. As 90 per cent. of those engaged in the anarchistic movement were foreigners, the Attorney General saw that the deportation of these persons would practically put an end to the nefarious work that was making such headway.

The Department of Labor Has Final Decision

Before proceeding to round up this large body of alien Reds, the Department of Justice took up with the Department of Labor the subject of deportation, as under the law the Department of Labor has absolute control of the deportation of undesirable aliens. The Department of Labor was shown a summary of the evidence, and agreed to the conclusion of the Department of Justice that membership in the Communist Party, and other organizations which advocated the overthrow of the government, justified deportation under the law. Meanwhile, the Department of Justice had its nets spread, and the wholesale arrests followed.

It is not necessary for the deportation movement as regards undesirable aliens to originate with the Department of Justice. Any chief of police, or any other official, or any private individual, for that matter, can present to the Department of Labor information regarding anarchists, and request that they be deported under the Law of October 16, 1918. It is within the discretion of the Secretary of Labor, who acts through the Commissioner General of Immigration, to decide whether the facts presented warrant

deportation under the law. The decision as to deportation is finally made by the Secretary of Labor. In the case of the recent round-up of "Reds" and their deportation it so happened that the Department of Justice had the money and a large trained force of secret service men who were able to get the information and make the arrests. And wherever the proof was satisfactory to the Department of Labor deportations were made.

What if European Governments Refuse to Take Back "Reds"

The deportation of the aliens who have been or shall be arrested will be ordered upon the conclusive proof furnished by the Department of Justice that such aliens come within the prescription. The officials of the Department of Justice are in no way concerned over the report that the foreign countries will refuse to receive these aliens. Under international law a government is obliged to take back its own nationals when deported by another country.

In the case of Russia, for which a large number of the anarchists are bound, there is some doubt. The Soviet Government and Lenine and Trotsky have not been recognized by this country. We have no diplomatic relations with Russia now. The Ambassador to Russia, the Hon. David R. Francis, is at present in this country. He was authorized to recognize the Kerensky government; but that was speedily overthrown by the Bolsheviks, and so far as there is government in Russia at this time, Lenine and Trotsky are at the head of it. Having no diplomatic relations with the Soviet government of Russia, the United States is not in a position to carry on negotiations for the return of the Russian "Reds." But they will be left upon Russian soil without regard to whether or not they are acceptable to those who are in charge of Russian affairs.

Officials of the Department of Labor, under whose direction the *Buford* sailed for Europe, are absolutely confident that her passengers will be landed, and probably on Russian soil. As this is written the *Buford* is still on the seas; but before these pages are published she will have reached her destination, and the result of the deportation of her passengers will probably have been determined. Meanwhile, so confident are the labor officials that the anarchists of Russian nationality can be landed in Russia, that preparations are going on for the deportation

of others who were recently arrested, and who in the opinion of the Department of Labor officials are subject to deportation under the law.

As to the anarchists who are citizens of other countries, no doubt is entertained that such governments will receive them without question, as it is a well-established principle that no country must continue to harbor a citizen of another country who has been declared undesirable and ineligible for residence.

The American Element

Of the arrested and suspected anarchists and communists in America, nine out of every ten are foreigners. They come from different parts of Europe,—a large proportion coming from Russia, however; and some of them have spent many years in the United States. Of the American element, it is said that as a class they are less bloodthirsty and less given to violence than the foreigners. Many of them border on the verge of insanity; many others are women with minds gone slightly awry, morbid, restless, and seeking the sensational, craving for something, they know not what.

Then there is among the Americans a percentage of what is known as the "Parlor Bolsheviks," a group of people of the better class, who gather to discuss wild theories, each trying to be more radical in thought and word than the other, but who carefully refrain from direct acts of sedition, although they give money and encouragement to the actual anarchists. Left alone, it is not believed that the American element would become very dangerous; but in many cases Americans lend a certain respectability to the movement, by reason of their position or standing in the country.

The foreign element, on the other hand, is absolutely destructive, very aggressive and determined, and constitutes a large proportion of the anarchists. This element is deemed by the Department of Justice to be very dangerous, and it must be handled vigorously if the spread of communism and anarchism is to be checked. The all-prevailing and governing idea of the foreign element is to obtain control of the people, overthrow governments, and set up their own oligarchies in dictatorship. Underlying this idea, and the main inspiration of anarchists, is the desire to obtain the property of others or destroy it.

Operations of the Foreign Element

The anarchists and communists operating in America have been most successful among the vicious and ignorant classes. This is entirely natural, because the idea of getting hold of other people's property has a special appeal to the criminal, while to the ignorant the prospect of sharing equally in the riches and ease of the world without effort is very enticing. Particularly among the negroes of Southern States has there been an active propaganda, and to that end a large quantity of anarchistic literature has been distributed.

So serious does the Department of Justice regard the situation that its activities will not be diminished, but rather continued with the utmost vigor and determination, to demonstrate that the government of the United States is not without means and power to protect itself. But while the officials of the Department of Justice are enlisting every faculty and using every means to suppress the spread of anarchy in this country, they realize that the people themselves must be aroused to the danger before success shall finally crown their efforts.



RADICALISM UNDER INQUIRY

Conclusions Reached after a Year's Study of Alien Anarchy in America

BY SENATOR CLAYTON R. LUSK

(Chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate
Seditious Activities in the State of New York)

IN the mind of every serious American who stops to think about the matter must be this question: What has caused in the United States the movement toward extreme radicalism? Among many perfectly good Americans the impression exists that what is called "radicalism" is merely one outcome of the continuous effort to bring about more equitable economic relationships between classes and to advance that real liberty of thought which has been so valuable to the nation in the past. Because of this mistaken conception of the nature and importance of the movement the American people have been tolerant of its many different manifestations. As a whole they have not sympathized with it, but have not fought it.

To certain Americans, however, the real perils of the situation have been apparent and as one result the Joint Legislative Committee of the State of New York, of which I am the chairman, was appointed after the leaders of the Legislature had carefully studied information laid before them as to the existence in the State of conditions so serious that the necessity for some remedy was plain.

Since May, 1919, the Committee has been busy with investigation of these perilous conditions. It has called as witnesses such persons as it has been able to find who are especially informed upon any phase of the subject and have been willing to testify. It has exercised the right granted to it by the act creating it of subpoenaing unwilling witnesses. Through the right of search it has seized documents and many publications in the possession of individuals and organizations which it had good reason to believe were seditious in their sympathies.

Some of the evidence obtained in these and other ways has been placed before the Committee at public hearings, and has been made known generally through the newspaper press; but as much of that which has been

secured has had to do with direct violations of the so-called "criminal anarchy" law under which the Committee has instigated or assisted in many prosecutions and as there will be more of these, much remains unannounced, for its publication in advance obviously might hamper or defeat the administration of justice.

What Is Behind Radicalism?

The investigations of the Committee already have progressed sufficiently to prove the falsity of the impression that the "radical" movement is merely a peaceable endeavor to better economic and social conditions through the trial of harmless governmental experiments. No such motive is behind it.

There is ample and convincing evidence that the movement had its inception some time prior to the beginning of the world war in 1914, and that it was started here and elsewhere by paid agents of the Junker class in Germany as a part of their programme of industrial and military world conquest. The propaganda inaugurated by these conspirators against everything which was not German differed greatly, of course, in the various regions where it was pressed, but followed lines generally similar. It succeeded in Russia and was active not only in the United States but in Italy, France, England and their colonies, in South America and rather especially in Mexico. It had attained headway long before the war began, and during the actual prosecution of the war it did Germany good service by measurably crippling some of the activities of those whom she had planned to overcome.

With the end of the war its activities continue through sheer momentum, if through no new impulse. Even if all the trained agents of disorder had been withdrawn on the day of the Armistice, the work of their disciples, some of them definitely convinced and some of them merely in the habit of the

easy and psychologically exciting life which is the lot of the professional agitator, would continue. It is continuing.

Bearing in mind the origin of the wave of extreme radicalism which is now sweeping across the world, it is not surprising that there should be nothing in its principles or practice to commend it. Here in the United States it threatens practically everything that by tradition, and as the result of the established American habit of moral thinking, we hold dear.

Against the Thrifty

The original idea of the promoters of the movement was such industrial and social disintegration of other peoples as would make economic and perhaps military and political conquest easy. The economic aim is low production; and this, it has been thought, could be most certainly assured by the introduction of communism, which always includes the "nationalization" of, or state confiscation of, private property, not only that of the rich, but that of the thriftily prosperous, a class which the communists particularly hate and in this country, as in all others, denominate by the French word "*bourgeoisie*."

The married couple who, through years of hard work and right economy, have established themselves upon a fully equipped farm in the country, or in a prosperous little village or city shop or store, are as much the targets of this movement as the great "coal-baron," "trust-magnate" or railroad millionaire. It is claimed that when this confiscation has taken place the "proletariat" will find it possible to establish a communistic government in which there shall be no injustice and in which each individual will be exactly on an equality with every other individual. With regard to the precise *modus operandi* of this governmental plan the promoters of the movement are either contradictory or indefinite.

Against the Church and the Family

From the start it has been obvious to the advocates of all this that if their ends were to be accomplished our national sense of decency and honesty, laboriously built up through years of the recognition of property rights, and the general wisdom and necessity of morality in all things, must be broken down. Realizing this necessity, and being in the main of lawless and defiant mind, the radicals have conducted and to-day are conducting definite propaganda against the

church and all religions, against the institution of the family, and against all present moral ideals.

Of all these activities so vitally in opposition to the ideals of the American people, the Committee has found and has in its possession ample evidence which in this article I can refer to only briefly. In the city of Rochester, N. Y., the other day, we discovered in the headquarters of a central radical organization a circulating library containing all kinds of works attacking the institution of marriage, the worship of the Christian God in any form, and all American institutions. These books showed much evidence of the extensive reading by the subscribers to the library, who are proved by evidence to be numerous. One well-worn volume extolled the prostitute as the ideal woman and laughed the virtuous wife to scorn. The discovery of such books in radical headquarters has not occurred on this occasion and in this place alone. The maintenance of such libraries is a part of the radical program. Libraries and stores for the dissemination of such literature exist in nearly all the radical headquarters.

Results of Unrestricted Immigration

That such a movement could gain impetus in any of the world's civilized countries, least of all in the United States, may seem incredible. But it has gained a great momentum and its tide is still rising; no man can foretell the height which it will reach.

Always we have had with us our proportion of the degenerate and the criminal. While we remained entirely American we had as small a proportion as any nation in the world of the shiftless and those without ideals of honesty and personal morality, but we had a share, of course. After virtually unrestricted immigration from abroad began, it flooded us not only with criminals and paupers, fleeing from abroad, but with the politically discontented, many of whom had fallen into what seems to be the changeless habit of dissatisfaction, and, bringing it with them to our shores, were unable to perceive that here it was not justified.

For many years we have known of and now and then have suffered from the presence in our midst of criminal anarchists. The Haymarket outrages in Chicago were among their earlier serious manifestations, and two Presidents and many other of our public officials from time to time have been assassinated by them, while the number of unsuccessful

attacks upon our prominent and useful public men has been unparalleled in any other country.

We have done little or nothing to break up these tendencies, and, furthermore, we have had among us many of an apparent intelligence justifying expectation of better things, who have been socially unstable, and, often without much sincerity, but frequently with loud acclaim, have espoused radical ideals and ideas.

The existence of these different classes here offered the organized propagandists of disorder fertile soil in which to sow their seeds of discontent and revolution. The presence of a large and entirely unassimilated foreign-born, non-English-speaking industrial class gave them further opportunity.

A Campaign Against Government

It is not surprising that in many quarters their teachings were welcomed as a common ground on which large numbers could get together for attack on the established order of progress, prosperity for the industrious and honest, and reward for right and moral living. It was obvious from the start that the growth of Socialism here never would achieve their ends. Something more than Socialism was required. The government organized for the protection of our people in the exercise of their religious, property and other personal rights, must be destroyed. The overthrow of that government by force, violence and other unlawful means is, therefore, to-day the avowed object of many of the organizations which have sprung up and thriven because of our neglect and through our ignorance of fact and false sense of security.

It probably is true that among American citizens, even of foreign blood, the movement has not become important. In the course of the execution of search warrants issued against the seventy-one Communist headquarters in New York City early last November it was found advisable to take to police headquarters for examination nearly a thousand men found in these places, which were crowded although the night of the raid was not a meeting night for any of the organizations.

Less than 5 per cent. of those arrested were American citizens. Many, although they had been in this country for years, were unable to speak the English language. But all had been liberally supplied with radical propaganda, were fully conversant with the

aims of the radical organizations, and, while not amenable to prosecution, because not identified as leaders, furnished valuable evidence of the seriousness of the situation.

Residence even of years in this country finds them without associations among any except those of their own original nationality. Many were found to have relatives or friends among the men and women who, in Russia or elsewhere, long had been extreme radicals, and these, since their arrival here, had been liberally supplied from home, or by organizations in this country, with propaganda. This, prepared in their own language, and uncontradicted by anything else which they could read as easily, had had its effect.

They were fully informed with regard to the injustice of the government from which their emigration had been a flight, and attributed to all other governments, including our own, most of its imperfections and vicious practices, no one having taken the trouble to inform them with regard to any difference between this government and that. Many others, even more dangerous, having been definite revolutionists at home, automatically had become revolutionists here, because they are so ill-informed that they believe their quarrel is with government, as government, and not with any government in particular.

They are found antagonistic to all existing government, looking forward with a fatuous and almost pitiful confidence, or with the sullen determination of destructionists, to the triumph in this country of the radical theories. Even had these raids yielded no food for criminal prosecutions, they would have been invaluable because of their revelations of the extent of radical tendencies, and their revelations of methods and propaganda arguments.

Who Are the Leaders?

The radical agitators in this country are such natural leaders as rise among those instructed in this propaganda. They work by devious methods, joining legitimate organizations when they can, often if not usually under assumed names, and attempting to change these bodies into revolutionary bodies. Once leadership has been obtained they endeavor to induce their followers to make unreasonable demands on their employers; and if these demands are met they endeavor to induce their dupes to make further calls which cannot possibly be met, for their sole

object is the fomentation of discontent which may lead to the commission of disorderly acts.

They are not interested in the betterment of conditions surrounding labor under the present system, such as the question of working hours or the amount of pay, but keep their eyes fixed on that ultimate end of the overthrow of the industrial system, the disestablishment of the present government, and rule by the "proletariat." Avowedly, it is for the purposes of propaganda only that they urge their followers to participation in elections for entrance into parliamentary contest.

They have not yet succeeded in their ultimate object; but by disorganizing industry and stopping its wheels they have materially reduced production, and thus have added to the burdens of the workingman. Having created this condition, they point to it as another argument in favor of their theories. The condition therefore becomes progressive, and if permitted to continue will produce in the United States troubles the nature of which cannot be foretold at present.

Raids by the New York Committee

The activities of the Committee by no means have brought New York State's manifestations to a halt. During the last week of the year several avowedly revolutionary organizations were raided in the cities of Buffalo, Rochester and Utica, and one raid, even more significant than these, in one sense, occurred in the little city of Cortland, which has a population of only 13,000 and is the center of one of those farming communities which have been regarded as the strongholds of Americanism.

The recent raid in Buffalo was upon the headquarters of the central branch of a definitely revolutionary organization, and among the prisoners taken were officers of eight subsidiary revolutionary organizations by no means all located within the city limits. Some had been organized in adjoining villages. The raids in Rochester and Utica disclosed the existence of several revolutionary societies in each of those cities. In Rochester evidence given before the Committee revealed the fact that revolutionary meetings habitually had been held in the city's school-houses during the evening hours when they were not used for school purposes, this having been made possible by the general opening of these public structures as civic centers, a plan which had been fostered by

the best citizens of the town with the thought that the exchange of ideas resulting from such neighborhood meetings would tend toward the development of good citizenship and Americanism. There is a strange and significant irony in this. At these meetings revolution was openly preached, and plans made for the wholesale distribution of a letter written by Lenin to the American workers urging them to overthrow our government through violence.

This not only is an excellent illustration of the abuse of a commendable system adopted for the purpose of civic betterment, which was intended to include the education of foreigners in Americanism, but it also illustrates how little knowledge the authorities in the State of New York really have of what is being done in their communities. Such ignorance probably is general throughout the country.

In several instances the investigations of this Committee have disclosed that teachers in the public schools have been members of these revolutionary organizations. They have shown that in different parts of the State of New York systematic campaigns have been conducted to reach school-children and teach them to detest their own country and government, by means of "Sunday-schools" and through the distribution to the young of revolutionary literature, written so as to make an especial appeal to childhood.

Early Bolshevik Propaganda in New York

One of the members of a revolutionary organization arrested in Buffalo and charged with criminal anarchy recently came within a few votes of being nominated for the office of mayor of that city. In Utica it was found that members of revolutionary organizations had been extremely active in attempting to induce certain members of labor organizations to violence during a recent labor trouble there, and that their efforts had not been without success. Under the leadership of these men a mob in that city forced every business-place along more than a mile of one of its principal business streets to close, and frightened the proprietors of many into putting in their windows placards condemning the police for the enforcement of law restraining a labor organization from violence. It is necessary to add that this labor organization was not affiliated in any way with the American Federation of Labor. Its own printed documents in evidence before the Committee advocate that the workers

prepare themselves to take over the factories in which and the tools with which they labor.

While the revolutionary movement in this country only recently has come to the attention of the general public; it has been organizing for several years. On the third of February, 1918, a cablegram was sent from the city of New York, to the "Council of Peoples' Commissioners, Smolney Institute, Petrograd," by Louis Fraina, "for the Bolshevik Information Bureau," which said:

BOLSHEVIK INFORMATION BUREAU ORGANIZED HERE TWO MONTHS AGO TO INTERPRET ACTIONS OF COMMISSIONERS AND AROUSE SOLIDARITY OF AMERICAN WORKERS WITH RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT. WIDESPREAD SYMPATHY OF AMERICAN WORKERS WITH YOU. HAVE TAKEN STEPS TO ORGANIZE RED GUARD.

Evidence taken before the Committee from witnesses who were in Petrograd at the time that the Lenine-Trotsky régime came into power, showed that one morning the city found itself in the possession of the armed force of the revolution and that this force was known as the "Red Guards."

Other Parts of the Country Involved

While the investigations of the Committee of course have been confined to radical activities in the State of New York, as I have said, it has come into possession of evidence showing that revolutionary activities are as notable elsewhere. Among the letters seized in a raid upon the Russian Soviet Bureau in New York City, is one from Cleveland, Ohio, under date of March 7, 1919, which reads in part as follows:

"The E. S. S. P. Comm. is the Soviet of ten Bolshevik organizations in Cleveland."

Letters of a similar nature from other parts of the country also have come into the possession of the Committee. A fact of great significance is that white radicals are conducting a systematic campaign among the colored people of this country, especially among those of the South, for the purpose of "changing," as they call it, "their race consciousness into class consciousness," and organizing them into revolutionary bodies.

Prosecutions Under Criminal Anarchy Law

The members of some revolutionary bodies have been arrested and prosecuted under the Criminal Anarchy Act of the State. Some recently have been deported and others await deportation. But many of these organiza-

tions are permitted to continue their campaigns for membership, and their distribution of revolutionary propaganda. The same reason which prevents us from making public evidence as to the extent and location of these organizations precludes me from going into other details at this time.

The Committee is an investigating body and not a prosecuting body. The prosecutions which have come about because of evidence obtained by the Committee have been incidental to its work of investigation. It has cooperated as fully as possible with Federal, State and local authorities. The question of further repressive legislation and provisions for the enforcement of the laws of the State is one which will be taken up and disposed of by the Committee as a whole, and is also one which I cannot discuss further.

Some of our citizens profess to believe that the men and women who are working to bring about the overthrow of our established government by force and violence and unlawful means, the confiscation of property, the destruction of the church and the institution of marriage and the ruin of all organizations for the promotion of morality and decency, should be permitted to continue their work without interference.

In my opinion, this method of handling the situation was given a fair trial before the Committee started its work, and the result of ignoring those revolutionary activities was not highly satisfactory.

Americans Generally Sane and Loyal

But, despite the real seriousness of the situation, there is no occasion for panic or hysteria. The great body of American people are sane and loyal. The time has come, however, for action. The day for sentimental dawdling has passed in this country. We should have drastic laws, but laws will amount to nothing unless they are enforced. The criminal anarchy law of the State of New York has been in existence for nineteen years. Criminal anarchy has been rampant throughout the State during that entire period, and existed prior thereto or the law would not have been written. Not a single prosecution was ever brought in this State under that law, however, until it was done under evidence obtained by this Committee.

We are learning in our State that the people should see to it that men are put in office who have sufficient moral, physical and political courage, and the necessary energy to enforce our laws.

OUR POSTAL SERVICE UNDER MR. BURLESON

BY A WASHINGTON OBSERVER

[The object of this article is to show that Mr. Burleson, in his long period as Postmaster General, has aimed at the efficiency of a great national service rather than at party power or political influence. It is not a character sketch of the Postmaster General, but rather a sketch of his management of a great office and the main achievements of his seven years. The story as told herewith speaks for itself. We might not endorse all of its statements. The article has been written quite independently, as regards our own point of view. It is a sincere defense of Mr. Burleson against his critics. Surely the friends and supporters of the Department as at present conducted are entitled to be heard and read. We are glad, therefore, to publish this account of the work of a great national service that reaches every citizen, whether urban or rural.—THE EDITOR]

FOR several years the Post Office Department has been under continuous and violent criticism from all sections and parties. Undoubtedly the public generally believes this great service has well-nigh broken down, and Postmaster General Burleson is naturally held responsible. The assaults began soon after his assumption of control, and have been generally aimed against policies presumed to be determined by him.

Coming to his office almost seven years ago, Mr. Burleson has had a better chance to make good than most of his predecessors. The average term in the office has been less than three years. Only two Postmasters General have served longer than Mr. Burleson. He took over an establishment regarded as a model of efficiency and organization. He is charged with making it a political machine; with transmuting his own queer whimsies into policies; with parsimonious economies at the expense of both employees and transportation companies; with lack of vision, stubborn refusal to recognize errors, and with a positive genius for maladministration and inefficiency.

It is declared that the mails are not promptly moved or securely protected. In some quarters the Postmaster General is accused of attempting a censorship that would destroy freedom of the press; in others, of outrageous laxity in permitting circulation of treasonable propaganda. He is charged with determination to under-pay the 300,000 employees, and with intense hostility to organized labor.

It is declared that he arbitrarily seized the telephone, telegraph and cable lines, ruined their service, increased rates, and finally

handed them back to their owners in chaos. It is claimed that during the period of his wire control, he played favorites as between the great companies, attempting to wreck one for the benefit of its competitor. He is accused of unjustly reducing the compensation of the railroads for carrying mails, and raising postage rates, in order to make the Department show a profit regardless of effects on the service.

The relinquishment of pneumatic-tube service in cities where it had been established, is counted as a conclusive evidence of prejudice against progressive methods. Instances are constantly published of letters delivered after years in transit. Unconscionable delay or utter failure in the delivery of letters to or from the overseas forces has been charged to the same heavy account. The post office has been bitterly assailed for recommending that the wire service be postalized, the proposal being treated as well-nigh revolutionary.

If these charges are justified and if the present head of the post office is as completely responsible as the faultfinders assume, there should be a new head. If the system, rather than the man, is to blame, sweeping reorganization is needed. Therefore the need for a serious, unpartisan impersonal inquiry whether these charges are well grounded, and why they are made.

Some seeming contradictions appear in the reasoning of the department's critics. It is accused of being reactionary because it rids itself of the pneumatic tubes, which are assumed to be an up-to-the-minute facility offered by modern inventiveness and rejected by old-fogy conservatism. This eagerness of

the critics for progressive methods, seems a bit inconsistent with their protest against making the wire service a postal facility.

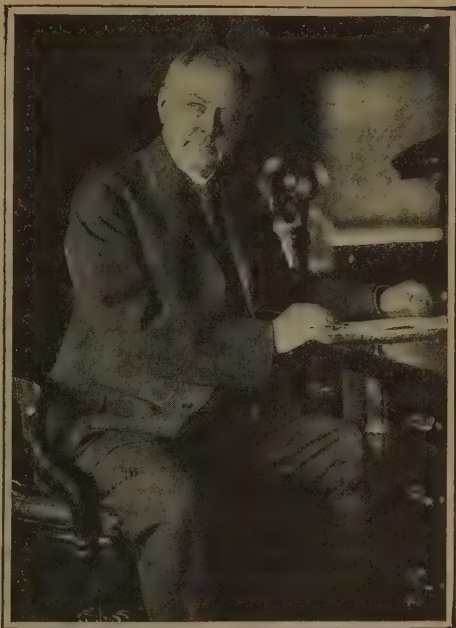
Inherited Contests

In order to reach an understanding of the present crusade against the post office, it is necessary to examine some backgrounds of postal history, long prior to the present administration. When Mr. Burleson became Postmaster General the parcel post was in its infancy. After a long struggle against express and railroad opposition, Congress had passed a law opening the way to make the parcel post a popular service. Mr. Burleson inherited that fight, and because he insisted on the parcel post's full usefulness, he was bitterly attacked. But he made the fight, and won it.

Likewise he inherited the old fight over the method of paying the railroads for hauling mails. Because he insisted on reforms that his predecessors had long been urging, he was condemned. Yet, if he was wrong in substituting the "space basis" for the illogical and scandal-breeding system of quadrennial mail weighings as a basis for fixing compensation, then the Hubbard Commission of 1878, the Bourne Commission of 1913, Postmaster General Hitchcock, and every commission that has studied the problem in over forty years, were wrong; for all recommended the space plan.

Another inherited feud was over second-class postal rates, under which newspapers and periodicals are handled. The present postal administration has been savagely fought because it favored increasing these rates so that they should more nearly compensate for the services rendered. Yet Charles Emory Smith, when Postmaster General twenty years ago, recommended this reform, and it has been urged by intervening administrations down to that of Mr. Hitchcock, who strongly pressed it. The Hughes Commission, headed by the last Republican candidate for President, found that ascertainable costs of handling second-class matter were 5.5 times as much as the Government was paid, while the department calculated the total cost at 8.27 times. Yet, because Mr. Burleson forced some results from the long fight in which his predecessors had failed, he has been the victim of the accumulated wrath of years.

Every Postmaster General except one—Mr. Bissell, serving under the second Cleveland administration—since the Government



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POSTMASTER GENERAL BURLESON

relinquished ownership of the telegraph, has recommended its reacquisition. Yet Mr. Burleson is attacked as if he had invented a new species of torture for defenseless corporations because he makes the same recommendation.

Mr. Burleson is accused of using his department as a political machine. His immediate predecessor, it might be supposed, was not a politician; nor was Henry C. Payne; nor James S. Clarkson, "axeman" of the Harrison administration. The truth is that there has always been an indefensible share of politics in this department, and that under Mr. Burleson there has been less than under his predecessors.

How About Errors?

Recent statistics show that one-third of the world's letter mail is handled by the United States post office. There are over 53,000 post offices, 1,590,000 miles of post and rural routes, and 300,000 employees. Receipts and expenditures together aggregated \$800,000,000 last year. Benjamin Franklin, first Postmaster General, administered 75 post offices, 1875 miles of post routes, and revenues of \$30,000 a year! Under Franklin the mails were carried by ponies and stage coaches. To-day they are hauled

by everything from dog sleds in Alaska to aeroplanes. Railway postal service operates on 217,873 miles of railroad, with 272,413,940 miles of annual travel. A year's work involves 14,962,000,000 distributions and re-distributions of pieces by railway postal clerks. The fact that 99.99 per cent. of these were correctly made passes unobserved, but the occasional error is promptly afforded publicity.

A very large proportion of mail is misdirected, unaddressed, or illegibly addressed. Twenty-two million letters have gone to the Dead Letter Office in one year for these defects. If the department's workers were given a tithe of the credit due them for ingenuity and effort devoted to such cases, and if the truth about the fraudulent cases were known, there would be profound admiration for postal efficiency.

Pay of the Rural Carriers

The present postal management has been in a continuous feud with the powerful organization of the rural carriers, because the department has opposed the salary increases Congress has given these carriers. There are now 43,000 rural carriers. In rural districts they are a chief perquisite of the Congressman, and the compact basis of the political machine serving him in contests for renomination and re-election. Hence, the solicitude of Congress to pay the carriers liberally. When rural free delivery started in 1897, carriers were given \$300 annually. They were raised in 1898 to \$400, in 1900 to \$500, in 1902 to \$600, in 1904 to \$720, in 1907 to \$900, in 1911 to \$1,000, in 1914 to \$1,200, in 1918 to \$1,440, and in 1919 to \$1,700. Not one of these advances was necessary at the time in order to get carriers. There has always been a greater number of applicants than positions.

A few years ago Mr. Burleson told Congress he would save \$25,000,000 annually if permitted to place rural delivery under the contract system. Compensation of employees in the rural service now aggregates \$77,000,000 annually. To do the work by contract would wreck the political machinery, so the proposal was rejected by Congress, and the Postmaster General was assailed for attempting sweatshop methods.

The generosity of Congress to the rural carriers may well be contrasted to its attitude toward city clerks and carriers, who as a class are politically useless. The city carrier or clerk under the law of 1906 started

at \$600 annually, and was gradually raised through automatic promotions till in five years he reached the maximum of \$1,200. In 1913 the minimum or initial salary was raised to \$800, but the maximum was not advanced. Later, as part of the policy of war bonuses, the initial salary was raised to \$1,200 and the maximum to \$1,500. The rural carrier enters the service at the maximum salary. The city carrier or clerk starts at the bottom and requires years to get to the top. The rural carrier starts at \$1,700.

The city carrier does eight hours work daily. The rural carrier is merely required to cover a certain mileage of route, which with motorcycle or "flivver" he frequently does in three hours. He seldom works the full eight hours, though in regions where roads are bad, and at seasons when they are worse, he may work much longer than eight hours. But the three-hour-a-day carrier on New England's paved roads, riding his motorcycle, gets the same pay as the carrier who spends eleven or twelve hours a day toiling over the mountain roads of rural Georgia. True, the rural carrier must provide his transportation, but this is far more than compensated for by his cheaper living.

Since the advent of Mr. Burleson, rural carriers' salaries have been increased three times, always against his protest. These protests and the recommendations of the contract system have earned him the enthusiastic enmity of the rural carriers and, largely, of their patrons, the country members of Congress.

A few years ago the Department initiated a rearrangement of rural routes to reduce the number of carriers. Several routes started at a country town, three or four carriers driving over the same piece of highway eight or ten miles to the point from which their routes diverged. Rearrangements were planned whereby duplication would cease and fewer routes do the work. But great opposition developed in Congress; it would reduce the number of carriers—and political henchmen—and the plan had to be dropped.

Mr. Burleson has not been entitled to either the blame or the credit for these efforts at reform. Unfortunately for his administration, he has got the blame to which both he and his predecessors were entitled, and none of the credit that sincere but futile effort deserved. Congress has persistently for twenty-five years prevented business organization and efficiency in the rural delivery service, because of politics.

Reform in the Railway Mail Service

The controversy over methods of paying for railroad transportation of mail is nearly a half century old. Every four years the mails were weighed on each railway route during a test period, and the averages thus ascertained became the basis for payment. It was impossible to take the weights on all routes simultaneously, so that test weighings were taken somewhere every year. Inflation of the mail was merely one of the corrupt practices. The case of a Congressman who during the weighing period kept several tons of mail traveling back and forth across a great State, under his frank, in order to swell the tonnage for a railroad that always gave him the benefits of its influence, became a classic during the era of political reform in that State some twenty years ago. In another State a Senator owned a small railroad and sent a couple of truck-loads of documents for like journeyings. A stupid railway mail clerk let it get out of the right orbit, and was disciplined for his blunder!

The weight plan, even honestly administered, was illogical and unjust because weights are not the determining factor in the expense of movement by railroads. They are only one of the several factors. Mail requires to be worked or sorted, preparatory to delivery, and the railway mail routes are equipped with postal cars manned by expert clerks who sort it en route. The actual tonnage that one of these cars can carry is small in proportion to the space required for the sorting. For this reason working mails in cars is one of the most expensive processes in the service. As the railroads were paid for the mileage of cars, their influence was always exerted to have the largest possible volume of mail worked in the cars. Economic administration would have worked it at the terminals, either before starting or after arriving at the destination. It is always possible, without losing time in delivery, to work a large share of mail in this way, but the old system continued to crowd a larger and larger portion of it into the mail cars for working.

The old weighing law of 1873 had hardly more than gone into effect when it came under attack which continued until, under Burleson, it was repealed and the plan substituted of paying the railroads for the number of square feet of mail-car floor space utilized. As early as 1878 the space plan was recommended, and this remained prac-

tically a standing recommendation of the postal authorities down to 1916, when it was adopted by Congress. In this matter, as in many others, Mr. Burleson's real offense is that he has been able to do the things that less insistent predecessors recommended but didn't get done. Time and again the railroad opposition prevented legislation. What railroad opposition meant in the old days of free political transportation and unbridled railroad influence in politics hardly needs to be recalled. That epoch is not yet entirely forgotten.

For the fiscal year 1916, under the old plan, the railroads received \$62,176,000 for hauling the mail, while for 1919, for a greatly increased tonnage, they received \$54,563,000. Moreover the saving of car space due to working more mail in terminals—none of it, however, at the cost of delay in ultimate delivery—made it possible to run fewer mail cars. During the crisis in war-time transportation 73,000,000 car miles per annum were thus dispensed with, equivalent to the operation of 15 trains, of 10 mail cars each, every day between New York and Chicago. Largely by reason of these economies the post office during the war carried its own regular business, together with an immense increase in parcel-post matter that was dumped on it because of the break-down or embargo of other transportation systems, with only such impairment of efficiency as resulted from delay of trains and failure to make connections.

Railroad service before and during our participation in the war was fearfully demoralized. The department's figures, though incomplete, show that in November, 1917, 87,000 cases were reported of mail trains failing to make scheduled connections. For the week ended January 26, 1918, 39 per cent. of mail trains failed to make regular connections. Mail and express service were equally dependent on the railways. Somehow, the post office demonstrated its superiority in this struggle with adverse conditions. Shippers demanded revision of its regulations so that it could accept, in the parcel post, moving picture films, young chicks, hives of bees, and the like. The department handled them so successfully that to-day it has a substantial monopoly of these specialties. In Pittsburgh alone 15 tons of films are handled daily. At no time was parcel-post matter embargoed, as were express and general freight, nor were parcel-post rates raised.

The collapse of railroad service in the United States during the war was far more serious than in Great Britain. But American postal service suffered less than British. Upon our entry into the war, legislation exempted the skilled postal employees from military service, but the department declined to avail itself of this privilege and thousands of expert workers, whose places could not have been filled even in peace times, much less in war, went into the service. Many towns and cities volunteered to have mail deliveries reduced, but in no case was it done. Compare this statement of the British Postmaster General:

It was also necessary to reduce the facilities provided in normal times. The hours during which post offices are opened for public business have been considerably curtailed. Branch offices and sub-offices have been closed where the conditions were favorable. Deliveries and collections of letters have been curtailed both in London and in the Provinces. In inner London the number of deliveries has been reduced to five and in some districts four a day, and in most of the suburban areas it is now three a day. In the Provinces the number of deliveries has been reduced in practically all towns.

Fine Showing of the Parcel Post

The parcel-post law, effective January 1, 1913, fixed weight of parcels at eleven pounds maximum and seventy-two inch length and girth combined. The Postmaster General had considerable latitude in fixing weight and size, and soon increased the weight to twenty pounds in the first and second zones. July 1, 1914, the weight limit was raised to fifty pounds in the first and second zones, and twenty pounds in all others, while rates were reduced in the third, fourth, fifth and sixth zones, and the size limit was increased. In 1918, the express system having broken down, weight limits for the first, second and third zones were raised to seventy pounds, and in all others to fifty pounds. In connection with experimental motor-truck routes and rural motor express routes authorized by Congress, the local parcel-post rates were extended in 1919 to fruits and vegetables from point to point on the same route.

During the first year of the service, parcel-post revenues were \$42,355,000 from 570,000,000 parcels. Incomplete figures for the 1919-1920 fiscal year indicate that the revenues will be \$120,000,000, and the increase in number of parcels proportionate.

As soon as the department moved to increase weight and size of parcels, thus menacing the business of the express companies,

the influences which had always opposed the creation of the parcel post redoubled their efforts to prevent these developments. The Senate Post Office Committee reported a bill to deprive the Postmaster General of his power to make these regulations, and it was beaten in the Senate by a majority of only one vote. Had it passed, Congressional action would have been necessary to change weight, size or rate on parcels—a condition which would have meant instant cessation of development. As it is, the increase in revenues from the parcel post has exceeded the entire increase in the postal service cost.

Postmaster General Burleson has insisted that the parcel post ought substantially to monopolize all the services the express companies have heretofore performed. One express company went out of business, and the others suffered so severely that under stress of war conditions they had to be consolidated into a single company, which was taken under the protective auspices of the railway administration, much to the disgust of the Post Office Department. These developments earned for the department the ardent hostility of all express interests. The express lobby especially appealed to small-town business men to oppose the parcel-post, on the ground that it would turn over their trade to the mail-order houses. The weakness of this argument is shown by the fact that complaints on this score have almost ceased since the service was established. Yet, notwithstanding that the service has been of such value that its abolition would not now be suggested by any sane public man, the department continues to labor under the burden of antagonisms aroused during this fight to establish it.

Why the Pneumatic Tubes Were Abandoned

The pneumatic tubes for rapid movement of mail in large cities were first used about twenty-five years ago. They were privately owned and leased to the post office at high rates. From their installation, no serious effort at their improvement was ever made.

Assume that there are five tons of mail at Battery Park in New York, destined for One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street, several miles uptown. Five to eight pounds of letters in one of the eight-inch pneumatic tube containers can be sent up to One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street in about forty minutes. Compared to the slow movement of traffic in the streets this represented a great

saving. But, first, to send a series of containers to One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street involves shutting off all intermediate deliveries. Only four containers can be dispatched each minute. In practice, the large quantities of mail in cities can be moved much more rapidly with motor trucks, and vastly more cheaply.

These facts were presented to Congress in connection with Mr. Burleson's recommendation that the tube contracts be discontinued. A long struggle between the Department and the tube contractors ensued. The Department based its recommendations on its desire to give better service, while the tube lobby appealed to Congress and the public not to abandon the tubes. In the end, despite all the arts of one of the most active lobbies in recent decades, Congress acquiesced in the Burleson recommendation and the contracts were ended. This long struggle developed features of a scandal in Washington. Informed people have no doubt the tube contracts should have been abandoned. Yet to this day most people know only that a tube container is faster than a truck; that the department wanted the tubes abandoned; ergo, that the department must be behind the march of progress and anxious to remain there.

War-Time Three-Cent Postage

Purely as a war revenue measure, Congress as from November 2, 1917, increased letter postage from two to three cents. This was as absolutely a war tax as was the excess profits levy. It produced \$115,892,000 revenue in the 19 months it was in effect, which was never treated as postal funds, was not considered in making up department statistics, and was turned over each month to the Treasury as general revenue. Yet millions of people believe that this increase is additional proof of the department's inefficiency. Even if it had required this added revenue for carrying on its service, the department would have been in no worse case than the railroads, which, though their rates were increased, nevertheless, produced a deficit to be met from the Treasury, instead of a surplus to help pay the cost of the war.

Postmasters under Civil-Service Tests

Perhaps the most insistent accusation against Mr. Burleson is that he has made a political machine of his department. His partisan accusers forget that his immediate predecessor at the head of this department enjoys reputé as the most effective manipu-

lator of Presidential delegations and nominating conventions in the history of American politics. As to Mr. Burleson, he has from the beginning recommended that all postmasters be placed under the classified civil service. The effort to enact this into law passed one but failed in the other house of Congress. Thereupon the President, in March, 1917, ordered that appointments to first-, second-, and third-class post offices be made from lists secured by civil-service competitive examination. The candidate highest in the examination must be appointed unless his character or residence be found to disqualify him. Fourth-class postmasters were already under civil service.

Under this order, down to June 30, 1919, 7,483 nominations had been submitted, 6,195 of these being reappointments. That is, almost 83 per cent. had been retained in office because of satisfactory records. In 1,188 cases not reappointments, the first or highest eligible on the civil service list was appointed, and in only 79 cases was any other than the first eligible appointed. Instead of turning over the postmasterships to Democrats, democratic politicians bitterly complain that after seven years of democratic control, over half the postmasters are Republicans.

Fourth-class postmasters were placed under civil service rules before the present administration came in. Most of them had never been examined to determine their qualifications, and in May, 1913, President Wilson ordered civil-service examination for all who had not previously passed it. About 5,000 fourth-class postmasters had already passed examinations and these were covered into the permanent classified service without question. The others have been examined by the Civil Service Commission, and 66 per cent. of them were retained because they passed the best examinations. Of the remaining 34 per cent., who failed under examination to demonstrate their fitness, 30.4 per cent. were succeeded by the first eligibles in the examinations, 2.7 by the second eligibles, and 0.9 by the third eligibles.

Strikes in the Postal Service

The Postmaster General has been assailed because in 1917 he recommended the repeal of a law of 1912 that permitted organizations of postal employees to affiliate with other labor organizations that employ the strike or boycott. The arguments for and against permitting employees of vital government serv-

ices thus to affiliate have recently been thrashed out in connection with the Boston police strike and also with the possibility of railroad strikes during the period of government operation of the railways. A little-known Governor of Massachusetts raised himself in a day to Presidential class because he vigorously opposed affiliation of the Boston police with labor organizations, under analogous conditions. The legislation, pending at the time of writing, under which the railroads will be returned to private control, seems likely to contain a prohibition of strikes by railroad employees. In view of these instances, and of the obvious reasons why essential public services cannot be subjected to the danger of prostration through labor troubles, there has recently been an impressive diminution of criticism aimed at the Post Office Department because of its attitude in this regard.

The Air Mail Service

Since the end of hostilities there has been constant criticism of the army and navy for their loss of interest in air service and aeroplane production. It has been charged that more progressive countries are establishing dominance in the air, and the unfortunate effects upon this country, both militarily and economically, are emphasized. However, if army and navy have been remiss in this regard, the post office has not. The most successful and efficient air mail service in the world is now maintained by our post office department. It is the only government activity that is affording a patronage to the aeroplane manufacturers calculated to keep their industry alive and develop it. If its proportions are yet comparatively small, nevertheless this contribution to aerial art is the only one any government department is making.

The air mail service has passed beyond the realm of experiment. Routes are maintained between New York and Washington and between Chicago, Cleveland and New York, with daily service. The Washington-New York route operates in about half the time of the railroads, and that between New York and Chicago saves sixteen hours in delivery of letters to the Middle West and twenty-four hours to the Pacific Coast.

It is not generally realized that letter mail can actually be handled cheaper by air than by railway. But between large centers, with great volumes of mail, this is the fact. As already explained, the great cost of railway mail service is due to the requirements

of space for working mail en route. The aeroplane service eliminates this. The increased speed of transportation makes it possible to work it at the termini instead of in postal cars, so that there is actual economy, as well as great expedition of delivery. For practical results, aeroplane and railroad service are combined on the New York-Chicago route. A fast train from New York at 5:31 P. M. carries mail to Cleveland, where it is picked up next day by aeroplane and rushed to Chicago, arriving at about 1 o'clock P. M. It is delivered that afternoon, whereas if it had finished the journey by train it would have arrived too late for delivery that day. The economy is actually about sixteen hours in time of delivery, which represents the saving of a business day. Similarly, the east-bound service between Chicago and New York represents a coördination of railroad and air services effecting a similar saving.

This air service in 1919, despite weather and mechanical drawbacks, was 96.54 per cent. perfect. It cost for the 1919 fiscal year \$166,000 and the revenues from aeroplane postage stamps were \$194,831. The rates of postage for the air service have been reduced to the regular two cents per ounce. The saving in expense for car space will represent during the current fiscal year twice the entire cost of the air mail service. Already lines are forming for the attack that older methods always aim against new: the railway postal employees are worried about their future, fearful of aeroplane competition, and preparing to fight against too much development of the air service.

Extra War Duty

During the war a monumental amount of extraordinary services was required of the post office. It included delivery of mail to the military forces at home and abroad; operation of the wire systems; handling mail by tens of thousands of tons for war agencies; administering the espionage and trading with the enemy act to prevent transmission of seditious matter; furnishing intelligence to army, navy and the Department of Justice. In connection with the draft, 9,000,000 questionnaires turned over to the department were so promptly and correctly delivered as to earn the high commendation of General Crowder, in charge of the draft. Eighty-three per cent. of the war-savings certificates and thrift stamps were sold through the department. The Treasury was allowed a liberal percentage for the expense of these sales,

but the Post Office Department received nothing. The postmasters were required to assist people in making income-tax returns; every post office was a recruiting agency and employment bureau; and the department was completely at the service of the organizations selling bonds. All this at a time when the post office had lost thousands of expert employees and when the volume of mail was increased beyond all precedent.

It is not unfair to ask a comparison, as to services rendered and financial results obtained, between the post office department and the other great transportation agencies. The express companies collapsed and had to be reorganized and saved by the Government. The railroads, despite immense increases in rates, have cost the Government about \$1,200,000,000 to make up their deficit. Street-car lines in cities were so hard hit that despite fare increases in most cities the profitable ones remaining among them are rare exceptions.

Moved by the persistence of criticism, the department about a year ago asked chambers of commerce, boards of trade, firms and corporations, about 12,000 in all throughout the country, to inform it whether the service was satisfactory and to suggest improvements. Only about one-third replied, and of these 92 per cent. were entirely satisfied. Some 30,000 similar circulars were sent to banks, and about one-third replied. Over half the replies were highly commendatory, one-fourth were complaints, and one-fourth, without complaining, offered suggestions for bettering service. The chambers of commerce of the fifty largest cities were requested to appoint committees to study postal conditions and suggest improvements. Only a few returns have been received yet, and these as a whole are highly satisfactory.

Telegraph and Telephone Administration

Late in the war the President, under Congressional authority, required the post office to take over the telegraph, telephone and cable systems. Like other public services—railroads, express companies, street-car lines, electric-light, gas and power companies—the wire companies had suffered because of increased expenses, labor shortage, and increased volume of business to be handled. It was necessary at once to increase rates to meet expenses, because Congress had made

no provision, as in the case of the railroads, of a great revolving fund for this purpose. Denied recourse to the Treasury to meet deficits, the wire companies were compelled to earn their living from day to day, and the department had to enable them to earn it from increased rates. The increases were made as small as possible, consistent with maintaining the properties and service; and at the end of government control the properties were returned to the companies, sound, solvent, in as good physical condition as ever, possessed of sufficient income to keep them going, and requiring no such intricate and well-nigh impossible unscrambling as is being painfully applied to the railroads.

In connection with the charges of politics in the department, its dealing with the inspection service is illuminating. When Mr. Burleson came into office there were 395 inspectors, approximately 90 per cent. of them Republicans, and Republicans of the conservative wing of the party. As the inspectors are the eyes and ears of the service, required to investigate all manner of conditions and complaints, it is desirable that they be unbiased. It was directed that the force be reorganized, dividing the membership equally between the political parties. To accomplish this without injustice to men already serving required about four years. The policy is that when any investigation is required in which political bias might figure, two inspectors, one of each party, are assigned, and from their reports a fair statement of the facts is commonly possible; at least, it is believed much more likely than under the old system. At present the heads of the service are a chief inspector and seven inspectors-in-charge, who are Democrats, and eight inspectors-in-charge, who are Republicans.

The foregoing brief statement of the case for the department necessarily covers a small part of the ground, and detail has been impossible. Many phases of the service, and many aspects of the controversy involving it, have of necessity been passed over. The effort has been merely to state fairly, on the basis of the best possible information, a few of the considerations which the writer believes will one day earn for the present Postmaster General recognition as one of the best administrators the country has ever had in charge of this department.

EUROPE'S ECONOMIC FATE AND HOW IT CONCERNS US

BY BURWELL S. CUTLER

[The present article is the first of two papers by Mr. Cutler, the second of which will appear in our March number. He gives us in this instalment a survey of the critical business conditions of Europe following the convulsions of war. Next month's article will present the proposed remedies for a situation that demands a setting in of strong new currents of international trade, with reestablishment of financial credit. In short, the present article is a diagnosis of economic troubles, while the succeeding one will set forth remedies.]

Mr. Cutler is a practical business man, of fine educational attainments and of large experience. During the war period he was called to Washington as Director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, in Secretary Redfield's department. He has recently returned from a confidential mission to Europe, on behalf of the Department of Commerce, where he had exceptional opportunities for acquiring a thorough understanding of existing financial and commercial affairs. Mr. Cutler was born in the city of Buffalo and has been identified with the best public interests of that city and of the State of New York.—THE EDITOR]

IF any one of the great economic powers in Europe "goes to smash," the United States will inevitably be a principal sufferer. Although we may defend ourselves successfully against consequent "international" anarchy, imported or indigenous, we shall have lost our means of livelihood in proportion as sales abroad are barred and as vital materials of foreign origin are withheld from us. It is even possible that our banking system may be subjected to the strain of taking on large losses in repudiated foreign loans. This follows from the fact that the business mechanism by which peoples everywhere trade their labor for a living is too closely articulated in all parts of the civilized world to keep on moving in the United States while it suffers paralysis in France, for instance, in Great Britain or even in Germany.

The fallacy of the belief in isolated prosperity for the United States will be demonstrated when we see the figures for the year 1920 of European sales; there are unofficial estimates of a drop from \$3,730,000,000 for 1918,—with a favorable balance over imports, of \$3,320,000,000—to something like \$1,860,000,000, or a loss of \$1,660,000,000 in net income. Even more calamitous would be the loss of foreign supplies of tin, wool, silk, rubber, steel alloys and other essentials whose sources are financed and managed by the business nations of Europe. Distribution depends on the continued solvency of the nations in question.

That solvency is compounded so finely of

inter-relations in banking, manufacturing and transportation that the bankruptcy of a single nation infects all the others.

To those persons who appear satisfied that the United States might compensate itself for lost European trade by an intensive trade with South America and the Far East, let it again be stated that those regions have been, and still are, primarily dependent upon France, Great Britain, Belgium, Holland and Germany for industrial finances. Railroads, electric-light plants, power developments, mercantile houses and banks were originated by European capital and pioneers. Were the sponsors of these enterprises compelled now by bankruptcy to abandon them, the United States, as the preëminent creditor nation, would have to take over property to the value of many billions of dollars in order to save our trade there from total eclipse. Great Britain alone had over two billions of dollars invested in South American railroads. Failure on our part to act quickly enough might imperil our own South American investments in branch banks, mines, smelters, cattle-ranges and packing-houses, since they could not operate indefinitely in the midst of economic disability. Resort to the conditions of barter from hand to hand or from warehouse to warehouse could not uphold our present profitable business by more than a hundredth part.

In other words, the shock of European bankruptcy would travel through the pioneer commonwealths of Asia, Africa, Australasia

and South America into every city of the United States. And grave, indeed, would be the effect upon us from Europe direct, especially if the disaster were accompanied by political anarchy in force. So much for the narrow viewpoint of immediate self interest. There is a larger view.

Four facts of the world situation are indisputable: First, that some parts of Europe lack food for bare subsistence, and working materials for millions of idle hands; second, that the Americas are the main sources of supply; third, that Europe cannot buy supplies without foreign credits; fourth, that the United States is the only creditor nation able to subscribe the major share.

Since we cannot deaden our ears to the appeal, whether or not we respond to it, the question arises as to what particular nation or nations must have aid to exist.

Our Latin "associates in war," Italy and France, have for us a certain sentimental attraction arising from their ancient services to refined civilization and also because of the ravages which a common enemy inflicted upon their soils. They might enjoy a preference of attention, did we fail to remember that they have acquired by victory extra land, including cities and industrial properties which should yield them mortgageable value in emergency. To that degree we may deny the poignant need of credits long extended, for that would smack of charity where charity is uncalled for.

This thought applies particularly to France, which not only takes possession of the tremendously valuable and now operating iron and steel properties and mills of Alsace-Lorraine, but also holds a lien on German production of coal in the amount of 20 million tons yearly. And this coal contract may be changed, at the option of France, to the original figure of 42 million tons, whenever Germany appears able to deliver.

In France's case, as in that of Italy, payment of interest on debts to Entente Allies will undoubtedly be deferred from time to time by friendly arrangement. It may even be cancelled outright; for it is quite unjust that financial prostration following a war of defense for civilization should entail a penalty of compound interest on Entente loans. France is, too, better off for food than any of her neighbors, her agriculture having increased 60 per cent. over 1918, whereas Italy suffers a painful scarcity of heat-foods.

Great Britain we may dismiss from our calculations in this connection because she

has become by the fortunes of war the greatest sovereign power since the Roman Empire; she can find food, material and credits in her own various possessions.

The Plight of Germany

Middle Europe presents a different picture. Germany, having exhausted every last item of resource before she gave up the military struggle now finds herself minus clothing, food and working materials. By the thousands her people in the unoccupied territory, starve this winter, even the well-to-do being in a weakened condition for lack of fats. Such domestic crops as they have of potatoes and barley fail of distribution under the complete breakdown of freight facilities. Small children who do not die from malnutrition shown signs of distressing anemia. Although the sturdy German physique of the adult will endure painful hardships in war for the sake of Empire, it is doubtful whether it can withstand another winter of little clothing, less food and no fuel.

To make things worse, Germany is stripped clean of the necessary raw materials for industry, so that hunger and idleness stalk hand in hand. Nor will her plight, which she has brought upon herself, dissuade her conquerors along the Rhine from exacting payment of every obligation on the first day of maturity; no affectionate leniency will be shown, as between the Entente members. Indeed, French, British and Belgian armies, billeted in the Rhine valley, are ready to march forward with pleased alacrity at the first sign of serious default on the part of the Berlin government, or else to declare Rhineland independence with perhaps a foray into the Ruhr industrial region. All in all, Germany amongst the major economic powers exhibits the most serious predicament.

Britain's Industrial Perils

What are the probabilities of a crash in Europe? And what groups would sink together?

Six months ago Great Britain was prognosticated by many observers of her coal and railroad strikes and of the program announced by her trade unions to be the first and most signal victim of Communism in western Europe. The vicious untimeliness of these disturbances, especially during the war when military forces had to be put in control of coal mines, is not to be denied, and yet we must admit that none of them succeeded greatly beyond the merit of their

causes, even in the face of a proletarian threat of revolt. There is such a threat, indeed, in the design of her trade unions to capture, by fair means or foul, mastership of industrial and public utilities for appropriation of the profits, without any share in losses due to deliberately restricted output.

No less disquieting is the view at close range of the bad physical condition of the British work people, whom we find too often lounging in the door-ways of their poor homes drinking beer when work is their only salvation. Also, we may be agitated by the weird political doctrines of economic prostration shouted from soap-boxes of an evening in many cities. And, yet, Britain, tolerating these things for many years through the slow course of her effort to correct them, has never suffered a French Revolution or an American Civil War.

On the contrary, the medley of Scots, Welsh and Anglo-Saxons, whose residence guards the approach to northern Europe, have among them evolved and codified the principal world-reforms in political relationship. We may expect to see, coming out of the present contest between worker and executive and investor, a joint industrial responsibility that will serve mankind as fully as have the establishment of parliamentary government, universal franchise and the right of free speech.

Meanwhile, we are entertained by the clever manipulation of her merchant marine and by her skill in marketing "cornered" war supplies of tin, wool, rubber, etc., in quarters exclusively where competitive manufacturers cannot get them, unless in exchange for materials of equal strategic value.

Conditions in France

France, although not so reliable, has shown by the recent confirmation of her conservative ministry in office that a socialistic régime can arrive only by the orderly process of ballot. Sporadic disturbances might follow a too thorough demobilization of the last million and a half of soldiers still with the colors, before factories and public works are ready to employ them. But the government is neither going to take that risk so long as Germany needs watching, nor to incur, by speedy discharge, an unemployment pension system. The military establishment becomes, however, a cruel burden on current income; and no time should be lost in absorbing the idle poilus into the prosaic labor of brick-making, ditch-digging, road-laying, mining,

blacksmithing, and other work so vitally needed in reconstruction.

It may be said, in passing, that a greater production of rough products is requisite, if for no other reason than to balance the disproportionate number of French people who have chosen mercantile pursuits as a gentler and more speculative means of livelihood.

Too many people trying to live by their wits in communities overpopulated and lacking productive soil renders almost impossible a fair distribution of riches; their rapacity may account for much of the rabid communism that originates in the congested areas of Europe and spreads to the rest of the world.

Economic domination over France by the greater industrial countries, Great Britain and Germany, may cease to be feared by the French when their trade Syndicates, now so comprehensively organized in clay products, in steel construction, jewelry, textiles, automobiles and power machinery, are presided over by vigorous business men who will insist on action as distinct from oral plans and blueprints. Such men will not hesitate to introduce foreign machinery and engineers despite an uncompromising home-trade sentiment in their midst, granting that Ministers Clem-entel and Loucheur consent.

In the matter of state finances, judgment must be reserved until we know whether Finance Minister Klotz has any right to credit against foreign debts, which are unmistakable, foreign investments which have been repudiated by Russia, and are of doubtful standing in Turkey and the Balkans. A more effective means of income might be found in the actual collection of internal taxes, from which many favored corporations have been free for several years, whether as an offset against other valued public service or not, it is difficult to find out.

Comparatively, France is sound and, treated leniently by her creditors, will become a greater international trader than ever before, even though no immediate remedy be found for the depreciated franc.

How Can Italy Save Herself?

Glancing again at Italy, we may judge her grandiose plans for industrial expansion to be inopportune in so far as they may involve the country in further troubles of an industrial-socialistic nature before the government has yet solved the national food and

fuel problems. The situation is acute. During the war new capitalization in factories, power plants and transportation facilities increased from 157,000,000 lire to 8,127,000,000—a multiplication by 500! One cannot help thinking that so much capital—if ever paid in—might be devoted to an agrarian program of far greater efficacy. That would at least constitute an attempt to keep thousands of cold and hungry people from seeking desperate refuge in the Bolshevistic theories that are beginning to creep upon them through Austria.

The Italian temperament is not calculated to endure too great or too long physical suffering under present circumstances of political unrest. Their own woes and the woes of their neighbors might be sensibly relieved by the fall of 1920 if they should turn their whole attention to agriculture. Even coal would be forthcoming in exchange for farm-produce.

In the minds of Italians who remember how the United Kingdom has for years taught them to rely upon supplies of Welsh coal brought in British bottoms, no small blame will accrue to that country for failure in the obligation now. Whereas allowance is made for decrease in coal production,—a misfortune which only the British can correct,—no kindly allowance is made for preference in supplies to manufacturer-consumers of the United Kingdom. Lacking fuel from Great Britain, food from the United States would be only a half-way measure of relief.

The present exchange value of the lira, at about 13 cents U. S. A., instead of 24 cents, represents truly enough the extent of war-time inflation, except for a possible point or two due to complete absence of demand for lira at New York which naturally follows the cessation of Italian exports and the government's refusal to allow American purchases in aught but dollars.

Certainly Italy cannot liquidate if France fails, and France cannot liquidate if Germany fails. So again we face the central European situation.

What Can Germany Do?

An estimate of Germany's ability to help preserve the economic integrity of civilization depends wholly upon the attitude maintained toward her by the Allied victors. That she can perform her part, if permitted, is never in doubt when one views the well-kept premises of her factories, banks and stores. Business managements appear little changed in

personnel, and her laboring forces are still the same hard-working, efficient and physically powerful tribe that gave their country preëminence in essential industries before the war. A large part of them would be glad to work 60 hours a week.

Although the financial and industrial leaders evince no contrition for having conspired with military Prussia to shatter the peace of the world, the less exalted classes betray bottomless regret for the militaristic madness that has caused loss of Empire, loss of homes, loss of savings and, above all, loss of steady employment.

And since the lowly order of Boche is the only part of the population that has ever consented to occupy front trenches, and work at the bloody end of the business, there will be no more foreign conquest for a time indeed. "Heinie" is an interesting exhibit these days; big of frame, his stomach belted in, a stupefied wonder in his eyes that Hohenzollern did not lead him to all the best looting places in Europe, an air of Asiatic fatalism, an instinct for humdrum work and the safety of a tyrannically ruled home, a simplicity of faith in the overlordship of royalty and a profound non-comprehension of republican ways,—this combination of dupe and terrible warrior and methodical artisan can uphold the heavy production of essentials in Europe if he is given tools and materials.

On the other hand, his sober docility under employment does not guarantee submission indefinitely to conditions of extreme hunger and exposure. His effectiveness in the laborious engineering trades might easily be matched by his deadliness as a rebel *en masse*.

Financially, Germany seems to be hopelessly involved. The international valuation of the mark, at more or less than two cents U. S. A., reveals disquietude in all minds as to the actual amount of mark-notes issued or based on worthy security. There are a number of bankers outside of Germany who suspect that fundamental securities, such as those covering the state-owned railways, were mortgaged more than once to money-lenders in Switzerland, Holland and Scandinavian countries during the war.

There was an element of compulsion in many of these loans that forced the lenders to take what security was available, especially since the expectation of a German victory ran high throughout 1916 and 1917. If Erzberger still holds these securities in deposit at Berlin and continues to use them

as a balance against other or new obligations, the mark bids fair to become just nothing.

Furthermore, we must face the time when the government may be tempted to issue more paper in order to overcome a reduction of the mark's purchasing power at home. Otherwise, a simultaneous jump upward in living costs, on account of dwindling provisions, plus a drop of the mark from a value of 6 cents at home to the value of 2 cents abroad, will leave thousands of people bereft of the small buying power which they yet possess.

It may be said here that the American, British and French speculation in marks that followed on the heels of the armistice has neither been frank nor adept. The present holders of marks who thwart any effort to aid Germany unless the effort stimulates the mark to a point where they may unload at a profit, may defeat each other by throwing their goods on the market simultaneously. There are at present, according to calculation of the Dresdner Bank, seventeen billions of marks outside of Germany! Doctor Mannheimer of the Reichbank estimated last October a daily speculation amounting to 270 millions.

Italy and Germany Claim First Attention

If there is any such thing as an obligation incumbent on the United States to contribute aid toward the preservation of western civilization, then the instinct of self-defense automatically selects for first attention Italy and Germany; the one for her pitiable dependence on imported necessities, and the other for her latent power to rebuild Europe *vis-a-vis* her possibility as a victim and transmitter of economic anarchy. Whether or not Bolshevism of the Russian type is probable,—and most competent observers think it resides not in the Teutonic nature,—the German people form a new bulwark between us and Asiatic Europe, whence comes the greatest menace civilization has ever encountered. Poland, between the two, would disappear overnight in the event of Teutonic and Moscovite collaboration. After Germany succumbs, the other Europeans shall follow one by one.

Neither Italy nor Germany require for bare existence more than a small part of the billions of dollars so generously proposed by certain economists; for Italy 100 millions in fuel, 200 millions in food; for Germany 300 millions in food and 500 millions in working

materials. Wheat, bacon and edible oils come first in the list of foods for both countries. Amongst the industrial materials for Germany, copper, cotton, wool, rubber, tin, lead and lubricating oils rank highest.

The strategic value of these materials is amply illustrated by broken-down transportation-properties over the entire face of the continent. Motive power on the railroads is gone because engines repaired without copper, asbestos, tool steel and decent lubrication travel only a few miles before they again become useless junk. The Inter-Allied Rhine-land High Commission tried last fall to organize a French-Belgian-German repair shop system, in the interest of better transportation for nearby supplies of coal and potatoes, but the plan failed because of mechanical difficulties in materials.

As a result, the Gallic and Teutonic operations continue to clash. It is the fashion for each national railway system to detach its good locomotives before trains cross a border, in order to escape appropriation by the other fellow. Decrepit units have too often been surreptitiously substituted for useful ones. When France was promised more coal by Germany on condition of loaning locomotives for hauling it, the former responded with 1,500 of the worst wrecks she could select. They could neither be used nor repaired.

Trade with the Germans

Already barter has been tried by groups of German textile manufacturers to obtain through Dutch bankers American cotton and British wool. By the terms of one proposal mills in Saxony are likely to get from a temporary association of these bankers consignments of a few bales at a time from Rotterdam warehouses, payment to be made in finished cloth which the banks will sell for their own account and the satisfaction of the debt. It may be surmised that the shrewd Dutchman will not only handle the values both ways in guilders, but will also require for security a deposit of shares covering ownership in the factories granted the credits. More ingenious is the deal whereby a consortium of German lumber merchants have rented in Scandinavia timber tracts where they will erect saw-mills and cut as extensively as they can on a rental basis of 15 per cent. of product to the owners. In the line of American operations it is said that factories at Solingen and Essen have been offered steel and fusing alloys in ex-

change for locally made razors, knives and structural shapes, on condition that controlling stock in the companies be deposited in Switzerland pending consummation of the business. The proffer was declined.

How far the British and French have indulged in such barter, from their military outposts on the Rhine, will never be published. We may, however, guess its extent from the recurring appearance on both markets of Teutonic merchandise in large lots, despite the patriotic protest of home-trade advocates in the same lines of manufacture. Two million marks' worth of cheap automobile accessories (or was it two million pounds' worth?) were dumped onto the English market one day last August according to the newspapers. The defiant entry led many people to guess that somebody was loaded with merchandise resulting from a big trading deal across the Rhine. Almost every merchant in Europe knows of the famous sale of "Sunlight" soap; two-thousand "goods cars" of the desirable commodity passed into Germany, over the *post-factum* protest of Minister Erzberger.

That leads us to say that nothing so exposes Erzberger to the ridicule of his own countrymen as his powerlessness to check immense importation of luxury articles. He claims that not less than five billions of marks have been thus squandered, at a time when every pfennig is required for purchase of raw materials needed in the resumption of manufacture. Obviously the Berlin government cannot stop it until the Supreme Economic Council rises superior to the specific provision of the Peace Treaty, which stipulates unrestricted entry of goods which passed in 1913.

The right of the Berlin government, in equity at least, to an independent system of import and export control was partially conceded by the Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission when it invited the Minister of Economy to submit lists of preferred commodities. Maybe his prolonged failure to respond on a matter so cardinal to his administration was due to disappearance of the letter *en route*, and by a curious coincidence the Commission's retained copy was not to be found on file at the Coblenz Praesidium last November, nor at the Crillon in Paris, where the matter would have been of supreme interest.

Then, of course, the question remains as to which bank of the Rhine shall be picketed by customs officials, for it was hardly con-

templated by the peace negotiators that the occupied Rhineland province should have its imports dictated from Berlin, nor, on the other hand, that it should be totally divorced from the Germanic customs union. Economic autonomy for the new German Republic is the only measure that will give it prestige and stability among its own people. At times French officialdom seems strangely oblivious to this fact, for it misses no opportunity to depress German business, even when admitting the wisdom of helping Germany to a paying basis in anticipation of war indemnity claims.

General Foch is usually credited with the superior plan for the subjection of his enemies, in so far as he advocated military disintegration as distinct from economic strangulation. Contrary to his intention, Prussia continues to hold the center of power, and Minister of War Noske has become presiding genius.

Plans for Extending Credit

These contrarieties of policy will, however, be banished by mutual resolve when Great Britain and France really make up their minds to conserve the debtor whom they want us to finance. When that time arrives they will even relinquish prior liens on account of war indemnities, in favor of enough German assets to secure the credits Germany will need.

The 60 millions of people within the confines of the German Republic may be saved to Christian civilization by the early delivery of food and materials. April of this year has been marked by Mr. Hoover among other authorities as the final date of their endurance. That materials can be advanced on credit from the United States and a handsome profit made, calls for no argument. It becomes first a question of how much political and moral security Great Britain, France and Germany in combination with their associates, will offer us, and, after that, a question of how the loan may be spread amongst the American people to their satisfaction.

Rejecting completely schemes for hand-to-mouth barter, several amalgamations of banks, under title of security companies, propose to collect from Germany all the state, municipal and public-utility bonds which may remain unhypothecated and to build on them credits whose repayment, in time, shall redeem the bonds, or that part of them which has not been sold to the public. The credits would rest in this country, subject to draft

for buying American goods. An expenditure committee is intended to supervise purchase of materials alone that have been designated as essential.

A variation of the plan contemplates outright purchase of the bonds so that they may be covered by debentures, in the British style, which shall be endorsed by American companies issuing them for sale. This is more in line with the published opinion of Mr. Eugene Meyer, Jr., chairman of the United States War Finance Corporation to the effect that the American public will not put confidence in any market-securities that do not carry the hall-mark of American banking responsibility.

Both plans presume the possibility of a public market. But is not that market doubtful to the point of absolute negation?

No one who is intimately acquainted with the average American, whether Eastern merchant or Middle-West farmer or Far-West cattle rancher, can escape the conviction that we are the very antithesis of thrifty money-lenders. We think little or nothing of security investments for the strongbox, even when the securities represent property and management of high national repute. Markets for such securities have ordinarily been found in the realm of great personal fortunes or of banking accumulations.

Prodigal outlay of savings has been the rule with us; and who shall condemn it when we appreciate the magnificent values it has created for the nation, namely: farming machinery, petroleum pipe lines, transportation systems, steel construction buildings, office appliances, automatic musical instruments, automobiles and the like? None of these famous American projects would have developed into production on a mammoth scale if our people had not been willing buyers. Of course, we save as well, and generally select for that purpose savings banks and dwelling house mortgages. It would be extremely speculative for any foreign-securities company to count upon an early distribution of their holdings to the greater public.

Nor will campaigns to educate us in the desirability of foreign investment succeed so long as the customary European interest rates of 3, 4, 5, and seldom 6 per cent. are opposed by offers at home of 7 per cent. preferred stocks and bonuses of common stock, security in each case being apparently equal. Offers of the kind multiply in number as "call money" is quoted higher by the bankers because business enterprise is then turning to the public for cheaper working funds.

The time lost in adjusting our inveterate economic habits, and our financial machinery as well, to the dire distress of Italy for food and of Germany for working materials will surely be fatal. Unless we are willing to take the risk of their defection from the ranks of responsible nations, unless we intend deliberately to let them go bankrupt, unless we are quite impervious to the business failures that will radiate through France, Holland, Belgium, Scandinavia and the new Balkan states all the way to the United Kingdom and to the United States, unless we are glad to put the present world scheme of "labor-management-profit-and-banking" at the mercy of a desperate proletariat versed in Communism,—then let us make a national attempt to finance the situation, not an effort to side-step responsibility by referring off-hand to the inoperative law of supply and demand. How can Germany buy a ton of American coal from an individual who cannot afford to take marks? And if he did take marks, that ton would cost the buyer two thousand of them.

The creditor nations of the world could be associated in a contribution of credit through their governments without a perceptible strain on current finances, and with profit to all, saying nothing of the honor. Every dictate of diplomacy and business common-sense points that way.

In the March number of this magazine will appear a relation of several inter-governmental plans proposed by the able financiers of Europe and America.



FRANCE'S NEW BALLOT

BY LOUIS GRAVES

FRANCE gave a trial for the first time, with the election that seated the present Chamber of Deputies, to an absolutely new voting system. Nothing like it has ever been tried before by any nation, and it is sure to be of keen interest to ballot reformers the world over. It was enacted into law such a short time before the election that it was a novelty to France itself, and not yet has the public decided whether it considers the departure good or bad.

This method of electing Deputies is an approach to what is known as "proportional representation," or, as it is sometimes called, "minority representation." Only an approach, however, because under certain circumstances the provision for the allotment of places to the minority does not apply at all. It is because of this that critics of the law have condemned it as a weak compromise, neither fish, flesh nor fowl.

The election in November showed the varied results that it might give. In the suburbs of Paris, for example, where there were only two tickets of any importance, the old principle of majority election applied; because here every candidate on the anti-Socialist ticket got an absolute majority and was therefore elected. But in Paris itself, where there were several tickets in each electoral division of the city, the most popular ticket was not quite popular enough to obtain an absolute majority, and hence the seats were dealt out among several parties.

How Proportional Representation Works

The main feature of the new law is the substitution of the *scrutin de liste* for the *scrutin d'arrondissement*. An explanation in American terms will probably make the change clearer to Americans, and I will show how the new method would work if it were put into force in, say, New York.

Suppose that, instead of having several Congressional districts, we made Manhattan a single constituency, Brooklyn another, and so on for all the five boroughs. Then, all the candidates of the Republican party are put on a single list, all the Democratic candi-

dates on a single list, and thus for all parties. Every voter votes on the whole list for his borough. If there are twenty-five Congressmen to be elected from Manhattan, for example, it may be that eleven Republicans are elected, seven Democrats, five candidates of a third party, and two candidates of a fourth.

This is the most ordinary kind of result for France, because the French almost always have several parties or groups in the field. In our own country, in normal circumstances, the "proportional representation" feature of this law would most often be of no consequence, owing to the preponderance of our two great parties. But this is not always so. We have had the Progressives; there is already the beginning of a new Labor party; and any election in the future may provide a case in which the present French system would be of great value—that is, provided "proportional representation" is reckoned a good thing. Some people do not believe that it is, preferring that a legislative body have a strong majority that can do business with a sure hand, rather than that it be made up of smaller groups that are all the time obliged to be making coalitions in order to avoid complete stagnation.

I am not here interested in the merits of the principle, but propose merely to set forth in brief the working of the French method, because it represents the first attempt, on a large scale, to realize an object that has been warmly advocated in all great countries.

"Quotients" and "Averages"

The law was enacted only on October 24, and the national election was to take place November 16. Of course persons following the routine work of the Chamber closely knew something of the measure, but it came upon the public quite suddenly. All at once they were confronted, in the newspapers, by discussions of "quotients" and "averages," as these terms were used in the law, and most citizens were sadly confused by the whole affair. Repeated and elaborate explanations were necessary, and were offered by news-

papers and by election posters, in order that the voter might know whom and what he was voting for and how to prepare his ballot.

The quotient is the number of voters in a constituency divided by the number of seats to be filled. The average is the number of votes accorded to any one list divided by the candidates on that list. To a list is awarded as many seats as the times that the average contains the quotient.

How the scheme operates can be understood only from illustrations, and there have been many such published. The following one is taken from one of the semi-official digests of the law.

In an electoral district with 150,000 voters there are six seats to be filled. There are three lists, A, B and C. The counting of the votes shows:

List A	List B	List C
Jean . . . 73,000	Arsene . . 52,600	David . . 29,000
Henri . . . 72,200	Eugene . . 52,200	Arthur . . 28,600
Gustave . 71,800	Hippolyte 52,000	Eustache 26,800
Raymond 70,800	Ernest . . 51,400	Celestin . 26,400
Georges . 69,600	Yves . . . 50,200	Prosper . 26,000
Octave . . 69,300	Theophile 49,600	Firmin . . 25,800
Total 426,700	Total 308,000	Total 162,600
Av. . . 71,116	Av. . . 51,333	Av. . . 27,100

Quotient: 150,000 divided by 6—25,000.

No candidate has enough votes to entitle him to election by absolute majority. The quotient and the average then come into play.

The average of list A, 71,116, contains the quotient, 25,000, twice. Therefore list A gets two seats, which go to the two candidates who received the most votes, Jean and Henri. The average of list B, 51,333 also contains the quotient twice, and Arsene and Eugene are elected. The average of list C contains the quotient once, and David is elected. There is still one more seat to fill. The law provides that it shall go to the list obtaining the highest average, and Gustave of List A is the sixth Deputy.

A Disappointed Candidate

In the third electoral section of Paris the system worked out in much that way, this last election. The so-called *bloc* won the greater part of the fourteen seats. The list headed by Paul Painlevé, of more radical composition and accused of being almost bolshevist by the moderates, came next; and the extreme reactionary list got one seat, which went to its leader, Leon Daudet. Now, Gustave Tery, who was not near the top

of the Painlevé list in the number of votes received, was not elected, although he received a much greater number of votes than M. Daudet. This was a particularly bitter pill, for M. Daudet, in his newspaper, had been attacking M. Tery violently as a "Caillautist" and "defeatist," and foretelling that he would be haled to the bar of justice for activities akin to, if not exactly the same as, those of Bolo, Caillaux and Lenoir.

For a day or two M. Tery raged, in his newspaper, at the injustice of his being defeated by an opponent who had received fewer votes. But there was no way out of it. The law was plain—M. Daudet was elected. That was "proportional representation."

The "Moderates" Win

In the constituency including the suburbs of Paris the fight was bitter between the *bloc* and the Socialists. A Socialist victory was freely predicted, because it is this territory that includes the great factory population of the Department of the Seine, and it was thought that the voters had probably come under the influence of the extreme doctrines, (or, as they were generally called by the moderates, Bolshevik doctrines) of the Unified Socialist group. But here, as throughout France, the *bloc* of moderates won—and by an absolute majority. Under the terms of the law, they got all the seats. There was, then, no "proportional representation" here. This victory gave the moderates more satisfaction, perhaps, than that in any other constituency; for it was a "stand up and knock down" fight, with the field clear for the two opposing ideas.

The framers of the law attempted to provide for all possible combinations of votes and all forms of candidacy. For example, a candidate may run alone, and is treated as constituting a list in himself. But, even though a lone candidate might be elected according to the play of the quotient, it is stipulated that he cannot be elected over another who has received more votes than he. If he receives an absolute majority of votes, he is declared elected before the play of the quotient begins, provided that all the available seats are not filled by others who received a still greater majority than his.

To the American voter, the lack of uniformity in the ballot itself comes with a decided shock. Printed ballots containing any combination of candidates—combinations containing candidates from different lists—

may be given to voters and may be legally used. Or, the citizen may scratch out names and write in others. Or, he may use a sheet of plain white paper—but not colored paper, the law says—and write in the names of the candidates he prefers. There is not the same invalidation of ballots for slight errors that we have in New York. If the voter, for instance, writes down on his sheet more names than there are seats to fill, the extra ones at the end are simply cut off and the ballot is still good.

Naturally, there are a great many provisions for unusual, or what we would call "freakish," situations. To know all these is not essential to an understanding of the substance of this measure.

There is one part of the law, aside from the voting method itself, that, it seems to me, deserves special attention from Americans. This, which is not as new as the rest, being an extension of an earlier law, limits election campaign advertising to the posting

of placards on official bulletin boards. These boards are installed at convenient places in each constituency, so that no citizen who goes to and fro in the streets can miss them. They contain all the information and appeals that are needed by the voters, and no posting of election placards elsewhere is permitted.

French commentators consider the avoidance of a second election one of the most valuable features of the statute. Formerly the extra elections, held when the seats were not filled by absolute majority, were a nuisance in France, and were generally condemned as such. The present play of the quotient prevents them except in very unusual cases. One of these cases is the failure of half the registered voters to go to the polls. Another is that in which no list obtains a number of votes equal to the quotient. If a second election is required in any district, this time the candidates are declared elected in the order of the number of votes they receive, regardless of voters' lethargy.

FIUME—AN EXPLANATION

BY ELBERT BALDWIN

[The writer of this article is an American, a former naval officer, who has been stationed in the Adriatic since June, 1918—at Corfu, Spalato, Fiume, Pola, and Trieste. He has been favored by opportunities to observe conditions in Italy both at first hand and also as they are reflected by the Italian forces of occupation on the eastern shores of the Adriatic.—THE EDITOR.]

ITALY is sick. Her stomach is on strike; her nerves are ragged; she is eaten with fever. The illness has not come suddenly. Its roots lie back in the frail constitution which was Italy's before the war, in her poverty, in the lack of education among the masses, in the social and political restlessness of her people. The war placed a tremendous strain upon that constitution. The aftermath of war has placed another strain, different in kind but equal in degree. Italy has come through four years of continuous drain upon her energy with never an opportunity for reconstruction. A crisis is at hand.

The trouble is not Fiume. Rather Fiume is merely a symptom of the trouble. Whether Fiume becomes Italian, becomes an international "cushion" state, is assigned to Jugoslavia even, the condition of Italy will be bettered or aggravated; but fundamentally it will not be changed, for the trouble lies at home, within Italy herself. She is passing through a crisis in which her more clear-

sighted leaders are fighting for national self-control.

Italy at the Peace Conference

When the armistice was signed, it was felt throughout the peninsula that the day of Greater Italy had dawned. It was to be an Italy which would include all the Italian-speaking, Italian-feeling peoples which for decades had been living at her very door without the power to enter in.

Italy had entered the war upon a definition of national ambitions and a guaranty of their vindication, the so-called Pact of London. It is useless to discuss whether Italy had been "bought." Equally it is useless to criticize her military contribution. Italy entered into a contract, and to the fulfillment of her part she contributed her every resource, the total of her national wealth, and a fearful proportion of her man power. She kept good faith!

It is not unnatural that, with the vic-

torious conclusion of the war, Italy turned to the Peace Conference with the same expectation of the fruits of victory as was common to her Allies.

She found a newcomer at the Peace Table—America—one who ostensibly knew nothing of Italy's promised reward, who got himself a map and found that it included also territory distinctly not Italian but conceded through reasons of strategy and geography. There was the region of the Brenner Pass, for instance, the Alto Adige, which is German to the core, and again there were the highlands of northern Dalmatia, where with its solidly Slav population, animosity to Italy is hereditary. The newcomer objected, rightly. To the extent that people not only not of Italian sympathy but of Italian antipathy were actually being handed over into political slavery. The Pact of London was an iniquitous contract.

Italy was stigmatized as "imperialistic." Nothing was said of England and France, who were parties to the contract and who bore an equal share of responsibility. On the contrary, the newcomer opposing Italy gave its assent to measures which smacked strongly of imperialism. The surrender of Shantung to Japan is an instance.

Italy encountered not merely disappointment; she met rebuke. And not without justice she felt her treatment to be partial.

Italian domestic conditions and Italian psychology explain the force of the repercussion of her initial reception in Paris and the use which was made of the reaction.

Conditions at Home

From heel to toe Italy had been organized for the conduct of war. As was true of every nation involved, there began with the armistice a reorganization toward the basis on which rested peace-time industries. Unlike other nations, however, Italy is destitute of raw material for industries, and especially of coal from which to draw the necessary power to turn the wheels. The Government which had bought steel for ships and shells and cannon, sold its reserve for half cost, sustaining an immediate loss for the gain in industrial quantity. Other necessities, and primarily coal in adequate quantity, it did not have to sell. Even during the war, when coal was a crucial factor, the needs of Italy were never fully met. It happened, therefore, that war-time activity ceased and peace-time energy could only partially begin. Industry as a whole was at a standstill.

No better was the condition of food supply. Italy does not feed herself. During the war her reserve of foodstuffs vanished. The army was fed first, of necessity. The condition of the civilian population, if not approaching the hideous state of actual starvation existent in Austria, was nevertheless one of pinch and need and of prices rising steadily beyond the average reach. With the armistice began the return of the soldier to civilian status. Italy still maintained a huge number under arms, out of all proportion to necessity and symptom of a growing militaristic element. The army still held first call upon the food supply, and the swelling number of civilians fared worse instead of better. Lastly, Italy was called upon to feed the territory of her occupation.

Into this hinterland of want and stagnation returned the soldier released from service, adding his quota to the army of the unemployed, his want to the wants of others. During the war, when faced with the danger of invasion and disaster, the people had met with fortitude the mounting odds of life. Now the threat which had held them to the task was gone. The longed-for days of peace had brought but greater hardship. Socialism is no new thing in Italy, where the strata of society are so marked. In this state of need and discontent, anything which held an element of change and a possibility of betterment was eagerly received. Bolshevism found greedy welcome.

Dissatisfaction with the Government for having failed to reduce the cost of living was aggravated by dissatisfaction with the same Government for having failed at Paris to win plums such as others had won. It is not strange that peace with Germany received primary emphasis at Paris. To Italy, however, struggling under the burden of threatening social upheaval and economic ruin, the lack of attention given to her interests—or the lack of understanding—was a grievance and an affront. She had done her best, she felt its cost, and she wanted appreciation. At the Peace Conference she wanted a place equal to that of any of the great powers. Instead, she found herself (as she thought) belittled and ostracized, her interests secondary, her contract void. It was salt on an open wound.

The Rise of the Fiume Issue

Against the tendency of social and political disintegration there stood opposed a tendency bred of a victorious war, a nationalism

bordering upon imperialism and centered in the army. Open to Italy was a possibility of expansion. She was in Trieste, in Pola, in Fiume. Zara and Sebenico were hers. But there still stretched to the south, paralleling her own shores, the rich Dalmatian coast with its dots of Italian representation, pegs on which to hang the claim of an enlarged *Irredenta*. The army dreamed of Italian troops climbing into the highlands bordering the eastern Adriatic, and entrenching there impregably against all future opposition. The Adriatic would be practically enclosed by Italy. She no longer feared for her northern border, for Austria was a thing of the past. Could Italy hold Dalmatia from positions on the Dinaric Alps, all fear of Jugoslavia would be at an end. The Adriatic lay between, and on the Adriatic the Italian navy was supreme.

What possibilities there lay in that dream of expansion, not only of Italy proper but of Italy commercially! In the Balkans lay the coal and oil and raw materials she required, a source of supply infinitely nearer than the Americas. In the Balkans also lay an inexhaustible market for finished products. The Adriatic would be the highway of this commerce. Venice could be rejuvenated. Trieste and Fiume would prosper and help fill her empty coffers. And she would hold Fiume, if not the only entrance to the Balkans, still to-day the best. *It was a dream to dream!*

The project required a united and aggressive Italy. But Italy was disintegrating, she was dissatisfied politically and socially. An issue was necessary, on which all Italy could be made to feel alike. That issue was found in Fiume.

I do not say that the issue of Fiume in Italy is wholly artificial, that it was raised solely either as a counter-irritant to the Bolshevik menace or as a means of furthering excessive national ambitions. It was an issue closely bound with the redemption of *Italia Irredenta*, not without distinct merits of its own. I do say that through a campaign of propaganda, extending over many months and through many channels, penetrating to every corner of the Italian peninsula, it is an issue which has deliberately been raised to a position out of all proportion with its importance.

When the Pact of London was drawn, Italy demanded Fiume. Simultaneously with these negotiations, Italy was bargaining with Austria. It was a question whether Italy by war could gain more than without war.

To Fiume, however, she resigned her claims at the intervention of Russia, who realized the vital importance of a Slav port upon the Adriatic as inlet and outlet for the Balkans. Italy was then in a position to insist upon demands, but she did not seem to hear the call of her "brothers" whom now she is so passionately eager to redeem.

Propaganda Among the Masses

I do not question the sincerity of the Italians as a whole in their feeling respecting Fiume. To have witnessed demonstrations on that issue, to have been present in Fiume during the disturbances which gave rise to actual warfare between Italian and French troops, has been evidence enough that the feeling is genuine.

To have known the Italian, however, to have lived with him, and to have served with him, is also to have known that, taken in the mass, his feeling, however sincere, is as little based upon intelligence as it is easily stirred. Intelligent enough potentially, but poorly educated; governed through his heart and not his head whether by the Quirinal, by the Vatican, or by himself, nationalistic to the point of egoism and arrogance, he drank greedily of what he *felt*, but little knew.

This much he knew: He had fought a bitter war which had brought his country to the verge of ruin and had made living for himself and for his children well nigh impossible. He knew the war had been fought for the vindication of an Italian *Irredenta*. For years Trent and Trieste had been familiar names to him in that connection. How much more the *Irredenta* involved he did not know. It seemed to be an elastic term, capable of expansion quite naturally to embrace other unredeemed things of which he had not heard.

This much he was told: Italy was being robbed of the fruits of her victory by jealous Allies, who themselves were gorged with spoils. Fiume was pointed out to him. Its age-long, alleged Italianism was extolled. He was furnished with misleading statistics, and to his ears was brought the cries of his hapless brothers. All had a nucleus of truth, but everything was exaggerated and perverted.

What was the effect? If he had ever known about the Italian renunciation of Fiume in 1915, either he forgot it or else bitterly blamed those responsible. He forgot all about the Brenner Pass, to which Italy has no right; about Monfalcone, Trieste.

Istria, Zara. He forgot everything Italy had gained though the war. He came to feel that the war had been fought around the central issue of Fiume. For Fiume he had gone through those hideous years, with their aftermath of continued hardship. And Fiume was denied to Italy! It flouted him. It violated his sense of justice; it aroused his antagonism; and, at this time of writing, he *will* have Fiume, even if it costs another war.

The case of the educated classes was different, but the result was much the same. They felt, indeed, even more bitterly, for they better understood the Italian failure at Paris. For them the dramatic departure of Orlando from the conference held no theatrical appeal such as it held with the masses. It was with the educated classes that the stigma of "imperialism" had its greatest sting. The desire to obtain Fiume, *per se*, was not imperialistic.

"The Ends Justify the Means"

The threat of social disruption has not vanished, but the immediate crisis has been avoided. Men have argued to me in Italy, maintaining that the ends justified the means. The extremes and artificiality of propaganda, the inadequate foundation of facts upon which rests the present weight of the Fiume issue, were frankly admitted. It was stated, however, that the loss of prestige abroad and the antagonism aroused by these extremes were worth the avoidance of social catastrophe within. Possibly so—if no other means would do. But what is the matter with the nation which, like a crying child whose intelligence is *nil*, must be diverted from one obsession by the substitution of another?

Such was the argument before d'Annunzio entered Fiume, at the risk of wrecking the discipline of the army and imperilling peace and order throughout Italy; before this flame

of feeling leaped beyond control. Throughout Italy whole sections of the army are ready to march at a word for Fiume. Other elements are as ready to follow the example of disorganization.

If the disorder spreads, one of two general results will follow: a revolution led by the army, with Italian territorial expansion and militarism as its ends; or a state of anarchy which the army, already invaded by socialistic tendencies, will lack the unity to control.

For the question of Fiume, in itself, is not the expression of a national need but of a nation-wide condition. Its solution will have a profound effect upon that condition, but fundamentally it will alter nothing. If, at this hour, Fiume is definitely denied to Italy, it will be the signal for an upheaval whose course and the consequences no one can predict. If Fiume becomes Italian (as France and England, waking in alarm from absorption in their own affairs, seem almost ready to allow), a breathing space will come to Italy, a moment of elation and satisfaction which temporarily will strengthen their *morale*; but only for a moment, as one issue fades into the past and the issue which it has cloaked—social readjustment—resumes the stage. The trouble lies in Italy.

Since the above was written a parliamentary election with startlingly Socialistic results has taken place in Italy. The returns have a dual significance. They mark not merely the growth of Socialism, but largely are the result of popular reaction against the militaristic party and its ambitions. A better sense of values is being born in Italy. A realization is gathering in the masses that—whatever the justice of Italian pretensions on the Adriatic—reconstruction within outweighs the importance of aggrandizement without.



ITALIAN DESTROYERS UNDER THE COMMAND OF GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO AT FIUME

LINCOLN THE READER

BY TALCOTT WILLIAMS

EVERY February, by a fortunate fate, the American people audits its estimate of its two national heroes, Washington and Lincoln. Washington's life has no problems; Lincoln's days are sown with puzzle and problem. Our first President grew all his life like the oak, not to the wind shaking. Nor storm nor bolt turned or stayed his growth into the upper and lonely air where men still see that land-mark from afar. It is not easy to see that books had influence on the life or growth of Washington.

Lincoln, to an amazing degree, is the books he read. They furnish the one explanation of the amazing marvel in the annals of the writer that a man who wrote disreputable doggerel in his twenties, commonplace addresses in his thirties, the turgid and stilted speeches of the commonplace Congressmen among whom he sat in his forties, as he drew near the end of his fifties wrote the greatest threnody in our tongue or in any language—his Gettysburg address. It is far greater as sheer style than the speech on the Athenian dead which enjoys the mingled authorship of Pericles and Thucydides. He left at the close a group of stately utterances which still turn the hearts of men as streams of water are turned by the husbandman's foot in an irrigated field. This is an awing change and growth. Nearly all who can write at all write easily. Their youth shows promise of what is to come. The greater men become, the earlier doth their gift appear. The rule has few exceptions—Lincoln the most conspicuous.

For this late and consummate flowering, there is only one assignable cause, his later reading. Reading was his education. In these college days of "required reading," taken up with about the enthusiasm and spontaneity of a tax assessment, the average student is haltered and fed at a manger, stalled. He knows little of the free pasture of letters and nothing of the joy of discovery "when a new planet swims into his ken."

Lincoln's reading was all of this last sort; every book, a discovery; every author ruled over a realm of gold. He was unschooled; his reading was his education.

The books that came his way were a special Providence. Thrice he turned to books, first in his rugged youth, next when he dropped business for law, and last when he closed his brief term in Congress where he learned his deficiencies and set out to remedy them, culminating, in 1860, as I shall show below, in "Plutarch's Lives" and Homer. It was this later ploughing that brought his last rich harvest. Lincoln was a man of the book. He read early and he read fast. I have never known the habits of an able man to whom books meant much who did not turn swift pages, well-mastered. Theodore Roosevelt, said Richard Watson Gilder—a man, as Wellington said of himself, when he reluctantly accepted a dedication, "much exposed to authors"—was the most rapid and embracing reader he had ever known, there being but one other whom he could name, equalling his devouring and digesting speed, in omnivorous perusal. So Lincoln read. Read when the plough halted at the end of the long furrow when the horse in the heavy bottom lands stopped to breathe, read when dropping corn in the field, on the way to the mill, on the fence watching cattle, wherever and whenever the book came after a walk of from ten to twenty miles to the house that was reputed to have the precious treasure of a new book.

Familiar with the Bible

In his reading the Bible came first. The tender, gentle, self-sacrificing woman to whom we owe Lincoln's opened mind, and he the alphabet and reading—his step-mother, Sally Johnston, led him through its pages. Those were days when the Bible was read straight through. It was part of the domestic lore and pulpit advice of the day that if one began on New Year's or a birthday, and read three chapters every week-day, and seven on Sunday, the traveler through that land of wonder and of inspiration would find himself reading Revelation XXII on the last day of the year. For youth of evangelical training to accomplish this task was first to feel the aureole of conscious achievement in a path which led straight to

the pearly gates which held him entranced at its close. You may be reasonably certain, taking the practice and habit of the day, that Lincoln followed some such rule of reading, outstripping the allotted time by three or four months—September, I remember, found me through at the age of nine, and recognized as one who had passed one of the milestones of life. What an experience it was! Few books hold more anthropology than the Bible. If the twin English-speaking lands handle “fluttered folk and wild” better than other lands, it is because they have learned of savage races in the Bible in every household as do no Latin lands. The pageant of the East was spread before Lincoln, whose eyes looked only on the empty fields of the pioneer. The supreme verse of the Psalms was his, the gift of simple and ordered narrative, prose unsurpassed in our annals, terrible as an army with banners, stately as the march of the skies, tender as the latter rain on new-mown grass, greening for the rowen, speaking all the range of human woes, Rachel mourning for her children and David sounding his lament for Jonathan his friend, for the child that would return to him no more again.

His biographers dwell much on his habit of committing long passages of the Bible, but this too was the outcome of the period. Two men of his day I have known who had committed a gospel or some shorter book of the New Testament or Old. Even in my day of sixty years past, it was deemed praiseworthy, but not remarkable, to commit the Sermon on the Mount, the closing chapters of John, or notable chapters, such as Isaiah LIII, Romans VIII or Hebrews XI and the first 51 Psalms—the best, with later Psalms added for good measure. Re-read Lincoln’s prose, with these in mind, and the fruitage is clear. How scandalously dirty my hands were in this task, a soiled copy of The Psalms at my elbow tells, with fair pages from LII on. So the pages of Thomas Lincoln’s Bible bear marks of the soilage which goes, not with reading, but committing.

Fables and Tales

How this familiar knowledge of the Bible flowered in Lincoln’s closing prose we all know. None other in our day so near the accent and flavor of Elizabethan prose as his when he had shaken himself loose of the artificial rhetoric begun by Samuel Johnson and worsened by his imitators. But perception of this in Lincoln was to come under later

and more liberal experiences. The easy quickening of his mind came from other books. Three opened his perception as none other could, “Æsop’s Fables,” “Robinson Crusoe,” and “Pilgrim’s Progress.”

In these days of zoo, circus, and illustrated natural-history books, the voice of Æsop is grown faint and whistles in its sound. Really to understand the Hindi sage of whom Lokman was the Semitic and Æsop the Hellenic descendant, you must know animals in your youth, as your daily care and in the hourly contact of a simple life. A glass bottle is the cow of our juvenile urban experience. The farmer’s boy is not close to the wild or tame as once. In Lincoln’s pioneer environment, with the wild turkey, quail and partridge calling from every larger wood, the print of furry paws and sharp delicate hoofs in every snow and wet bottom, and domestic animals on which all turned, the fables seemed natural. You find the like in Whitman, who rejoices that “the cows are not always confessing their sins.” If you have shared the warmth of the cowbarn of his day for half-frozen bare toes and aching fingers, it does not seem so passing strange that animals should talk, and the cows kneel Christmas night when no sons of Adam are near. The apt parables of Lincoln—for such his frequent stories were, his friends have told me, for the most part invented and never occurring—are the lineal descendants of the apologues of Æsop and from these he learned the extreme and sententious brevity of leisure of this familiar grace and flavor—touched now and then with garlic savors—for speech and converse. He was never long in his stories, though sometimes broad. “Robinson Crusoe” and “Pilgrim’s Progress” awake the imagination but these left no trace on Lincoln’s later work save a possible passage in the second inaugural which suggests the attitude of mind in the close of Bunyan’s work.

The Constitution, the Statutes, and Blackstone

Euclid’s Geometry, and “Flint and Gibson on Surveying,” the last of which he mastered in six weeks when twenty-four, touch a different note. In the first twenty-five years of Lincoln’s life, all was as uncertain as are life and thought in the Asiatic East of to-day. Time was vague. There were no clocks, few noon-marks. The process of nature seems accidental; the life about, fortuitous. Green and Arab turned to Geometry for the cer-

tainty of its proof. Lincoln once said that he first knew "proof" from a tattered Euclid. His readings here awoke his mind to certainties and set it on the track which made him the powerful disputant who first framed the issue between Union and Disunion, slavery and freedom.

His own personal decision against slavery came partly from personal experience—he spoke of himself as coming in Kentucky from the "Scrubs," the despised non-slaveholding class—and partly because he learned his American history in the best of all ways, from the original documents. He knew those who had fought in the Revolution. The notes for a speech summing up a law-case, in which the closing entry is "skin the pl'n'tiff," was one in which the defendant was a Revolutionary soldier whose land grant was threatened. This was long after he read, before he was thirty, the volume of "Indiana Statutes" whose title page he wore out in sedulous use. Here were the Declaration of Independence, Dane's "Ordinance for the Government of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio," and the Federal Constitution, with the State, fundamental and statute law. Lincoln faced here the priceless advantage of our American system of written Constitutions for the man whose youth was without the advantages of education or property. In England a lifetime, one might almost say two or three lifetimes from father to son, are needed before the English unwritten constitution can be understood in all its network of precedents and traditional practice. Any man with an alert mind who reads the Federal Constitution can understand the framework of our Federal Empire, its dual sovereignty and the constant limitations on the powers of its consonant parts. Most thinking Americans have read the Federal Constitution before they are twenty-five, as Lincoln had. The Declaration gave him the first principles of political science. Dane's Ordinance taught him freedom as fundamental and the Constitution the rights of men and of States.

Our almanacs nearly always print the Federal Constitution—proof of a wide demand. Many Americans have committed the Declaration to memory. You may be sure Lincoln did. Many who read these lines have done so. Mount Holyoke College for the first fifty years of its existence as a "seminary" required every student to learn the Federal Constitution memoriter. This may be challenged; but I believe it a sounder basis for both patriotism and useful citizenship than

courses in political science which devote their hours to picking flaws in this charter of national and personal rights, never pointing out how this instrument of government has for 140 years been the foundation of law, justice and prosperity, steadily distributing property more and more widely, wisely and safely, directing the voyage of the Ship of State over new seas and untried dangers. The Great Pilot at its helm in the Civil War, struck down when the harbor lights of peace had been made, could have had no better reading for the great and unknown future before him than this great symbol of liberty through law, still ready and equal to the greater perils of an unknown future, mightier, greater than its past.

English history, Lincoln learned from Blackstone, which he found in the bottom of a barrel of truck of various sorts bought by the grocery of which he was a partner. The business was not successful. It left Lincoln with a debt of \$1,100, which it took him fifteen years to pay. How he read Blackstone's Four Books with only Webster's "Primary" dictionary, bought at twenty-four years of age, it is hard to see, but rightly he deemed Blackstone an epoch in his life. Those who have read it without reference to law, in whose courses the pupil is steered around land tenures—now antiquated—are scarcely aware how solid a foundation in many fields is laid by the patient reading of all this absorbing work.

Lives of Washington and Franklin

American history was supplied by Franklin's "Autobiography," Weems' "Washington," and Ramsay's, and a campaign life of Henry Clay, the William Jennings Bryan of Lincoln's youth and young manhood.

As to Weems' "Washington," I am glad Lincoln read it and believed in it. Men are better known by the admiring and unique stories that are invented about them than by the humdrum facts they have in their lives with others. Washington's rector had to invent the story of the cherry-tree to express the full measure of public confidence in the hero's truthfulness. Franklin's Autobiography errs in the other extreme and is more frank in confessing his lacks than in recording his achievement, but it came early into Lincoln's hands, when he was unconscious that he came of New England folk, the Lincoln of Hingham, who had sought the Middle States, followed the hard mountain trail of migration through North Carolina, Vir-

ginia, Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois, losing nearly all of civilization in the wrestle with mountain pass, forest and flood.

The Bard of Avon

Shakespeare came early. It succeeded the Bible. Lincoln here too committed vast stretches. McKinley told me he read a little good verse every day, feeling that he could not understand great thought and principle when he read it in verse. Roosevelt as constantly read new verse—of old prose and verse little, as his prose shows. It lacks distinction. Lincoln is our only President who read Shakespeare constantly and read it out loud in conference and contact with men, so that he bored lesser minds. The very week in which he was assassinated he read to Charles Sumner on the steamer returning from Richmond, *Macbeth*, Act I, s. vii, in which comes *Macbeth's* speech:

Besides this Duncan
Hath borne his faculties so meek, hath been
So clear in his great office, that his virtues
Will plead like angels trumpet tongued, against
The deep damnation of his taking off.

Washington alone used Shakespeare for daily needs. He quotes in his letters from half the plays. Burns Lincoln knew by heart and lectured on him. His own life he told an inquiring journalist held but "the short and simple annals of the poor." Holmes' "Falling Leaf" he knew, and "Why Should the Spirit of Mortal be Proud?" by William Knox of his own day.

"The Kentucky Preceptor"

This completes the reading of Lincoln in his youth, with the exception of the "Kentucky Preceptor." Half school-book and half advice, this volume has the same title as the group of similar books of which the first was Dodsley's "The Preceptor," 1748, with a preface by Samuel Johnson.

The "Kentucky Preceptor" probably reprinted from some English example three of its extracts—Pitt's "Speech on the Slave Trade," a dialogue as to "Who has suffered the most wrongs, the Indian or the Negro," and an elegy, "The Slave," by the poetaster Robert Merry. These three extracts in the "Kentucky Preceptor," Lincoln committed to memory and the book plainly had the same effect which those who lived in the days of the old-fashioned reader can recall of some like accidental assemblages.

Devoted to Humor

The humor of his own day he read avidly. He began with Prentices' pungent paragraphs in the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, the paper he took when he could not afford one. Petroleum V. Nasby and Artemus Ward he read to his cabinet, to his delight and to Seward, Welles and Stanton's disgust. While President he read the one book of humor which survives its own day—who reads Hubdras?—"Don Quixote," and he crossed the White House in his nightshirt, the costume in which the melancholy knight fared abroad, to read a passage to John Hay.

Lincoln's Reading in Later Life

These books he read early. Law took his time after he entered the bar. With 1849, he returned from his service in Congress. He began new studies. He took up German and learned to read it. He knew something of French and Spanish. He began the equivalent of liberal studies in college which had been denied him. Of all he read, we know little, but Herndon, Hallam and Gibbon are two histories he read at this period. In 1859 he read "Plutarch's Lives" for the first time. He read Homer in the winter of 1859-60 in Bohn's translation.

Julius Heath Royce, my father-in-law, a man of business at Albion, N. Y., spent the winter at Bloomington, Ill., where he had property. He was at the same hotel as Lincoln, who was in attendance at court.

Day by day Mr. Royce, a man who never met any man without leaving a friend behind, saw Lincoln reach across the table for the hotel castor, set it before his plate and lose himself in a volume, bound in dark cloth. Breakfast, dinner and supper brought the same absorption. He asked Lincoln what he was reading. He looked up with alert attention. "I am reading Homer, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. You ought to read him. He has a grip and he knows how to tell a story." Better criticism has not been made by one no nearer than a translation. Across the years since I heard this story and noted it, it has recurred to me and I record it now as the type of reading which changed his style and gave him the Attic simplicity and Hellenic elevation of his closing and deathless utterances.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

A FRENCH PICTURE OF BOLSHEVISM IN RUSSIA

A PART from literary topics, the French reviews have been devoting themselves in the main to affairs of the outside world. One of the most important articles of recent months is "The Rule of Lenine," which appears over the signature of Boris Nolde in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and is an illuminating examination of Bolshevism.

M. Nolde writes with special authority. A professor of Petrograd University, he was Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the Provisional Government, and has since been twice imprisoned by the Bolsheviks. He resided at Petrograd until last June. In tracing the historical origin of the movement, he finds that its inception may be dated approximately in the year 1895, when the Russian socialistic movement rather suddenly assumed a new aspect, owing to the breaking away of a group of students from the main body and their decision to accept *en bloc* the anti-national doctrines of Marxian socialism.

Lenine himself was one of the leaders of this development; and in due course he was apprehended and sent to Siberia, until the amnesty of 1905 allowed him to return and resume his baleful activities. Preaching the thesis that imperialism was only the ultra-modern expression of capitalism, and well aware that in the huge and ignorant agricultural population of Russia the attractive proposal to appropriate the land for the peasants would find ready acceptance, he busied himself with an insidious propaganda. When the war came, and disasters crowded on the Russian arms, he renewed his endeavors, paying particular attention to the gospel of defeatism among the disheartened troops; until, as we know, the Revolution gave him his great opportunity to convert Bolshevism from theory to practice.

M. Nolde describes the situation that has arisen as a result of the application of the

system. Industrial production has practically ceased, and the workmen are unemployed, or would be if it were not for the ever-increasing demand for civil servants and soldiers. To the bureaucracy there is literally no end. As an example of its insatiable appetite, M. Nolde instances the public offices in Petrograd which, after the transfer of the capital to Moscow, were found inadequate for the accommodation of the local administration of the town—the same offices that had previously sufficed for the government of an immense empire! In short, the problem of unemployment is dealt with by giving everybody a government job.

Anywhere else, as M. Nolde observes, such a system would not survive two months. But Russia is mainly an agricultural country, and the peasant, living literally on what he produces from his land, can, at a pinch, do without other industrial products for a considerable time. Moreover, he has, to a large extent, been able to realize his ambition of proprietorship; and that has tended to keep him contented.

Nevertheless, M. Nolde does not regard Bolshevism as permanent. To begin with, even the peasant has found out that the town laborer, who can get neither productive work nor an official job, expects to share in the land distribution. Again, the Red Army is largely officered by Russians who remain in the forces not because they are in love with Bolshevism, but because it is their only way of getting a living. Many private soldiers are always on the look-out for an opportunity to desert. What, then, is going to happen? M. Nolde does not commit himself to prophecy; but he is quite sure that Bolshevism will never regenerate itself, that it will not, as some maintain, evolve slowly into a more moderate, less anarchic *régime*. "A mitigated Bolshevism cannot exist."

AUSTRIA: THE NEW SMALL NATION

A WELL-KNOWN Hungarian economist, Dr. Karl Schlesinger, discusses in the *International Review* (December), the future prospects of Austria, which of all the belligerents has suffered the most severe mutilations under the Peace Treaty, and has shrunk from being a great Empire to the status of a small nation surrounded by more or less hostile neighbors.

There are three alternatives open to her in her desperate struggles to maintain some relics of her former greatness and prosperity. She may maintain her complete autonomy, she may decide on a union with Germany, or she may throw in her lot with the Danube Confederation. Of the three alternatives, Dr. Schlesinger declares that complete autonomy has least to recommend it. It would result in sudden restriction of her fiscal area, and so greatly disorganize production; it would injure her central financial and industrial organizations that have been formed to operate on a wider scale; it would expose her to hostile tariffs on all her frontiers; and it would throw her upon her own resources for the restoration of her credit and in payment for her imports.

Most of these disadvantages, however, could be avoided by Austria either through a Danube Confederation or through a union with Germany.

In a Danube Confederation Vienna would lose only a part of her previous functions as the centre of administration. Centralized economic organization would be required for the whole territory, and some of the central organs might be in Vienna. The customs union and the specialized economic organization, to which Austria had accommodated herself, would remain, and would protect her against the misuse of monopolies. Moreover, the Confederation would offer her a less material advantage, in that the feeling that the Germans of Austria and the German minorities in Czechoslovakia and Jugo-Slavia belonged to the same union would be some satisfaction and might exercise some effect upon the treatment of the minorities.

Union with Germany would entail difficult and costly changes in economic organization and the organization of production. On the other hand, Austria would then belong to a large economic area, and would be protected against the misuse of monopolies against her, particularly coal, and would be in a stronger position to bargain with Czechoslovakia because she would control communications with that country. Further, the superiority of German economic organization, her relatively greater wealth and credit, would lead to an economic fertilization of Austria as soon as

she became, through the union, a domestic sphere of activity for German enterprise. Such a union would be facilitated by the economic ties already existing, particularly through German investments of capital, between the two countries. Vienna would take its place as the second most important centre of German administration, commerce, and finance. Finally, there are strong spiritual forces making for union. There is racial and cultural community, and how strong these forces are can be seen in the case of the British Empire, which depends for its union upon these rather than upon legal bonds, whereas in the case of the Germans of Austria and Germany there is also the factor of geographical neighborhood. In the absence of a Danube Confederation, irredentism among the German minorities would undoubtedly look to and base its hope on Germany.

It is difficult to say, supposing that the choice of Austria were free, whether she would prefer to join a Danube Confederation or unite with Germany. The interests of Hungary stand in precisely the same relation to the three alternative policies as do those of Austria.

Isolation would entail the same economic difficulties, although Hungary's loss of territory is smaller and she is in a more favorable position with regard to international trade. But a Confederation is also in the interests of the other Danubian states. They would reap the advantages of belonging to a large economic unit, and they would avoid the domestic and foreign dangers of irredentism. Within the Confederation racial animosities would be counteracted, and blunted by common class and economic interests. This is especially true of Czechoslovakia. With national minorities forming 30-40 per cent. of the population, Czechoslovakia must, if there be no Confederation, be torn by racial discords, and will become a second Austria-Hungary surrounded by a circle of irreconcilable enemies. The same applies to Rumania and Jugo-Slavia: Rumanians form only a relative majority in the newly acquired districts which, separated by a mountain wall from Rumania, gravitate both geographically and economically towards Hungary, while Jugo-Slavia is faced not only by the problem of Croat separatism but by the need for exporting food products and importing industrial commodities.

Allied policy has been determined by the consideration that the union of six million persons with Germany would be contrary to the interests first of France, and, secondarily, of Britain and the U. S. A. Less notice has been taken of the danger that, with the return of order in Hungary, Germany will receive the support of nine million Hungarians and a sphere of interest extending to the Balkans. This would once more allow Germany to take up her eastern policy, a danger which could only be prevented by a Danubian Confederation and a consolidation of the relations between Rumania and Jugo-Slavia.

AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN FRENCH UNIVERSITIES

ALTHOUGH it is well known that during the period following the Armistice large numbers of American soldiers attended French universities, very little detailed information about the matter has been published in this country. In the *Educational Review* (New York) for January Dr. Stephen H. Bush, of Iowa State University, gives an interesting account of this educational experiment.

It appears that about 12,000 American soldiers of college grade received university instruction in France. They were carefully chosen and represented some of the best men in the entire A. E. F., ranging "from matured graduate students, some having the doctor's degree, and a certain number ranking as high as Colonel, to younger college students, officers and privates."

About 6,000 went to Beaune, where an American Junior College was established. Approximately the same number was distributed among the established universities, the largest detachment, nearly 2,000, going to Paris, but all the French universities, except Lille, Algiers, and Strasbourg, had their contingents of American students. The men remained in the universities for four months, from March 1 to July 1.

Dr. Bush was concerned in the planning of the work, later acted as "American Dean of Paris," and inspected what was done in nine of the most important universities. In summing up his observations he says:

The students came from every walk of life and had every conceivable interest. A small minority was anxious mainly to escape from the daily grind of army life. They wanted to have more freedom and to amuse themselves. Probably this minority was smaller than the same type seen in every American university. The war sobered young men and those who presented themselves for study gave every appearance of seriousness, as evidenced by their attitude and their actual work. The opinion has been expressed that with the bar of a foreign language and with the handicap of an improvised course, the stay of our students was only four pleasant months spent in a college atmosphere without genuine academic profit. Such a view is erroneous. While men studied under certain obvious difficulties, such as ignorance of French and the necessity of entering a totally different academic atmosphere from what they were accustomed to, the results were a magnificent justification of the generous opportunity offered by the army and placed under the direction of Dr. John Erskine, of Columbia University.

It is extremely difficult to sum up what it all finally meant, because so much of what was attained was educational indeed, but extra-mural, and because the work of the different universities was necessarily of varying value. Discipline was everywhere practically perfect and there was a minimum of disorderly conduct and living, especially in the quiet provinces. A great deal more profit was naturally gained in a place like Bordeaux, where Professor Armstrong, of Princeton, with the knowledge of both French and American conditions, was able to place the men where they belonged, look after them and stimulate their attention in ways familiar to us, than in smaller institutions where there was in charge only an officer unfamiliar with education and where the students merely followed lectures in the regular course and took extra French classes. Again the stimulus of the celebrated professors of Paris was a marked influence on our students:

Dr. Bush speaks of an American doctor in Toulouse, who with the laboratories and assistants of the University to aid him and a vast amount of hospital material at his disposal developed a method of closing wounds which had in some cases remained open for over a year. On the other hand, many American doctors in Paris who had hoped to obtain highly specialized graduate work in their particular lines were totally disappointed.

The American qualities of energy, resourcefulness and adaptability were well illustrated by these "doughboy" students, who were intensely interested in the life which they found around them:

They took the opportunity of three-day leaves and traveled all over France in an eager spirit of intelligent curiosity. They developed athletic, journalistic, theatrical and social life in their detachments and in the towns where they were. They raised large sums of money for good causes to show their gratitude to the French. A scholarship of a thousand dollars for one year was given to a French student in each university to be used for study in America. At Toulouse, law students carefully edited their notes and published them in French and English for the use of the whole class. The men entered into the life of the communities in which they found themselves in the most intelligent way. Nowhere were there difficulties with the population or the authorities. Innumerable friendships and many marriages were contracted. In Paris large numbers made application to stay overtime to finish special courses. Elsewhere many wished to remain for summer work. Nine out of ten testified to the students' committee that they considered their study a success.

It appears that the student body at least gained a practical and literary knowledge of

French, while individuals derived great profit from the courses in French civilization, in science, law, engineering, music and art. The work in medicine was less satisfactory. They were nearly 150 American doctors in Paris. They were mature men, many of them colonels and majors, already specialists. Most of them were not well equipped in French and came strictly for post-graduate work. At present Paris is not well organized for such a purpose.

In a closing paragraph Dr. Bush suggests some of the benefits that American students may in the future obtain from the French universities and shows that the universities are ready to come halfway:

Before the war the French universities were rather inhospitable to Americans. Students found themselves in difficulties of red tape. It was hard to find and register for the work which they wanted. The professors did not understand them or the system of which they were the product. To-day the American is known and liked. The French are anxious to furnish him with good university work and are well equipped to do so. The new course in French Civilization given in Paris by a group of the best professors is an excellent example. The administrations are ready to go half way to meet Americans and know how to help them to take advantage of what is found in each university. With their sense of order and precision, their love of clearness, their instinct for all that is artistic, their high intellectual gifts, added to their present understanding of Americans, the French professors have something to give to the future American student in France.

THE ELECTIONS IN ALSACE AND LORRAINE

THE *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Paris) prints a pair of articles, very similar in form, tone, and purpose, on "Alsace's Vote" and "The Vote of Liberated Lorraine." The writer of the former article, Paul Bourson, both reveals and describes himself as having taken an active share for many years in the politics of the rescued provinces. The latter, M. Pierre Braun, seems no less at home in his subject.

A Hamburg paper of October 30th had said: "France and Germany will still dispute over the soul of Alsace. It should be with the weapons of the spirit and the heart. We foresee that Germany will carry off the prize." Both these articles are essentially a triumphant and jubilant refutation of all such "prophecies."

In both lands, German propaganda, since the armistice, has cleverly fomented local ambition for an "autonomous" state or states which might draw double trade profits from the commanding position between Germany and France. In both lands the prevalent use of German—or rather of a local Germanic patois (spoken in Alsace, by 85 per cent. of the population)—is and will long be a serious problem. Many natives of Lorraine have, in the last year, been compelled to appear in the local French-speaking courts with interpreters, as if they were foreigners. The first exuberance over "liberation" has been weakened, also, by a series of bitter strikes, by economic distress, and, doubtless, by unwise French efforts to initiate and hasten the

process of complete assimilation, in language, legal procedure, etc., which may be by no means wholly beneficent, and which, at any rate, will never be welcomed when enforced from without.

The Clericals, or Catholic party, and the Socialists, had each in some degree been drawn into association with kindred forces in the Reichstag. Indeed, both, inevitably, and every where, have ideals and loyalties which overlap, if they do not directly traverse, the confines of purely national patriotism. The mere official greetings to French armies and commanders, again, could not be accepted as final evidence of the real feelings even of the cities, much less of the dumb majority in fields, vineyards, workshops and mines. From many sides, from within and without, come the utterances of a desire for some sort of effective *plebiscite*.

A strong effort was made that all parties should unite on a composite ticket, putting loyalty to France above all else; thus sending their first delegates to the congress of the republic by an unanimous vote. Even in the council of the Socialists this was only defeated in lower Alsace by so close a vote as 16 to 14, and that under special orders from Parisian headquarters. But the whole body of Clericals, and nearly all the various groups of the "Nationalists", did accomplish the delicate task of complete fusion, presented a ticket which satisfied nearly everyone—and elected it all by a two-thirds vote on a very heavy poll.

In each list appears the name of an heroic Abbé, to remind us of Cardinal Mercier's Belgian patriotism. The Abbé Wetterlé, of Upper Alsace, and the Catholic leader there, had sat of old in the Reichstag, where he had raised a bold voice against tyranny from Berlin: "We will protest so much and so loudly that at last our complaint will be heard in France!" In Lorraine the fitting head of the ticket was General Maud'huy, a native of Metz, and its first French governor in 1918, an exile since 1871, who had consecrated a whole life to "Revanche". But beside his stood the name of a laboring man, a working printer, president of the "Souvenir Français", who, never leaving his land or his humble job, had also toiled incessantly to keep alive, in the hearts of the people, through a half-century of political separation, the love for a land whose speech so few of them could utter.

Perhaps the most encouraging feature of this election, for the French nation, is yet to

be mentioned. No party or group ventured to hint the slightest interest or sympathy for Germany, nor even for the more alluring and seemingly even patriotic dream of a free or autonomous Rhenish state. (Perhaps the fate of Belgium, or even of Luxemburg, made that impossible.) At any rate, Socialist and Clerical seem to have vied with each other in proclaiming devotion to a reunited France. The first great step seems fully assured. "Vive la France!" and "Vive Lorraine and Alsace that are forever French!" Yet there will be plenty of resistance to the steam-roller of compulsory uniformity:

The men of Lorraine hold firmly the belief that, in defending, "within the bosom of the composite family," their own traditions, in making themselves the champions of a national "regionalism," they are serving not their own interests merely, but those of the fatherland. More than one Frenchman, we hope, will agree with them.

Evidently the writer is one Frenchman who heartily agrees.

A FRENCHMAN'S IMPRESSIONS OF ENGLAND

THE new-born sympathy and affectionate regard prevailing between England and France find fervid expression in a truly inspiring article by Charles Nordmann, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Paris). He was requested lately by the British Government to visit England, and he bases his admiring enthusiasm regarding men and things British upon most convincing reasons.

We reproduce some of the many salient points of his attractive and informing survey:

The feeling of admiration for the British nation (he says) which so many great and liberal French minds cultivated has by the crucial union of the war become not only a right but a duty for all Frenchmen. They can never forget, whatever betide, that British soldiers by hundreds of thousands, who died in defense of France, rest on her soil.

The English Government very wisely encourages the development of such friendly sentiments; it knows that direct contact is the surest means to that end—hence the writer's visit.

One cannot fail, M. Nordmann comments, to be struck at once by the essential difference between England and the Continental countries. However, after one gets accus-

tomed to minor differences, regarding transit, mode of eating, hydropathic facilities, etc., one turns to a wider view of things and finds it of absorbing interest. It is the astonishing spectacle of a people who knew nothing of the armed peace imposed upon their Continental neighbors; who adapted themselves to that military status, so foreign to them, and who now, unbuckling their armor with an orderly swiftness equally admirable, resume their peaceful avocations.

What the British effort meant for the Allied cause it will, the writer continues, suffice to cite some figures whose concentrated eloquence renders all comment superfluous. He proceeds to give the figures which show the wonderful achievements of the English war contingent. If in many respects the British effort was inferior to the French, it presents, if we compare the beginning with the end, a phenomenon of incomparable military energy.

Sir Robert Horne, like the rest of the Cabinet whom M. Nordmann met, strikes a Parisian as looking surprisingly youthful and robust. This athletic, wholesome aspect characteristic of Englishmen in public life, is found as well in leading men of affairs,

military and naval chiefs, regardless of grade or age, and is especially striking to a Frenchman.

Saturday afternoons, particularly, in all the parks, the fields devoted to games, one has the impression, unknown in France, of the people in general, irrespective of age, sex, or social condition, disporting themselves in wholesome, joyous muscular exercise.

The French (Sir Robert Horne remarked to the writer) are mainly agriculturists and probably 70 per cent. of the demobilized men returned at once to the soil; England is chiefly industrial; yet, despite the fact that its industries were completely transformed in the war, 90 per cent. of the demobilized soldiers have secured employment. As for strikes, so universal, he observed that the World War had accelerated in social life the march of ideas and things. To keep pace with the difficulties we too must accelerate our speed and create in five years a social evolution which before the war would have required fifty.

The honor of being received by the British Premier is, of course, a notable one. The eminent rôle filled by Lloyd George in these tragic times has been much discussed. One thing is certain: that no one with right feelings can forget what he did for France in word and deed in her hours of anguish; and his friendship for her remains steadfastly loyal. As to his personality, his spirited glance, massive head, framed by an artist's profusion of hair, his small stature, Gallic courtesy of speech, all remind one that we have before us a Celt, nearer to the French than to the pure-blooded English athletic type.

In speaking of his visit to Manchester, the chief industrial city of the world, M. Nord-

mann states that what he liked best there was Madox Brown's series of frescoes, of a strange, poetic beauty, which ornament the "Town Hall"—a refreshing oasis in that busy mart of toil.

Commenting on England's greatness he says:

Your wealth is immense; your colonies the vastest in the world; your ships are masters of the ocean, yet these were nothing if this were all. What makes this vast material power really great is the fact that it serves as a basis to ideas, to the great men, natives of your soil—to Newton, to Shakespeare, the immortal poles of human genius.

And when one thinks of science, that mistress of the world, how can one fail to admire the splendid efflorescence of British genius, unsurpassed by any nation, equaled by but one alone—France.

The writer unrolls a brilliant list of English scientists, outlining their achievements. Beginning with Roger Bacon, he speaks of Newton as being doubtless, in an intellectual order, the greatest of England's sons, "the Columbus of the universe." He mentions Dalton, Watt, Faraday, Young, Darwin, the Herschels, and others too numerous to cite here.

"And it is a country which has produced these great discoverers, these noble servants of disinterested ideas, that William II. had the hardihood to term a nation of shopkeepers!"

Honor to the merchants whose efforts create and maintain genius! Experience proves that great minds can develop only in an opulent civilization; riches, like liberty, is a condition requisite of intellectual progress.

To attain this intellectual expansion, to produce human types as finished as those I have cited, it requires many generations, persistent traditions, a prolonged culture transmitted from age to age.

THE THREE GREAT GERMAN MILITARISTS, CHARACTERIZED BY GERMANS

THE *Preussische Jahrbücher* has an article by Dr. Hans Delbrück on "Tirpitz's Reminiscences," which he parallels with the Memoirs of Ludendorff, comparing the two German leaders as follows:

Ludendorff is a completely unpolitical character. Tirpitz has something of the politician about him but when one reads his peace-program, this shifting backwards and forwards of provinces, this bargaining with concessions, which are on the one hand impracticable and on the other unsatis-

factory, the General's plan seems more possible than that of the Admiral. They are both agreed in bestowing on Germany several further millions of Polish citizens and pushing our borders nearly to Warsaw, but Ludendorff wants his strip of territory for strategic defense, and this is his sole intention; Tirpitz, on the other hand, builds up a whole system of partition of territory, the only disadvantage of which is that it is equally unacceptable to all the parties concerned.

From which and from the detailed compar-



GENERAL HINDENBURG GENERAL LUDENDORF ADMIRAL TIRPITZ
THE THREE OUTSTANDING REPRESENTATIVES OF "LAST-DITCH" PRUSSIAN MILITARISM

ison which follows it may be deduced that, in Delbrück's opinion, Ludendorff was less ingenious than Tirpitz but wiser.

The personality of Hindenburg, the third of the militarist trio, is dealt with in an article in *Das Demokratische Deutschland*, the conclusion of which hints at an interesting possibility:

Hindenburg stands too high to be brought down into the plains of political strife. To wish to believe of the next elections to the presidency of

the Republic that they will be carried through without party political controversy is to look at the present political situation of our country with the eyes of the child in the well-known picture which represents it as on a mountain top and as having "fallen from heaven." The resolve to propose Hindenburg for the next presidential election has in the first place the purpose of making a good impression on the millions of Hindenburg's admirers to the advantage of the party. It is, we declare, a piece of window display. Should not the much-respected man, who bears for the German nation an historical name, be too good for such things?

RESULTS OF THE GERMAN REVOLUTION

A FEATURE of each of the German reviews of November last was an article on the anniversary of the revolution, considered from the point of view of the particular party whose views the periodical championed. One of the most important and noteworthy of these articles was a reprint of a speech of the Democratic Minister Schiffer, who recently joined the government. In view of the authoritative expression he gave to the opinion of his party it is worth glancing at several of the points of his utterance. We quote from the translation in the *London Review of Reviews*:

The Revolution was not the victory of one party. It is significant that the leader of the Majority Social Democratic Party, Deputy Loebe,

confirmed his view when he said: "The old imperial government broke in pieces like a tree which had decayed. The Revolution of November 9th was not brought about by one organization; all that was necessary was for one to withdraw support." Social Democracy did not want the Revolution, as President Winnig recently testified. It desired to see things develop more calmly, within the limits of organic evolution.

The Imperialist Social Democratic view of the state of Germany twelve months after the Revolution was not optimistic. In *Die Glocke* Ernst Heilmann thus characterizes the situation:

At present we are farther than ever from feeling ourselves to be one people. Herr Henke (an Independent) in the Reichstag boasts that his speeches are made for the purpose of denouncing Germany to the Entente, and Count Reventlow

proves to the Entente that they have the greatest interest in bringing into existence a government better able to maintain order than the present. But it is precisely on account of their anti-national struggle against democracy that the extremists on both the Left and the Right are quite impossible at present as bearers of the German national state-idea. . . . Germany can only live as a democracy, borne on the shoulders of the broad masses of the population, in town and country. That is the meaning of the present coalition.

In the same number of the same review, it is interesting to note, appears an article on the Erfurt Program—the basis of German Social Democratic policy, arrived at in 1891

—and the present position of the German Social Democratic Party. A strong plea is made for the revision of the program and the point of view expressed is being so frequently and so powerfully advocated by various influential writers in the Social Democratic Party that it would not be at all surprising to see an attempt made fairly soon to draw up a new party-basis. Already there have been efforts, so far unsuccessful, to reunite the majority and minority sections of the party. It is certain that these will continue, though their outcome cannot as yet be foreseen.

HOW THE LEAGUE CAN SAVE EUROPE FROM BANKRUPTCY

SIR GEORGE PAISH, editor of the *Statist*, who is now in the United States, and has delivered addresses in several cities, has recently returned from a visit to Germany. For many months he has been warning the governments of Europe that the financial situation of the world is extremely dangerous, and last month he made a strong appeal in Paris for the coöperation of all the Allied countries to restore the tottering credit

of Europe. In an article in the *International Review* (December) he repeats his warnings of the imminent danger of bankruptcy, and describes his impressions of his visit to the Continent.

The credit of Europe is breaking down [he asserts]. You cannot have a discount on the sovereign, a still greater discount on the franc, a still greater discount on the lira, and a still greater discount on the mark, the krone, and the ruble, without being near to a destruction in which the trade of the world may break down. England depends more than any other nation upon food and raw materials coming to us from all over the world. At the beginning of the war there was a breakdown. This was rectified by the British Government pledging its credit for the bills drawn upon this country. But the present situation is far more serious. Then a few firms were in difficulties. Now nations are in difficulties. Europe needs to-day all the food and all the raw materials that the world can produce. The world cannot sell its surplus supplies of food and raw material unless it sells them to Europe. But Europe has no means of paying for them. Productive power has gone down in an alarming manner. Mr. Hoover told Europe that until its productive power is restored the whole situation will be one of very great danger. The lives of 100,000,000 people in Europe are in danger to-day.

How is this to be rectified? Is it a time when any nation can refuse to help?

The world to-day is waiting for payments to be made from Germany to France and Italy. These payments cannot come, at least for a great many years. It is no use waiting for them. I have just been in Germany to discover at first hand what the situation is there. I came away more alarmed with the situation than ever during



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SIR GEORGE PAISH

the war. The people are without anything like a proper stock of clothing, without sufficient food, without an adequate supply of fuel, and without international money or credit. Their women and children are very near to the starvation level. We may have an explosion in Germany at any moment that will destroy not only Germany, but France, Italy, and ourselves. But nothing effective is being done to rectify this situation. It is for the governments to decide what action is to be taken. That action must protect the lives of the people of Europe. It must defend civilization from the danger in which it is to-day. It is especially essential for the governments to shoulder the responsibility that is upon them. If they fail to do so and we permit things to drift, we too shall be responsible. The people of the Entente nations must see that they move.

Exchange of the Peace Treaty ratifications means that the League of Nations will come

into being. It is essential that it should get into operation as soon as possible.

When properly formed it will comprise every nation in the world. It will enjoy a greater measure of credit than any other body and, however great is the assistance needed, the League of Nations can provide it. It should immediately take the measures which the situation demands. It is quite impossible for this country to shoulder the burden alone. The sovereign has gone down because we have been shouldering the burden, and have sent vast quantities of goods to the Continent for which we cannot obtain payment. We are having to buy from America equally vast quantities of goods for which we cannot pay, because we cannot get payment from the Continent. If this goes on we shall be in exactly the same condition as the Continent is now. We may become bankrupt through our inability to pay for the things we need to buy abroad.

A TURKISH ENIGMA: DJEMAL PASHA

THE description of Ahmed Djemal Pasha, as one of the members of the triumvirate that controlled the Turkish Empire during the war, presented in "Ambassador Morgenthau's Story", is supplemented by Dr. Frederick J. Bliss in an article contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* (London) for December. Dr. Bliss finds in his character conflicting elements: cruelty and clemency, firmness and caprice, ideality and hedonism, self-seeking and patriotism. This is the portrait of him that Dr. Bliss draws:

Djemal Pasha's stoutly built figure is rather under medium height. His hair is brown; his squarely cut French beard is somewhat lighter; his beautiful brown eyes can be soft or hard as occasion demands. His manner has the charm of perfect social ease. I was amused by the contrast shown at an afternoon tea—where a belligerent entertained Turks, Syrians, British, Americans and Austrians—between the bearing of those keen rivals, Djemal Pasha and Azmi Bey, the Governor of the Vilayet of Beyrout: the latter silent, icy, impenetrable, sitting stiffly apart; and the former gay, debonair, interested, wandering about with his hands in his pockets, or lounging on the arm of a big chair, the other arm of which was occupied by a charming European lady. Yet another contrast presents itself to my vision—a contrast between Djemal Pasha as he was that afternoon at play and Djemal Pasha in all his official dignity, when with martial bearing and in a ringing voice he stood on the platform of the Syrian Protestant College at Beyrout to address its hundreds of students of many nationalities.

Djemal Pasha's relations with the American College, a well-known missionary institution, are thus described:

At the beginning of the war, he secured the exemption from deportation of three British professors in the Medical School, who—with the exception of two or three days, when, by some misunderstanding they were sent to Damascus—continued in their positions all through the war. He allowed the students of belligerent nations, including those of military age, to remain at their studies. He welcomed to Southern Palestine an American Red Cross Unit, sent under the auspices of the college and mission. He permitted the college to obtain provisions at army rates, thus provoking much bitter opposition among Germans



DJEMAL PASHA

and others. Without this concession, which was continued by his successor, Mohammed Djemal Pasha, it would have been impossible for the large college community to have held together. At a time when travel was extremely difficult, he facilitated the departure to America of members of the faculty and their families.

Although a serious misunderstanding between him and the College in 1916 resulted in the enforced retirement of one of the professors, Djemal Pasha repeatedly recognized the altruistic aims of the college and some months later said: "I regard your institution as one of my best assets in building up a new Syria." After the college had been peremptorily closed by Azmi Bey on the

breaking off of relations between the United States and Turkey it was reopened after two weeks and was never again closed. Dr. Bliss attributes this to Djemal Pasha's direct efforts.

Djemal Pasha showed his interest in education by establishing in Beirut two schools for girls. At a public exhibition given at one of these schools Dr. Bliss witnessed the Biblical drama of Queen Esther played by girls of many religions before a mixed audience of men and women, also of many religious sects, including high Moslem officials. After the performance the audience was invited to watch a basket-ball game played in the open air by the girls of the school.

SIR WILLIAM OSLER

IN the words of his long-time friend and colleague, Dr. William H. Welch, of Johns Hopkins University, the death of Sir William Osler on December 29, 1919, in Oxford, England, removed "the most widely known, the most influential and the most beloved physician in the English-speaking world."

Dr. Osler was a Canadian by birth. He was educated at Trinity College, Toronto, and in medicine at the University of Toronto and at McGill University, Montreal. At the last-named institution he served for ten years as Professor of Medicine, and then, coming to the United States, joined the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania. Five years later he went to Johns Hopkins University, where he remained sixteen years. In 1905 he was called to the Regius Professorship of Medicine at Oxford, where he passed the last fourteen years of his life, dying at the age of seventy.

As Dr. Welch remarks in a brief sketch of his friend's career written for the *Survey* (New York) of January 10th, Dr. Osler had, in each of the places where he taught, made "an extraordinary and abiding impression both upon the medical profession and the public, so that Canada, the United States, and England join in equal admiration and affection for the man, and in mourning the loss of one whose fame is world-wide."

Osler was the most inspiring and stimulating of teachers, exerting an unsurpassed personal influence upon students and assistants, who became and remained his ardent disciples. He imparted through precept and example high standards of

professional conduct, habits of industry, thorough study, the taking of careful notes of cases, interest in the history of medicine, a lofty conception of the duties of the physician to his colleagues, his patients and the public.

The devotion of students was matched by the devotion of patients to Osler, the physician, who had in unusual degree the healing gift of bringing comfort, even joy at times, and of inspiring confidence. When the occasion was suitable the visit might be and often was brief, but the patient was lightened up by some droll, epigrammatic remark, some gay quip, some picturesque expression which remained treasured in the memory, but if need be none could be more sympathetic to patients and friends.

In many of the press tributes to Dr. Osler that have appeared since his death reference has been made to his famous valedictory address at Johns Hopkins University in 1905. This address was widely misquoted at the time of its delivery, and few of those who have commented upon it in print seem to have taken the trouble to learn what Dr. Osler really said on that occasion.

The paragraphs of the address that were most generally quoted in 1905 are to be found in the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* for April of that year. Those to which the newspapers devoted most attention read as follows:

I have two fixed ideas well known to my friends, harmless obsessions with which I sometimes bore them, but which have a direct bearing on this important problem. The first is the comparative uselessness of men above forty years of age. This may seem shocking, and yet, read aright, the world's history bears out the statement. Take the sum of human achievement in action, in science, in art, in literature—subtract the work of the men above forty, and while we should miss

great treasures, even priceless treasures, we would practically be where we are to-day. It is difficult to name a great and far-reaching conquest of the mind which has not been given to the world by a man on whose back the sun was still shining. The effective, moving, vitalizing work of the world is done between the ages of twenty-five and forty,—these fifteen golden years of plenty, the anabolic or constructive period, in which there is always a balance in the mental bank and the credit is still good.

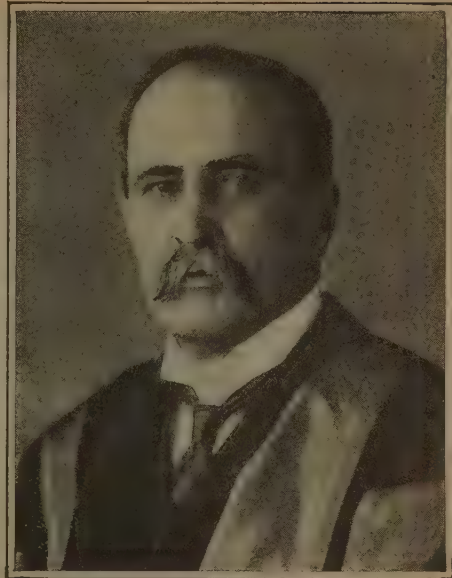
The speaker announced as his second fixed idea "the uselessness of men above sixty years of age, and the incalculable benefit it would be in commercial, political, and professional life if, as a matter of course, men stopped work at this age." It was in this connection that Dr. Osler, after alluding to methods employed by the ancients for disposing of sexagenarii, referred to the chloroform scheme proposed in Anthony Trollope's novel, "The Fixed Period." It was at this jocose reference that most of the shafts of Dr. Osler's opponents in the discussion that followed the delivery of the address were specifically aimed.

As it can be maintained that all the great advances have come from men under forty, so the history of the world shows that a very large proportion of the evils may be traced to the sexagenarians,—nearly all the great mistakes politically and socially, all of the worst poems, most of the bad pictures, a majority of the bad novels, not a few of the bad sermons and speeches! It is not to be denied that occasionally there is a sexagenarian whose mind, as Cicero remarks, stands out of reach of the body's decay. Such a one has learned the secret of Hermippus, that ancient Roman who, feeling that the silver cord was loosening, cut himself clear from all companions of his own age and betook himself to the company of young men, mingling with their games and studies, and so lived to the age of one hundred and fifty-three, *puerorum halitu refocillatus et educatus*. And there is truth in the story, since it is only those who live with the young who maintain a fresh outlook on the new problems of the world.

The teacher's life should have three periods,—study until twenty-five, investigation until forty, profession until sixty, at which age I would have him retired on a double allowance. Whether Anthony Trollope's suggestion of a college and chloroform should be carried out or not, I have become a little dubious, as my own time is getting so short.

Dr. Osler had been a magnetic force in the early days of advanced medical work at Johns Hopkins and later took a prominent part in public-health activities, notably in the anti-tuberculosis campaign.

In the New York Times for January 4 Dr. Lyman P. Powell gives interesting reminiscences of his service as secretary to Dr.



SIR WILLIAM OSLER (1849-1919)

Osler during the preparation of one of his books at Johns Hopkins University. He says:

The man Osler was never lost in the world-famous doctor. He was human. His staff all loved him. I recall one day when a new member, still in awe of the chief, was made to feel at home in the new group as Osler flung his arm in brotherly affection around the young man's shoulders. All joined in celebration of his birthday, and though he still was somewhat short of entering middle life, he quaintly said to me: "Don't count the years. I'll get old fast enough."

This was not altogether jest. Like Phillips Brooks, he did not want to appear old even in the prospect. It was worse than cruel for the world to distort his famous comments on the ages of 40 and 60. None who knew him could misunderstand. But the persistence of comment in press, in pew, in pulpit cut him to the heart. It was not so much concern about himself. He knew how to stand punishment. It was, in fact, the effect he saw it was having on the public attitude toward men who pass on into middle life without losing their capacity for work and with compensations Osler always understood maturity brings for the losses of young manhood.

The high place he assigned to his colleague, Dr. Welch, and his modest rating of his own abilities are disclosed by this incident, related in Dr. Powell's article:

Not long before he went to Europe to live the last period of his life I thought to get from him a service he would perhaps regard as trifling. An important magazine to which I had for

years an advisory relationship requested me to draw on my medical acquaintance for an article in which to discuss the seven leading physicians of the United States. I made up my list with Osler first, and received from him in his own hand the note which follows:

"Dear Mr. Powell: I think you might leave me out of the list of seven sages! I should put Mitchell, Welch, Billings, Keen, Bowditch, Senn, and McBurney.

"Yours sincerely,
"WILLIAM OSLER."

THE MEDICAL CONFERENCE AT CANNES

THE Medical Conference held at the invitation of the Committee of Red Cross Societies at Cannes, France, in April last was an international gathering of unusual importance. Its proceedings have only recently been published. The conference was attended by delegates from France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan and the United States. It was organized with Professor Emilé Roux, of France, as President, Professor Marchiafava, of Italy, as Vice-President, and Dr. L. Emmett Holt, of the United States, as Secretary.

Among the American delegates at the Conference, besides Dr. Holt, were Dr. William H. Welch, Dr. Hermann M. Biggs, Dr. Livingston Farrand, Colonel Richard P. Strong, U. S. A., Dr. Wickliffe Rose, of the

Rockefeller Foundation, former Ambassador Henry Morgenthau, and Miss Lillian D. Wald as representative of the Federal Children's Bureau at Washington. One of the British delegates was Sir Arthur Newsholme, and the delegates from the other countries represented were of equally high professional standing.

The conference adopted a series of resolutions urging that the control of typhus fever be at once undertaken as an emergency relief measure, that active measures be taken for the extension and development of child welfare work, that efforts be made to secure a standardization of vital statistics, that definite programs for the control of tuberculosis, malaria and venereal diseases be submitted for adoption in all countries.



DELEGATES TO THE CANNES MEDICAL CONFERENCE

(Back row, from left to right: Major Albert H. Garvin, Dr. William Palmer Lucas, Col. Frederick F. Russell, Miss A. W. Gill, Miss Julia Stimson, Miss Alicia Lloyd-Still, Dr. Wickliffe Rose, Dr. Samuel McClintock Hamill, Dr. T. Kabeshima, Dr. Fritz E. Talbot, Lt. Col. Edward C. Hort, Col. Hugh S. Cumming, Major F. Truby King, Dr. Edward R. Baldwin. Middle row: Col. Richard P. Strong, Prof. Henry Kenwood, Lt. Col. William F. Snow, Sir John Lumsden, Prof. Dr. Bartolomeo Gosio, Col. L. W. Harrison, Dr. F. N. Kay Menzies, Dr. Edouard Rist, Dr. Prof. Cesare Baduel, Dr. L. Emmett Holt, Prof. Dr. Giuseppe Bastianelli, Dr. Prof. Francesco Valagussa, Prof. Aldo Castellani. Front row: Prof. Camillo Golgi, Prof. Edoardo Maragliano, Sir Robert W. Philip, Dr. Ettore Marchiafava, Dr. Emile Roux, president of the Conference, Dr. William H. Welch, Sir Arthur Newsholme, Dr. Hermann M. Biggs, Sir Ronald Ross)

THE USE OF AEROPLANES FOR STUDYING THE ATMOSPHERE

IT is a common saying among meteorologists that the study of the atmosphere became a science of three dimensions about the beginning of the present century, when kites and balloons began to be used in a systematic and comprehensive way for exploring the air aloft. It is true that in earlier periods there had been sporadic observations with such devices, and the upper air had also been investigated to some extent by means of cloud observations and measurements of the weather elements on mountains; but in general it can be said that prior to the twentieth century the researches of the meteorologist were conducted in "flatland." The new branch of meteorology that deals with the upper levels of the atmosphere is known as "aerology," and it has been a fruitful field of discovery.

A prospective addition to the equipment of the aerologist is the aeroplane (more commonly called in the United States, in violation of the analogies of the scientific vocabulary, "airplane"). While aviators have necessarily gathered a considerable fund of information about the element in which they fly, very little has hitherto been done toward assembling and digesting this information, and the regular use of the aeroplane as an adjunct of meteorological observatories has not yet begun.

Mr. C. K. M. Douglas, writing in *Symons' Meteorological Magazine* (London), records the fact that during his service as pilot in the Royal Air Force he took part in upper-air observations carried out by aeroplanes at Berck, in northeastern France, in coöperation with the Meteorological Section of the Royal Engineers. These observations were made primarily for the use of the artillery, but also as an aid in weather forecasting. They included measurements of temperature and humidity, as well as observations of visibility and clouds—the latter with the aid of the camera.

Mr. Douglas points out that the aeroplane not only furnishes an efficient means of gathering information of temperature and humidity at various levels—data of immense value for the forecasting of thunderstorms and other weather disturbances—but also provides a unique means of making a thorough study of clouds. He presents specimen photographs of clouds taken at an alti-

tude of several thousand feet above the earth, and deals at some length with the weather conditions by which they were attended.

The same subject is discussed from a somewhat different point of view by M. Gabriel Guilbert in a recent number of *Le Correspondant* (Paris). M. Guilbert is not an aviator, but he is a meteorologist of marked originality, and he looks to meteorological aviators to supply the data which will confirm some novel ideas of his own. He takes issue particularly with existing theories concerning the origin of rain. According to his view, cloud particles always begin as crystals of ice, which may or may not change to drops of water after falling to lower levels, according to whether the temperature is high enough to melt them. It is unnecessary to enter here into the arguments by which he supports his view, nor to record several interesting questions that he raises concerning the nature and behavior of clouds; the incontestable fact set forth in his article is that by means of the aeroplane it is going to be possible to get positive information on these questions.

Suppose, for example, it is desired to ascertain why certain forms of halo are seen about the sun at one time and not at another. Halos are produced by the action of ice crystals in refracting and reflecting sunlight, but the kinds of crystals concerned in causing several uncommon types of halo are a subject of controversy. The aviator should be able to settle such questions by actually visiting the spot where the halo is seen.

Existing classifications of clouds involve certain assumptions, still unverified, as to the relative altitudes of the different cloud-types. In this matter the aviator will be able to substitute direct observation for speculation.

Last but not least, M. Guilbert departs from the typical attitude of the modern meteorologist with regard to the irrepressible question of rain-making. Here again he thinks the aviator may intervene to solve a vexed problem. It seems to him intolerable that a land should starve for water underneath a canopy of clouds charged with countless tons of the same; and if there is any remedy for this anomalous situation, the aeroplane should help us find it.

THE DRINKWATER PLAY OF "ABRAHAM LINCOLN"

THE play, "Abraham Lincoln," having had a successful season in London, has been brought to New York. With an American, Frank McGlynn, who bears a remarkable physical resemblance to the martyr President, taking the principal part, it is attracting large audiences. The English dramatist, Mr. John Drinkwater, who is responsible for the text of the play, is now in this country and has stated in the form of a lecture some of the reasons which led him to seek in the career of Lincoln dramatic material that has intensely interested the British public.

Never in the history of these times, says Mr. Drinkwater, has a man so written himself into the memories of men in such a short time after his death. There are certain elements in Lincoln's character which have stirred the artists, the poets and the sculptors, as well as set him up as a popular hero in the minds of common men.

There was his unflinching integrity of character and the fact that he died still adequate to the situation he had seen through. Public life is strewn with men who were inadequate to the great trust suddenly put upon them; but Lincoln never fell below the standard, nor did he ever get out of touch with the common men and women whose will placed him in the light of fame. Lincoln impressed the imagination of his people as no man since the time of Oliver Cromwell has done. Lincoln would have made great material for a later Carlyle. And the Lincoln idea, Mr. Drinkwater ended, is of value to-day more than ever, because the moral ideal of which he was the great sponsor is the only effective check to the tide of imperialism and materialism which is sweeping over the world. The familiar Lincolnian democracy, which is also American democracy, providing an equal opportunity for every individual born under the flag and the curse of Adam, is the only effective check for whatever dread era may be upon us.

In the play Lincoln is first presented in his Springfield home receiving a committee from the Republican Convention at Chicago, offering him the nomination for the Presidency in 1860. Then we see him in a cabinet meeting at Washington with Seward, Chase and his other ministers. Among the episodes of the play are Lincoln's pardoning of a young soldier who had slept on duty; a visit to Grant's headquarters, and finally the assassination in the box at Ford's Theater.

One of the comparatively few Americans who saw the play as it was given in London last year was Mrs. Kate Douglas Wiggin who recorded her impressions in a letter to the *Outlook* (New York). One of the most effective scenes of the play is thus described by Mrs. Wiggin:

There is a moment when Lincoln is left alone in the sitting-room at Springfield, Illinois, while Susan, the maid, has gone to usher in the delegates from the Republican Convention at Chicago, who are to announce their choice of him as candidate for the Presidency. There is a map of the United States on the rear wall of the room, and Lincoln walks slowly up to it and stands before it silently for a half-minute, his back to the audience. You can hear a pin drop in the theater, for the magic is working. It is stage business, you may say, but there is theatrical stage business and there is another sort. In this case Lincoln's body might almost be transparent. We can actually read his thought and feel his heart beat. It is as if he were offering himself as a sacrifice. He is looking at the colossal stretch of country—East and West, North and South—over whose destinies he may have to stand guard. The map is the symbol of his country. The States, trembling under the weight of great issues, are on the verge of civil war; and he is wondering if any human being can face the difficulties, solve the problems, and preserve the Union; one country, one government; safe, free, indivisible.

I would not for a good deal miss the thrill that came to me when Abraham Lincoln stood gazing at the map of his country, and mine! Ascribe part of the thrill, if you choose, to the art of the player, but I know that when "big moments" come in the theater it is when the audience is unconsciously living, breathing, thinking, and feeling with the playwright. These dramatic silences made vocal by the imaginations of the onlookers, each man and woman filling them according to his or her ability, are among the rarest and most precious things in the theater. The audience often molds the play, but the play, if it has any real power, ought to mold the audience. In John Drinkwater's own words:

When the high heart we magnify,
And the sure vision celebrate,
And worship greatness passing by,
Ourselves are great.

Lord Charnwood, Lincoln's English biographer, thinks that the real question about the play is whether it conveys a true and worthy impression to an English spectator not specially interested in the matter. He says:

When Drinkwater read his draft of it aloud privately to my wife and myself we expected to

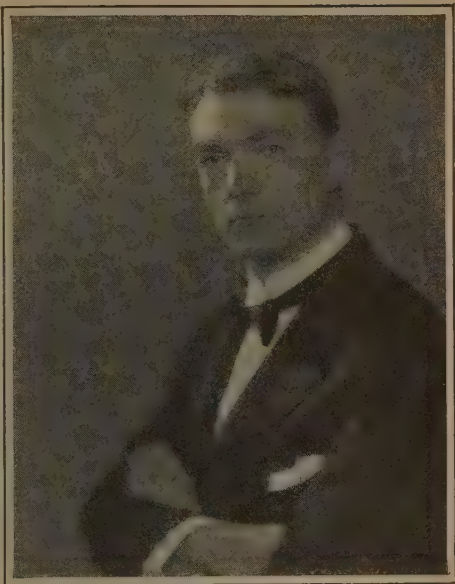
be concealing irreverent laughter from him and exchanging it between ourselves all the time, but he ended by having us, and three very critical people with us, intently interested. Since the play has been acted I have been astonished to find how many people that I know (many of them very good judges too,) have been immensely impressed by it.

How the play, as it is presented in America, is likely to impress most American theatergoers is well stated in a recent issue of the *Outlook*:

The first act, despite its moving conclusion, was disappointing. We cannot picture the actors in the drama of Lincoln's real life as conscious of the high destiny he was to fulfill, at the time of his nomination for the Presidency. The first act had a little of the tone of a spurious prophecy written to explain a deed already accomplished.

But from the first act on, the figure of Lincoln grew portentously. The world in which he moved was one of flesh, blood, and spirit. His personality struck fire from personalities only less vital than his own. The dramatic wisdom of Drinkwater in creating a new member of Lincoln's Cabinet to sustain the burden of opposition to the President was justified by the vividness and reality of the conflict portrayed. It would have been unfair and untrue to assign such a rôle to either Chase or Seward, but the need of personifying the distrust which Lincoln met made its presentation a moral necessity. The creation of Hook was a daring stroke, but it worked.

When the curtain fell on the last tragic scene—



(C) Underwood & Underwood

MR. JOHN DRINKWATER

(The English author of a great American play)

the assassination of Lincoln—in Ford's Theater, the audience knew that an Englishman had created a great American play.

FARMS FOR RETURNED SOLDIERS IN BRITISH DOMINIONS

A DISCUSSION has arisen in *Stead's Review* (Melbourne) as to which of the British colonies has made the most liberal provision for the future life of men who served in the war. It seems to be admitted that New Zealand leads in the matter of placing credit at the disposal of the veterans, but when rates of interest and rent are taken into account, Queensland appears the most liberal of all countries. Ontario, Canada, which advances only a meagre amount of cash, gives such aid in the way of free land, wage payments during the early stages of development, and opportunities of coöperation, that it takes a high rank. In the amount of cash advanced to the soldiers for development work, New Zealand has a fair lead, but even in this she is very little ahead of Queensland. Following are the conditions of soldiers' aid in several of the Australian states:

VICTORIA

The aim of Victoria seems to be rather to get good settlers from among the soldiers than to throw the door of opportunity wide open to all. The applicant for a farm must have had farming experience. The tenure is a rent-purchase system. Payments may be postponed for the first three years in the case of undeveloped allotments. After six years the lease becomes negotiable if all conditions have been fulfilled; but the freehold is not granted until the whole of the purchase money has been paid. It is claimed that railway facilities and freights are so advantageous in Victoria that the holdings are really more desirable than those obtainable in other States.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Western Australia has reserved land for the soldiers in the Wheat Belt and in the South West. In the Wheat Belt the soldier may purchase 840 acres at 15/- per acre, and select 150 acres, for which he need pay only the survey fee. For this and for any money the government may

have spent on the land payment is spread over 30 years. To handle such a farm the soldier should have a capital of £500, but some of this can be borrowed from the Agricultural Bank. Residence and progressive improvements are required. In the South West timbered land the soldier may select 160 acres. A part of this will be cleared by the government.

TASMANIA

The Tasmanian Government waives interest on its advances to soldiers for the first twelve months, and asks no payment of principal for the first four years. Land may be acquired either by purchase or on lease. First-class land may be bought by the 200 acres at £1 per acre; second-class and third-class in larger areas at lower prices. In the case of leases no rent is charged for the first year.

In Canada free grants of land are given. Each soldier is entitled to 320 acres. This feature makes it difficult to compare Canada with the Australian States.

Mr. Elwood Mead, of the United States Reclamation Service, has given the following description of the Ontario scheme for coöperative group settlement:

Of all the provinces of Canada, Ontario undoubtedly leads in the scheme which it has adopted for the settlement of the soldier, as well as the progress it has made in actual settlement. The first Soldiers' Act was passed in 1916. Its purpose was to make available the immense territory known as the Clay Belt, which extends west from the boundary between Ontario and

Quebec for a distance of 400 miles. The soil is a rich clay loam, free from rock and well adapted to mixed farming. The district is reached by two railroads.

One hundred acres, of which 10 have been cleared, will be allowed each soldier without charge. (Note.—This scheme should not be confused with the Dominion scheme, allowing the soldier 320 acres.) When necessary, a loan not to exceed 500 dollars (say £100) will be made to pay for housing, machinery, tools and livestock. The amount loaned is repayable in twenty years with 6 per cent. interest. No payment of interest or principal is required for three years. This may appear a small amount, but it is not so when other aid is taken into account. The ex-soldier is paid for clearing his 10 acres, and also receives the assistance of his fellow-settlers. A central colony farm will be established in each district. Here the settlers may obtain the use of houses and a stock of the heavier farm implements without the need of purchase. The central farm will assist in many other ways.

While the men are in training or employed in groups, they will be paid. Single men receive \$2.50 per day, married men \$1.10 a day, with a maximum monthly allowance of \$30 for dependants.

A patent from the Crown is obtainable in five years from the time the soldier begins work on his own land. He must have carried forward the development of his land.

The article in *Stead's Review* concludes with the remark that, after all, comparisons of the amounts made available to the veterans for the development of farms are not of great value. Far more depends on the treatment the men receive in other directions.

THE NATION'S BOY POWER

THE last annual report of the Chief Scout Executive of the Boy Scouts of America states several significant facts regarding the boy power of America—a subject that has not heretofore received specialized treatment by the Federal Census Bureau or by statisticians in developing vital facts either for cities or States or for the nation as a whole. A striking lack of uniformity was found in the information now available. In some places, for instance, the vital statistics with reference to delinquency are grouped so as to include boys from the ages of 16 to 24, in other cases including boys from 14 to 19. In spite of these statistical deficiencies, however, certain things are known:

We do not know that boys of from 12 to 19 years of age represent approximately 8 per cent. of the population of the country, thus making about

8,000,000 boys of scout age in the United States. We know that most of the states by law permit a boy to leave school with working papers at the age of 14, which to him and to many parents means that he has reached the period when he does not need the discipline and benefits of further education in preparing for the responsibilities of citizenship. It is unfortunately true that a large proportion of boys must leave school at the age of 14 or 15, in order to help provide for the home.

Through the efforts to put into operation the Military Training Law in the State of New York, we are able to get authentic information as to certain vital facts with reference to boyhood. This law is applicable to boys between the ages of 16 and 19. It was found that 300,000 boys in the State of New York were subject to the operation of the law, but after it had been passed and the machinery set up for its administration, largely on the expectation that the school would furnish the point of contact for reaching that great army of boyhood, it was discovered that not more than 30,000 boys of those ages were in schools.

What is true of New York is undoubtedly true of other states also. It can be conservatively



CINCINNATI BOY SCOUTS REPAIRING BROKEN TOYS FOR DISTRIBUTION AMONG THE ORPHAN ASYLUMS

estimated that there are fully 4,000,000 boys between the ages of 14 and 19 in the United States to-day who are without the influence and training of the school.

The Military Training Commission of New York State sent out 106,000 questionnaires, from which it was learned that only fifteen boys out of each thousand had any definite idea of what they would do as life work. The fact is that most of these

boys are in "blind-alley" jobs, and are likely in later life to become "drifters." The leaders of the Boy Scout movement believe that they are meeting American boyhood's need of some agency to supplement the influences and training of the home, the church, and the school. Thus far the membership of the Boy Scouts, large as it is, is only a small percentage of the 8,000,000 boys available.



World Photos

EVEN CHINA VALUES HER BOY POWER—PARADE OF BOY SCOUTS ON THE REPUBLIC'S ANNIVERSARY

SAFEGUARDING THE EYES OF WORKMEN

THE Safety First movement in American industries needs no introduction to American readers; yet perhaps few persons not directly taking part in its propaganda realize the magnitude of the problems with which it has to deal. Statistics of industrial accidents are appalling. That the casualties of warfare are rivaled by those of peaceful pursuits is illustrated by the fact that of eye accidents, alone, nearly 200,000 occur every year in the industries of this country. The comprehensive measures that have been undertaken or proposed to reduce the number of such accidents are described in the *Medical Review of Reviews* (New York) by Mr. Gordon L. Berry, field secretary of the National Committee for the Prevention of Blindness.

In his analysis of accidents and their causes, Mr. Berry refers to various codes—all of which appear to be in an inchoate condition—for the protection of the eyes of workers in industrial plants. The most important of these has lately been compiled at the U. S. Bureau of Standards, in Washington, by a committee of experts in accident prevention, with the coöperation of the National Committee for the Prevention of Blindness, the National Safety Council, the Safety Institute of America and kindred organizations. "It is," says the writer, "but one of a series of industrial safety codes proposed, though as yet the best method of procedure in the development and enforcement of such codes has not been decided upon. The organization of an American Standards Association, embracing representative industrial groups and organizations, together with the appropriate government departments and bureaus, may provide the desired medium for the development of this effort."

The list of industrial processes in which protection is sought for the head or eyes of workers includes, we are told,

chipping, riveting, babbiting, scaling, grinding, handling of acids, sand-blasting, high-temperature welding, open-hearth and other furnace work, electrical operations, processes involving harmful fumes, vapors, gases, and those in which might occur burns from caustics.

In a supplementary category which might be termed "miscellaneous" are the eye accidents which are caused by flying bits of metal from "mushroomed" tools; the infections which result from the well-meaning but dangerous endeavor of a workman to remove a foreign substance from the eye of a comrade; the special form of cataract to which glass-blowers appear to be particu-

larly susceptible, due to long-continued exposure to excessive heat, and the nystagmus of miners resulting from strain and exhaustion of the ocular muscles after long periods of work done in a sitting or reeling position. In still another field, not so commonly thought of as "industrial," are those accidents occurring in farm labor and agricultural pursuits generally.

The safety codes mentioned by Mr. Berry not only prescribe devices and methods of protection appropriate for each kind of work, but enter into minute details. It will not do, for example, merely to insist that a workman wear goggles when engaged in chipping, caulking or riveting. A case is cited in which a workman bought a pair of goggles at a ten-cent store because they were lighter than those furnished by the company which employed him. A chip broke the glasses, and pieces of glass entered his eye. This would not have happened if the goggles had had rigid frames. The specifications of the Bureau of Standards code

provide for non-corrosive frames which will withstand sterilization, and which will not discolor the skin or irritate it because of a rough finish. "The lens containers should be suitable for holding lenses the short diameter of which is not less than 1.57 inches, and shall be designed to permit easy renewal of lenses. The side shields, hinged to the lens containers so as to fold up when the spectacles are stored, should be made of screen or perforated metal, not larger than No. 36 mesh, and properly edged to prevent cutting the skin." The temples must be flexible, properly bent, finished and covered, and individually attached to the frame. As for the bridge, it is specified that it, too, shall be non-corrosive, substantial and firmly attached to the lens containers, readily adjustable and comfortable to the wearer. For both frames and lenses tests are prescribed which will insure that they are strong enough to withstand any blow from such flying particles as might be expected.

Experience has proven that each item of these requirements has a bearing upon the prevention of eye accidents in the industries. While the specifications might seem to the layman somewhat meticulous in their provisions, the safety engineer on the other hand will testify to the value of each item as detailed.

The article under review devotes much space to the dangers of wood alcohol, one of the well-known effects of which is to produce blindness. Less familiar to the public at large is the subject of eye injuries due to intense radiation, including ultra-violet radiation, *e. g.*, in high-temperature welding and furnace work. The colored glasses commonly used in such work are more or less ineffective.

SPAIN'S INTEREST IN MOROCCO

ONE of the recent noteworthy events in Spanish foreign policy was the speech, on November 5, by the Liberal ex-Premier, Count Romanones. In this the difficult question of Morocco and the relations with foreign powers, particularly with Great Britain and France, were dealt with at length and the speech received the widest attention in the press of the continent. The following extracts will be of interest:

Our rights in Morocco, confirmed by solemn treaties, are inviolable. . . . For us it is a matter, so to speak, of imponderable values. If Spain deserted Morocco she would cease to be a Mediterranean nation, washed though her shores are by the Mediterranean Sea, for a great part of their length. . . . The question of Morocco and Tangier is not a question which can be treated in isolation. It must form part of the whole and it is to this work as a whole that I wish to refer. There are among us people who think—and I recognize their good faith—that the best solution for Spain would be for her to leave Morocco. Such persons I invite to consider what has been said in France on the subject of Morocco, to the cheers of the whole French Parliament. From the extreme Right to the Socialist Left it has been considered that that country has a great value and it has been declared that Morocco must play a considerable part in France's future. Why should there not be that value for us and why should we at least not consider that value?

The affirmation, in the course of Count Romanones' speech, that a solution must be arrived at on the basis of a close understanding with Great Britain and France was the dominant thought in an important article from the pen of Señor Perez Caballero in the Madrid *Figaro*, from which the following excerpts are taken:

Spain requires to guarantee her position in Morocco, by means of the incorporation of Tangier. For this it is necessary for her to be able to count on the goodwill of the Allied countries, who are at the present moment not only the conquerors but also the arbiters of the world. . . . If events had been different a simple understanding would have been enough. But to-day confidence is lacking and something more concrete, more precise is required, giving guarantees of security to all the Allied countries with which Spain is determined to march in agreement and to oppose at no point. The fact of the adherence of Spain to the group of powers of which France, England, Italy, Portugal and the United States are the chief partners, is the best safeguard of her interests as a nation and the first condition that we shall be taken into consideration wherever we have fundamental interests. . . . All those who desire closeness of relations with France and Great Britain must desire an alliance (such as the writer had been discussing); this is the means imposed by the circumstances.

JAPAN'S NATIONAL POLICY

A CONTRIBUTION by Prof. John Dewey to the *Dial* (New York) throws light on the general trend of Japanese policy. Professor Dewey is spending his Sabbatical year in the Orient and writes from intimate contact with situations there. He insists that the usual belief that Japan has taken modern Germany as her model, ignores the debt of the Japanese to other Western countries.

In the seventies and eighties Japan was busy studying the Western world for models, as one thousand years before she had studied Korea and China. From Great Britain she borrowed the idea of navalism, merchant marine, sea commerce and sea power. From France she took the idea of centralized administration as a cure for the remaining ills of her centrifugal feudalism. From Germany she learned a technique for family law (a most important thing in transition from family organization to an individualistic basis); borrowed the aims and methods of an educational system,

and the way of setting up an apparently Western or representative government which should not actually infringe in any way upon the autocratic oligarchy of the Choshu and Satsuma clan-leaders. Nor were the latter actuated wholly, nor possibly even chiefly, by personal ambitions. They were sure that only a high degree of centralized power would permit that development of army, navy, and a strong foreign policy which would save Japan from undergoing the same fate at the hands of Western powers that the rest of Asia was undergoing. And in the face of the imperial Europe of the last generation, it would demand a boldness of idealism not possessed by the present writer to declare they were wholly wrong.

Moreover, the unification of Japan was only a recently accomplished fact. In Japan isolations and animosities had been acute all through the still recent feudal period. Professor Dewey holds that the statesmen who laid the foundations of modern Japan deliberately inculcated the popular belief in the divinity of the Emperor in order to

strengthen the allegiance of succeeding generations to the national principles for which it stood.

No student can doubt that the Elder Statesmen who in the later eighties set Japan upon its present track deliberately surrounded the imperial dynasty with all the mystic emotional haloes and sanctions that accompany divinity and divine origin. It is not many centuries since Europe had states based on the divine right of kings; but we have to go back to Imperial Rome to find emperors who are themselves divine and the sons of gods. A Japanese scholar told me that till the publication of the Constitution in 1889 the title Son of Heaven had been reserved for dead emperors, and that the deliberate use of religious myth for preventing the growth of democratic ideas was evident in the fact that in this document the title was for the first time applied to the living ruler. Of course I do not know whether his statement is correct, but there can be no doubt of the completeness of the fusion in the popular mind of political with religious and theocratic ideas, nor of the support the fusion gives to Japanese nationalistic sentiment as against other nations, and to the prestige and power of the ruling dynasty. And since as a matter of fact the Emperor is still almost as much of a figurehead as when he was in seclusion in Kyoto, this permeating religious sanction accrues to the benefit of the bureaucracy that actually runs things.

And it is interesting to note that one wing at least of the new liberal group is endeavoring to give the religious status of the imperial dynasty a democratic turn. They do not attack the imperial idea; the attack would not only throw them personally into prison but would render

them so odious as to discredit their cause. They claim that traditionally the Emperor has been the Father of the People, supremely interested in their welfare; that in the sense of government for the people Japan is historically a democracy; and then they attack the oligarchy which has turned Japan aside from its true basis, and which has for its own aggrandizement come between the Emperor and his people.

Japanese Liberalism, says Professor Dewey, is entirely opposed to the aggressive policy of Japan towards China, and points out that it has a common enemy with China in the Japanese militaristic autocracy.

It is impossible for Japan to engage in trade, to exchange commodities and technical science with all the world, to take a part in world politics, and still to remain isolated from the world situation and world currents. The significance of this fact has been brought home to Japan with increasing acceleration and momentum by the war and its conclusion, and the outcome is the present spread of democracy and liberalism. The imperialistic settlement at Paris has undeniably effected a setback.

Every reaction from democracy all over the world will retard the movement in Japan. But unless the world overtly and on a large scale goes back on democracy, Japan will move steadily in that direction. And my own confidence in the resilience, adaptability, and practical intelligence of the Japanese people, as well as in a kind of social democracy which is embodied in the manners and customs of the people, makes me think the change will come without a bloody and catastrophic upheaval.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION FOR THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

LORD HUGH CECIL contributes an important plea for proportional representation to the *Contemporary Review* (December). His argument is, briefly, that the House of Commons is losing its authority and prestige in the eyes of the electorate, mainly because that electorate does not feel it really represents them; that the "normal and ordinary machinery of representative government" is thereby threatened by political strikes or other revolutionary action; and that some means must be found of making the House more truly representative—which means more independent of the party machinery that has engulfed and crushed its vitality. Proportional representation, in so far as it would, in virtue of its transferable vote in accordance with individual preference, ensure the better represen-

tation of the various sections of opinion now not represented at all, offers a solution which, in Lord Hugh Cecil's opinion, is well worth trying.

He points out that at most elections nowadays the contest is simply between a government and their opponents. "So far from a member, therefore, being the delegate of the people, what he really is, is the delegate of that political party which on the whole the people in his constituency prefer. This is a vastly different and much less democratic form of government. It is really not self-government at all. The House of Commons does not represent the people. It represents only certain political parties between whom the people in the various constituencies are obliged to choose."

Has a House of Commons, consisting of

members who are really typical of the electors, and are really trusted by them to express their common judgment, ever existed under England's system of representation? Lord Hugh Cecil admits that in its perfection it has neither existed nor is likely to exist. But there was a period from 1832 to 1868 in which, restricted as it was with regard to the wage earning classes, it came somewhere near the ideal.

A greater independence of character among Members of Parliament can only be obtained by giving them a better security of tenure in their constituencies.

I dwell upon the hope that proportional representation might restore a healthy element of patriotic independence to the House of Commons because it is an argument in favour of the plan which is often overlooked. But the mere remedying of the present gross disproportion between the numbers of the representatives of a particular party in the House of Commons and the number of electors who send them there would be by itself a sufficient gain to justify the reform. The abolition of "landslides" would be an enormous benefit and would by itself restore the House of Commons, not indeed to the authority which it held before 1868, but to that modified reputation which it enjoyed in the closing years of Queen Victoria's reign.

Lord Hugh boldly challenges the objection that proportional representation would enlarge constituencies unduly; for enlargement would, he says, do good. True, the system could not well be applied to by-elections.

But this, after all, is the familiar objection that because you cannot have perfection you are not to have improvement. It certainly would not secure the objects of proportional representation for a single candidate to be returned at a by-election either by the whole constituency which voted at the General Election or by a particular section created solely for the purpose of returning members to fill casual vacancies. But it is at a General Election that the advantages of proportional representation are really important. It is then that we have the gross misrepresentation of the electorate by landslides; it is then that the members of the dissolved Parliament return to their constituencies to seek re-election. By-elections spoil the symmetry of the proportional system, but they do not detract from the great benefits which it promises. And except to the most pedantic of political theorists, the circumstance that a system is not absolutely symmetrical will not outweigh the certain benefit of having the representative body duly proportioned to the electoral body, and the probable benefit of restoring an element of reasonable independence to the deliberations of the House of Commons.

"We must restore confidence in representative government, and in the House of Commons as its organization, but to this end we must have reform." This is the constant refrain of Lord Hugh's eloquent indictment of the present parliamentary system. He believes that proportional representation, by giving a greater sense of security to the Members of Parliament, would make them less afraid of an appeal to the country, in which their salary of £400 a year is always at stake.

EDUCATION OF THE BLIND

AS to the best method for the re-education of those who have lost their sight in the war, Signor Augusto Romagnoli, in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome), expresses the view that it is one which steers a middle course between two tendencies equally dangerous and equally hard to avoid, because they are closely connected with strong sentimental prejudices.

The principal difficulty in the education of the blind is that we do not understand them well enough; we are inevitably either too compassionate or too laudatory. This is a main reason for the lack of progress in this branch of instruction, which has not advanced as it should have done, because the sentiment of pity has weakened the necessary confidence in the result, and has produced teachers who were gifted and loving, indeed, but who

graduated incapable pupils. On the other hand, the admiration excited by an educated blind person, an admiration from which even the intelligent members of the blind man's family are unable to escape, is apt to beget an undue sense of self-satisfaction and a lack of the will to persevere.

Those who are unduly optimistic probably do the most harm to the blind, because they create in the latter delusions and vanity. Among these must be included the persons who, following a false analogy, have confused the question of the re-education of the blind with that of the other war cripples, and have therefore been chiefly occupied with their professional adaptation. The propagandists are perhaps blameworthy for this, since in their efforts to have the blind person accepted in daily life and common labor, they



LEARNING PIANO-TUNING
BLIND VETERANS OF THE WAR BECOMING SKILLED IN TRADES



CARPENTER WORK

have exaggerated his capability for work. In this they are not guilty of an essential error, but they have failed to make it plain that this capability manifests itself in a very different way than does that of the usual workman or professional man.

A chief error of the educators has been that they have wished to make the blind directly available in that handiwork or profession which will presumably be the most agreeable and practicable one for them, and they accuse of being idealists or theoreticians those who assert that for the blind a liberal education is the only one which, while being the most complete possible in proportion to their capabilities and aptitudes, is that which will also assure their economic welfare in the future.

The writer thinks that the best method of education for the blind in general, and for the re-education of those who have lost their sight during the war, strong young men who had already lived a life rich in experience and activity, should above all keep in view the psycho-sensorial restoration of the entire man, without using undue haste, or being too much preoccupied by a consideration of his professional specialization. The work should be carried on consistently to a definite educational end. Combined with his study, the blind person should be encouraged to move about, and to find his way wherever he may be, to walk alone in the streets or roads not unduly frequented, going from one place to another without a guide, after having been accompanied several times at the outset. Above all, his morale should be stimulated in every possible way, so that in his soul there may shine that light which alone can compensate him for the lost sunlight, and this inner light may be reflected in his smile, in

his acts, in his works, so as to lend him that attractive quality of which he is now in more need than ever before, and which pity and respect for his misfortune cannot permanently assure him.

As a specimen case of this re-education, Signor Romagnoli cites the experience of a pupil of one of the government institutions. Benini Ottavio, a farmer of Cesena, entered the institute on September 3, 1916. After two days, he began to work at putting a straw seat in a chair—work that he had often done before he lost his sight—and he soon succeeded in accomplishing his task with facility. This gave him courage, and he took out a license. Returning to his home, he ploughed a good part of his land, being guided by his son, and began to sow his crop and yoke his oxen. When he came back to the institute, he applied himself diligently to learn reading and writing, using the Braille system. In the winter he took out another license, to show proof of his progress, and he attended to the entire care of his cattle. Being very anxious to acquire the ability to find his way about by trusting to his hearing, he gave himself practice therein under the guidance of a blind man who had become expert in this (a good instance of the blind leading the blind!). He then learned the art of recognizing designs and figures in relief by the sense of touch. He was given some further instruction in sowing seed, guiding himself by a stretched cord, but he found that he could do best when following the example of one who had his sight. When he finally left the institute, he planned to enlarge his stall, and to take up intensively the raising of chickens and rabbits, so that he could employ the whole time of a man and a boy as assistants.

THE PRODUCTIVE WAGE

THE questions of a fair wage, a fair day's work, labor unrest and increased production are on the lips of every business man to-day as well as in the mouth of labor. The conference of fourteen societies of industrial engineers at New York in the middle of December was particularly engrossed in attempting to find a cure for labor unrest, and Mr. J. W. Harrington in the *Sun* (New York) goes over the ground in a way to arouse interest. The discussion seemed to hinge upon the question of wages, and the solution was said to depend upon a satisfactory adjustment of this factor in industry. Production has fallen off 60 per cent., with an increase in wages of 110 per cent.; resulting in a ratio of 210 per cent. wages to 60 per cent. production, based on the 1914 norm. Stephen de Csesznak makes this comment:

Behind the bare statement of underproduction, however, lie causes intricate and complex in their nature. They are partially the fault of the workmen, and partially due to the present uncertain conditions of world affairs. There is no doubt that the per capita production of workmen during the past year has fallen below normal, but it is a question as to whether the per capita output during working hours has decreased.

Strikes in basic industries affect every allied industry, and weeks of time and production are irretrievably lost. Some manufacturers have artificially boosted prices, rightly or wrongly. But normal programs cannot be planned when sufficient material cannot be had; and unsettlement of costs and labor unrest make it unsafe to purchase raw material heavily even when possible.

When the expected efficiency of a great plant falls from 70 to 80 per cent. to 35 per cent., the condition calls for action. The trouble is, we have been measuring wages by the clock instead of by the extent and quality of the output. Mr. I. A. Berndt contributes these illuminating comments:

Industrial effort has been recognized by engineers of industry as an excellent basis for the payment of wages. The wages for the time spent are considered as a retainer, the real pay being based on production. We were not all created in the same mould. There is no way of using the same method for determining the value of a man. Men are not equal in any sense except as to their civil rights, and it is only through artificial means that any such equality can be maintained.

The cost of living is not uniform. A wage cannot be paid sufficient to gratify extravagant desires to men who produce comparatively little. Although there is profiteering, Americans also

have elevated the costs of commodities by their own acts.

There should be a basic rate covering wages to labor and salaries to management sufficient to meet the cost of living, with additional amounts paid to both in proportion to individual effort expended in securing results.

Mr. A. L. deLeeuw would grade employees from zero to ten on essential qualifications for the job, and multiply such numbers for wage or salary valuation basis. His example of the stenographer (who was perfect in everything but spelling, zero in that qualification, and hence of no value as an employee because $10 \times 10 \times 10 \times 10 \times 0 = 0$) is equally pertinent to shopmen. On the other hand, Mr. deLeeuw says that a large portion of work is a combination of time, physical presence, labor, skill, knowledge, judgment, and other factors which are hard to define, such as reliability, steadiness, enthusiasm, and ambition. Difficult as it would be to make up a formula embodying all these elements, from which a man's value could be calculated, there is no possibility of avoiding differences of opinion between employer and employee as to the value of a man's labor until some such formula is arrived at. Incidentally, going back to the stenographer, it might have been remarked that, while worth zero in that capacity, her high qualifications in other directions might have fitted her for a better paying job in some other capacity. The same is true of the shopman.

Collective bargaining, as sometimes carried out on the one side by threat of strikes and on the other by that of lockouts, holds a very low place in the estimation of these experts. The labor unions, originally fighting organizations, should modify their activities to conform to the times, and conduct their affairs as legitimate businesses. A proposal is made to have employer and labor union pay jointly for the cost of factory improvements to increase production, thereby diverting funds formerly used for destructive strikes to investment for development along constructive lines. When employees realize that the visiting expert is not trying to speed them up, but to make their work more effective, they will meet employers half way, coöperate, and institute a new and better system of wage payment, based on extent and quality of production.

THE NEW BOOKS

THE WAR IN RETROSPECT, FROM VARIOUS NATIONAL STANDPOINTS

History of the World War. By Frank H. Simonds. Published for the REVIEW OF REVIEWS Company by Doubleday, Page & Co. Vol. IV. 414 pp. Ill.

The fourth volume of Mr Simonds' "History of the World War" is concerned with the crucial developments of the year 1917—the German retreat to the Hindenburg line, the entry of America into the war, the Russian Revolution and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the French and British offensives and reverses on the Western Front, the Italian defeat, and the aggressive submarine campaign on the part of Germany. Perhaps no other twelve months of the entire war were so crowded with thrilling and significant events on all fronts. Mr. Simonds duly chronicles all these in the perspective that has been gained during the year that has elapsed since the Armistice, but beyond the faithful and accurate historical record, the author's running comment and interpretation are most illuminating and instructive. A fifth volume of the history, covering the last year of fighting, will complete this valuable series.

The Story of the Great War. By W. S. Braithwaite. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 371 pp. Ill.

An ambitious attempt to give in a single volume a bird's eye view, as it were, of the entire war: from start to finish, including its political and diplomatic, as well as its military and naval phases.

The Story of the Great War. By Roland G. Usher. Macmillan. 350 pp. Ill.

Professor Usher is far from pretending that an adequate history of the war can be written at this time within the compass of 350 pages, but he represents a large number of participants in the war who are unwilling to wait for the truly scientific historians, so-called, to complete their labors. He assumes that we of this generation should be provided with accounts of the war which will at least furnish fairly accurate information, while the more detailed studies of scholars are in course of preparation. The volume is attractively illustrated.

Our Greatest Battle. By Frederick Palmer. Dodd, Mead & Company. 629 pp. Ill.

Colonel Frederick Palmer is one of the very few Americans who can be said to have observed the great Battle of the Meuse-Argonne as a whole. As a member of General Pershing's staff, he had unusual opportunities, and because of his expe-

rience as an observer in former wars, every sort of facility was freely afforded him. It is most fortunate that this was so, for probably in no other way could the true story of the greatest battle in which Americans ever fought have been handed down to posterity. We shall always have accounts of the battle from individual regimental and division commanders, but Colonel Palmer was the one man who, as he himself puts it, "had the key to the different compartments." He saw all the divisions in action, and was familiar with the history of every organization that took part in the battle. Next to the commander-in-chief himself Colonel Palmer was in a position to take the most comprehensive view.

America's Race to Victory. By Lt. Col. E. Réquin. Frederick A. Stokes. 211 pp. Ill.

Interesting and instructive as an official French estimate of America's war effort. Colonel Réquin came to the United States with Marshal Joffre in the spring of 1917, saw at once the difficulties that confronted our defective organization, and watched our military weakness gradually develop into strength. His collaboration with our General Staff contributed not a little to our ultimate success. General Peyton C. March writes an introduction to the volume.

The American Army in the European Conflict. By Colonel de Chambrun and Captain de Marenches. Macmillan. 436 pp. Ill.

Another account of the American military activities from a French source. The two French officers who were the authors of this work were attached to General Pershing's staff. The French edition of their book has been made required reading in the public schools of France.

My Memoirs. By Grand Admiral von Tirpitz. Dodd, Mead & Company. Vol. I. 377 pp. Vol. II. 428 pp.

The memoirs of the retired German admiral will be read in this country chiefly because of their author's responsibility for the submarine campaign during the war. His comment on this and other features of the German naval campaign is to be found in the second volume. The first volume covers that portion of the author's life that preceded the outbreak of the Great War, and contains several chapters on the origin and growth of the German fleet, together with the author's reminiscences of Bismarck and other German statesmen. On pages 202-3 of this REVIEW appears a German estimate of the Admiral as one of the three leading exponents of Prussian militarism.

AMONG MANY LANDS AND PEOPLES

What to See in America. By Clifton Johnson. Macmillan. 541 pp. Ill.

Among American writers of this generation Mr. Clifton Johnson has consistently obeyed the precept, "See America First." In his "American Highways and Byways" Series he has described for the benefit of travelers and stay-at-homes practically every part of the United States; but his latest volume is more ambitious than any of its predecessors, in that it attempts to picture the whole country within the compass of 550 pages. A chapter is devoted to each State of the Union and the cities of New York and Washington claim two additional chapters. The scenic features of the nation are attractively presented in the 500 illustrations, and the accompanying text informs the reader about the history, legend, industrial and natural resources of the whole land. Travelers may make good use of this volume, and it may be commended to public-school geography classes.

The Martyred Towns of France. By Clara E. Laughlin. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 469 pp.

If Miss Laughlin's acquaintance with the historic French towns whose story she tells in this volume had begun with their martyrdom in the Great War, she could not possibly have made so instructive and interesting a book as the one she has actually written. It was because she had known and studied these towns long before the war that she was able to assemble so much detailed and useful information regarding them. Such works are needed to supply the background of history and tradition without which the real sacrifice of the devastated portions of France cannot be understood or appreciated. Miss Laughlin's book is good reading for intending pilgrims to the theater of war on the Western Front.

Spitsbergen. By R. N. Rudmore Brown. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott. 319 pp. Ill.

This book, from the pen of a British explorer, meets the new demand for information about the mineral resources of this Arctic archipelago, and at the same time gives a good account of the history, exploration and animal and plant life of the country. The author discusses the three ways suggested for settling the political status of Spitsbergen—partition, international control by two or more nations, and annexation by one or other nation. He rejects the first two propositions as not feasible and concludes that the islands should be annexed by either Great Britain or Norway, the choice to be submitted to the League of Nations and decided by a mandate to one or other of these powers.

Albania, Past and Present. By Constantine A. Chekrezi. Macmillan. 285 pp.

It is said that this is the first book by an Albanian on Albania, that has appeared in the English language. The author is an Albanian journalist who came to the United States five years ago and was graduated from Harvard College in 1918. Besides giving the history of the Albanian principality, Mr. Chekrezi describes the physical fea-

tures of the land and the economic conditions under which the people live. Professor Charles Downer Hazen, of Columbia University, supplies an introduction to the volume.

The Bulgarians and Anglo-Saxondom. By Constantine Stephanove. Berne, Switzerland: Paul Haupt, Librairie Academique. 384 pp. With maps.

A Bulgarian's statement of his country's territorial claims, based largely on English and American authorities. An interesting chapter is devoted to "America's Role in Bulgarian Regeneration," dealing especially with American missions and schools, and notably Robert College.

Siberia To-day. By Frederick F. Moore. D. Appleton & Company. 333 pp. Ill.

Captain Moore is one of the first members of the returning A. E. F. to publish his observations and impressions while serving in Siberia. Captain Moore is an experienced newspaper man, and what he has to say in this book about Siberian conditions was gathered from the peasant population. The material is all the more novel and interesting on that account. Especially noteworthy is his description of the workings of Bolshevik and German propaganda.

The China Year Book. 1919-20. E. P. Dutton & Company. 762 pp. With map.

A thousand questions that Americans are likely to ask about modern China are answered by this "Year Book." The range of information that it supplies is truly encyclopedic. It even contains a Chinese "Who's Who" of sixty-five pages. The volume will prove invaluable to all American exporters and others having business and financial relations with the Chinese of to-day.

Unexplored New Guinea. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 320 pp. Ill.

Cannibals and head-hunters are still at large in at least one portion of the British dominions. This book is an account of the travels, adventures and experiences of a resident magistrate among the natives of the unexplored interior of New Guinea. The author was one of a very small group of explorers who have penetrated the west end of Papua, as British New Guinea is now officially termed. The author was killed while serving on the Western Front in September, 1917.

Intimate Glimpses of Life in India. By George Trumbull Ladd. Boston: Richard G. Badger. 314 pp. Ill.

In his observations of Indian life Professor Ladd was chiefly concerned with educational, social and religious conditions. For the study of these he had unusual opportunities. This book gives a summary of what he learned from personal interviews with the Viceroy and Secretary of Educa-

tion in Calcutta, with natives and missionaries, and with Hindu philosophers. Professor Ladd also describes the social customs of the people and outlines some of the political reforms that are demanded by the native leaders and are likely to be granted in the near future by the British Imperial Government.

The Political Future of India. By Lajpat Rai. B. W. Hubsch. 237 pp.

From this little book one can gain a fairly clear conception of the proposals for Indian reform made by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, together with the views of one of the leading native statesmen.

Snap Shots from Sunny Africa. By Helen E. Springer. The Katanga Press. 194 pp. Ill.

The personal experiences of an American missionary's wife among the natives of Rhodesia. It is intended to give the reader an insight into the real life and work of the missionary in the Dark Continent.

An Ethiopian Saga. By Richmond Haigh. Henry Holt & Company. 207 pp.

The author of this "Saga" is himself a South African and has spent many years with the natives of that part of the world. The chapters of African folk-lore that he has compiled are now presented for the first time in English dress. For the English reader they have the attraction of absolute novelty.

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS

The Powers and Aims of Western Democracy. By William Milligan Sloane. Charles Scribner's Sons. 489 pp.

An historian's answer to the questions of the day: What is democracy? What is a nation? and What are the chances of an enduring peace under the democratic system? Professor Sloane maintains that democracy is in its essence conservative, that the drift toward Bolshevism is an attack on its very life, that the democratic nation is the best form of human association so far devised, and that neither democracy nor nationality insures enduring peace.

The Moral Basis of Democracy. By Arthur Twining Hadley. New Haven: Yale University Press. 206 pp.

These Sunday-morning talks to students and graduates by the President of Yale are addressed to the individual man. The first series of addresses has to do with the ethics of citizenship, the second with the ethics of leadership. President Hadley analyzes the forces of democracy now at work in the world and shows their bearing on the moral problems of humanity.

Democracy After the War. By J. A. Hobson. Macmillan. 213 pp.

In this little book the English economist, Hobson, examines the dangers to democracy resulting from war and the reactions of peace. This writer finds that "the raw material and energy for a great democratic movement are at hand, provided that thought, organization and direction can make them effective." He looks forward to the more perfect organization of the workers for the control of the government, "in order that they may recover their lost liberties and establish and extend the principles of political and social self-determination."

Education for Democracy. By Eugene C. Brooks. Edited by Lyman P. Powell. Rand, McNally & Company. 263 pp.

A highly suggestive and stimulating plea for

the public school as the effective promoter of democratic ideals. It is significant that this appeal comes from the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina. Nothing could more clearly indicate the advanced ground being taken to-day by the educational leaders of the South. Professor Brooks discusses first the spirit of democracy as contrasted with autocracy in government, then the application of democracy in educational institutions, and third a new emphasis in class-room instruction. The book is published in the series of "Patriotism through Literature," edited by Dr. Lyman P. Powell.

Ideals of America. Prepared for the City Club of Chicago. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 324 pp.

Contemporary American thought stated in the concrete by leaders in politics, law, labor, science, education, business, "society," music, religion, philosophy and literature. These statements were originally prepared for the City Club of Chicago, during the years 1916-19.

The Voyage of a Vice-Chancellor. By Arthur Everett Shipley. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 181 pp.

This volume is made up of extracts from the private diary written by Vice-Chancellor Shipley of Cambridge University, England, while on an extensive tour in the United States during the fall of 1918 as a member of the British University Mission. This mission had been invited to America by the Council of Defense at Washington and had been sent out under the auspices of the British Foreign Office. In Doctor Shipley's entertaining pages the academic section of the American population has at least an excellent opportunity for once to see itself as others see it. The book contains, moreover, an excellent informational chapter on university education in the United States.

The Social Problem. By Charles A. Ellwood. Macmillan. 289 pp.

Looking forward to the processes of social reconstruction that would be required after the war,

Professor Ellwood several years ago prepared an outline of progressive social principles to serve as the basis of such reconstruction. This statement was well received on both sides of the Atlantic and has now been largely rewritten from an after-the-war viewpoint. A radical revision has not seemed necessary. The author has merely shifted the emphasis of the principles and elaborated certain points for the present edition of his book. For the benefit of teachers a chapter has been added on the reconstruction of education.

The Social Unrest. In two volumes. Edited by Lyman P. Powell. The Review of Reviews Company. Volume I. 363 pp. Volume II. 786 pp.

In the continuous triangular discussion among the representatives of capital, labor and the general public, it must by this time have become clear to every intelligent reader that the real source of most of the difficulty lies in the failure of either party to the dispute to comprehend the motives or program of the other parties. Any means of enlightenment which may aid the capitalist to understand the wants and the ambitions of labor, whether organized or unorganized, and may help the workers better to see what their employers are trying to do, will not only prove a boon to these two groups, but will enable the great public itself to cooperate more intelligently and successfully in bringing about industrial peace. This is essentially the purpose of the two volumes entitled "The Social Unrest." They present the best current thought of leading authorities as now focussed on the industrial and social problems of the day. The opinions of President Wilson and Ex-President Taft are set forth side by side with those of Karl Marx, Morris Hillquit and Sidney Webb. All schools of opinion have here at least the privilege of utterance. The material has been edited and coordinated by Dr. Lyman P. Powell.

The Psychology of Bolshevism. By John Spargo. Harper & Brothers. 150 pp.

Bolshevism analyzed by a man whose sympa-

thies have for many years been with radical social movements and who in fact believes in a thorough reorganization of our economic life. Because he believes that revolutionary communism is a menace to civilization, that "Bolshevism is wrong because it is anti-social, because its ideals and its methods are as selfish and tyrannical as those of unrestrained capitalism, or even of those of Czarism itself." Mr. Spargo wishes to do everything in his power to help his readers to get a better understanding of the whole Bolshevik movement. With that object this little book has been written and published.

The Community Church. By Henry E. Jackson. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 389 pp.

The interesting experiences of a minister who was led, as he says, "from the Church Militant to the Church Democratic." The book, however, is much more than a story of personal experience. The author makes constructive suggestions towards the organization of a community church, and answers many questions that would naturally be asked by members and leaders of existing churches. The author has been asked to conduct a course on the Community Church in the Harvard Theological School, and is now Special Agent in Community Organization of the United States Bureau of Education.

Is the World Growing Better? By James H. Snowden. Macmillan. 197 pp.

The author supplies an optimistic answer to the question that forms the title of his book, after discussing it from various points of view.

Common Sense in Labor Management. By Neil M. Clark. Harper & Brothers. 217 pp.

Mr. Clark, as the editor of *System*, has long been interested in problems of management. In the present volume his function is largely that of a reporter of what he has learned about the practical workings of labor policies from the lips of experienced managers.

IN THE WORLD OF MUSIC

The Complete Opera Book. By Gustav Kobbé. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 873 pp. Ill.

Probably no American, and few men of any other nationality in our generation, has been better informed concerning the world's great operas and the personnel who have been concerned in producing and performing them than the late Gustav Kobbé, for thirty years one of the leading musical critics of New York. In "The Complete Opera Book" Mr. Kobbé had collected the stories of all the important operas, together with 400 of the leading airs and motives in musical notation. Such material as was lacking at the time of his death has been supplied by Katherine Wright. The whole, as published, forms a volume of nearly 900 pages, with a wealth of illustration consisting of portraits and scenes from the operas. The most recent operatic works produced in Paris and in New York are represented in this comprehensive handbook.

More Chapters of Opera. (1908-1918.) By Henry Edward Krehbiel. Henry Holt & Company. 474 pp. Ill.

In this book Mr. Krehbiel, who has been for nearly forty years musical editor of the *New York Tribune*, continues the historical and critical observations of the opera as presented in New York from 1908 to 1918. An earlier volume had completed the record to the year 1908. The decade covered in the present work was a period peculiarly fruitful in operatic experiments and sensational changes. It included the brief rivalry between the Manhattan and Metropolitan Opera Houses, the attempt to establish popular opera at the Century Theater, the introduction of Russian opera, and finally the revolutionary changes incident to the Great War. Of all this recent operatic history Mr. Krehbiel was a diligent observer and his comments are most interesting, as well as informing.

Simple Truths Used by Great Singers. By Sarah Robinson-Duff. Boston: Oliver Ditson Company. 113 pp. Ill.

Practical suggestions to singers offered by an experienced vocal instructor.

Violin Mastery. By Frederick H. Martens. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 292 pp. Ill.

The plan of this book involves a presentation through interviews of the opinions of certain master violinists and teachers. These artists and instructors discuss esthetic and technical phases of the art of violin-playing in detail, their concept of what violin mastery means and how it may be acquired. The authorities thus represented include Ysaye, Auer, Mischa Elman, Fritz

Kreisler, the late Maud Powell, and several others. The suggestions offered by these masters of the art of violin-playing in detail, should prove helpful to all students.

A Musical Motley. By Ernest Newman. John Lane Company. 326 pp.

A series of bright essays on musical subjects by a leading musical critic of England. The author in his preface declares that there are many quarters of an hour at concerts during which even the most hardened critic must succumb to an attack of insomnia. In these moments of suffering he must either go mad and deal death to all around him or see himself and his sad profession humorously. He has always preferred to try the latter remedy.

OTHER TIMELY VOLUMES

The Shipbuilding Industry. By Roy Willmarth Kelly and Frederick J. Allen. Houghton Mifflin Company. 302 pp. Ill.

The Romance of Modern Commerce. By H. O. Newland. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 297 pp. Ill.

Efficient Railway Operation. By Henry S. Haines. Macmillan. 709 pp.

The Romance of Aircraft. By Laurence Yard Smith. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 264 pp.

Commercial Research. By C. S. Duncan. Macmillan. 385 pp.

The Study of Fabrics. By Annabell Turner. D. Appleton & Company. 206 pp.

The Book of a Naturalist. By W. H. Hudson. George H. Doran Company. 360 pp.

Field, Forest and Farm. By Jean Henri Fabre. The Century Company. 353 pp. Ill.

The Historic Trees of Massachusetts. By James Raymond Simmons. 139 pp. Ill.

The Tree Book. By Inez N. McFee. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 234 pp. Ill.

The Making of a Flower Garden. By Ida D. Bennett. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 244 pp. Ill.

The Secrets of Animal Life. By J. Arthur Thomson. Henry Holt & Company. 325 pp.

A Treasury of Animal Stories. By Lilian Gask. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 123 pp. Ill.

The Evolution of the Earth and its Inhabitants. A Series of Lectures Delivered before the Yale Chapter of the Sigma Xi. Edited by Richard Swann Lull. Yale University Press. 208 pp. Ill.

The Life of Matter. Edited by Arthur Turnbull. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 324 pp. Ill.

Splendors of the Sky. By Isabel M. Lewis. Duffield & Company. 343 pp. Ill.

The Realities of Modern Science. By John Mills. Macmillan. 327 pp. Ill.

The Mystery of Space. By Robert T. Brown. E. P. Dutton & Co. 395 pp. Ill.

How These Farmers Succeeded. Edited by John R. McMahon. Henry Holt & Company. 261 pp. Ill.

Making the Farm Pay. By C. C. Bowsfield. Chicago: Forbes & Company. 311 pp.

The Hen at Work. By Ernest Cobb. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 233 pp. Ill.

Practical Rabbit Keeping. By E. I. Farrington. Robert M. McBride & Co. 168 pp. Ill.

The Story of Milk. By Johan D. Frederiksen. Macmillan. 188 pp. Ill.

Wealth from Waste. By Henry J. Spooner. London: George Routledge & Sons. 316 pp.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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HON. EDWIN THOMAS MEREDITH, SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

Mr. Meredith, who is only forty-three years old, has been an editor and publisher of farm periodicals at Des Moines, Iowa, for about twenty-four years. He was even more precocious than Herbert Hoover, also an Iowa boy, who was born two years earlier; for Hoover did not strike out in business and affairs until he was fully twenty-one years old. Meredith showed how remarkably successful a boy may be who sticks to his own community and grows up with it. Hoover illustrated the opposite method of carrying American qualities to the ends of the earth. Meredith's activities as the foremost Democrat of Iowa have not diminished his wide influence with the Republican farmers of the upper Mississippi valley, as evidenced by the immense circulation of his periodical, *Successful Farming*. Since the incoming of the Wilson administration he has been a director of the Federal Reserve Bank at Chicago, an "excess-profits adviser" of the Treasury Department, and a nominee successively for Governor and United States Senator in Iowa. He is greatly esteemed in publishing circles, and has recently been chosen President of the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World. He believes that if productive effort were as energetic in other pursuits as in agriculture, we should hear less about the high cost of living.

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No. 3

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*A Winter
of
Distress*

The opening days of March were awaited through January and February with more than usual eagerness by countless millions of people. Here in America the winter had been one of unprecedented severity, and had been attended by an epidemic of influenza only less severe than that of the autumn of 1918. Pneumonia also had been unusually prevalent and everyone was longing for an early spring. The upward spiral movement of prices had continued, with all the historic phenomena of spendthrift extravagance on one hand, and painful economy on the part of those of ordinary fixed incomes on the other hand, such as always have attended periods of credit expansion and currency inflation following the economic orgies of a great war. As for Europe, there has been a widespread opinion that if nations and communities could but survive this terrible winter of hunger and hardship there might arrive with the springtime the beginning of a better period, and that famine and pestilence might be conquered before the beginning of another winter.

*Some Uses
of
Adversity*

As yet there is no clear and bright evidence that war experiences have given poor old Europe much wisdom. But nothing valuable in public affairs comes without struggle and discussion, and we shall begin to see wiser leadership and a gradual settling down. The intense pessimism of January and February will give way to more hopeful moods before May Day. In short, there is some reason to believe that the local and international anxieties of February belonged to the proverbial darkness that precedes the dawn. For example, the terrible sufferings of the people of the great Austrian metropolis during these bitter winter months has melted the hearts

of neighbors who had recently been enemies of the Viennese; and pity for the starving children will perhaps have widened into generous public policies. Thousands of suffering Austrian children were received in successive trainloads by the warm-hearted people of northern Italy last month, and distributed among Italian families. There were encouraging gleams of common sense about the future relations of Yugoslavia and Italy; and there were prospects of favorable trade arrangements between Czechoslovakia and Austria.

There never has been any intelligent reason, in political ethics or in international statecraft, why the Italians and the South Slavs should not have reached an understanding beneficial to both about the use of the port of Fiume, and about the whole Dalmatian coast. The questions involved there are as simple as those relating to the Great Lakes between Canada and the United States. One of the best indications that winter was passing and that spring was coming lay in the news that Belgrade and Rome were about to agree upon these issues. Neither country can afford to do without the friendship of the other, and the Adriatic should unite as well as divide. The eloquence and rightmindedness of Premier Nitti at a moment when he seemed to have lost control of the Italian Chamber gained for him, in the middle of February, a great parliamentary victory, all of which made for neighborliness and a fair and broad-minded settlement of pending issues. Even the Russian problem seemed a little less desperate as the winter season was approaching its last quarter, with the demands of trade and commerce making themselves heard above the turmoil of Soviet fanaticism. The experiences of this coldest and hungriest



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DR. FRANCESCO SAVERIO NITTI, ITALIAN PREMIER

(The Premier was formerly a professor in the University of Naples and an authority in finance and economics. He succeeded Orlando at the head of the Government in midsummer last year. He had been in the United States in 1917 as a member of a visiting Italian mission. By sheer force of character and power of intellect, Nitti restored his control of the parliament at Rome early in February before starting to Paris and London to attend the Allied Supreme Council)

of all European winters seem to have been needed, for the discipline of Europe's moods of national pride, racial hatred, and sullen revenge. Everybody knows now that unless 70,000,000 Germans are set to work, and are allowed to trade with their neighbors, there can be no social health or economic prosperity anywhere from the English Channel to the Persian Gulf. These lessons had to be learned; and nothing but drastic experience would have carried conviction. Thus the general breakdown of Europe's economic life—as shown in a variety of ways, including the unfavorable rates of foreign exchange—will have taught the needed lessons and supplied some of the proper curatives, before spring has ripened into summer.

*A Season
of Earnest
Debating*

Here in the United States we have had a winter of much discussion and relatively little action. But the discussion has been valuable, and it will be followed by action in due time. Great waves of debate have swept across the country, and it has been amply shown that nobody is going to restrict con-

stitutional freedom of speech. In our last number we endeavored to present a reasonable and just view of the activities of the government against alien anarchists and socialists of the revolutionary type. The subject has occupied diminishing attention in the press; but—with sensationalism somewhat abated—the government's policy has not changed. We may repeat our opinion that the deporting of mischievous aliens is the mildest of punishments and is wholly desirable. Probably the government will not again send such people abroad in army transports as distinct cargoes, with much advertising. Probably also the government's methods as respects each individual case will be more precise, so that no unfortunate mistakes may be made. But we are informed that the business of deporting criminals of this character will proceed quietly and steadily, insofar as such inciters to violence are discovered. A most wholesome effect is already evident. The mild radicals are ceasing to associate with the violent "reds."

*Socialism
Under
Scrutiny*

The protracted discussion at Albany in the case of the five suspended Socialist members of the legislature, far from being injurious in its public aspects, was most serviceable. If any Socialists are again elected to the New York legislature, there will be nothing ambiguous about their positions. It will be known to every voter in their districts and throughout the State just what their "socialism" means. It is now known to all readers that some people who have called themselves Socialists are law-abiding, while others are committed to criminal doctrines. In a democratic republic like ours, the political differences between the great parties are almost nothing when compared with their political agreements. The great parties are not at war with one another, but are decent and friendly rivals for the honor of being entrusted with the work of carrying on the government to which both are alike loyal. These accepted institutions of government are at the basis of our personal and social security; and we do not propose to allow them to be assailed by criminal conspirators. The "reds" bear no resemblance to a legitimate party. When, however, it comes to methods of proceeding against anarchists and communists, there should be intelligence as well as firmness. The public demanded fair play for the five Socialist members-elect at Albany, and the opportunity proved a good

one for scrutinizing the tenets of American Socialism. As the case proceeded it seemed likely that most, if not all, of the five would win their seats.

*The Long
Treaty
Discussion*

Another—and the foremost—theme of the winter's discussion has been the peace treaty and the League of Nations. We shall revert to that subject again in the course of these paragraphs. We make the allusion now in order to present the view that the discussion itself, tedious as it has seemed to many people, is but a part of the wholesome process of government by public opinion in a democracy. This matter of our place in an association of countries, for mutual protection and for peace and justice throughout the world, is fundamental in its importance. Unless there is something like general agreement to begin with, the intense and protracted debating of the various issues involved is not only inevitable but is a useful process for the establishment of definite public opinion. Out of seeming confusion there was gradually emerging an American point of view; and this was making its impression upon the leaders of European policy. In many ways it has been an expensive matter—this long delay in debating the legal terms of peace with Germany and in deciding upon our cooperation in the society of nations. But it has become plain in the course of discussion that we should not have been sufficiently conscious of the obligations to which we were committing ourselves if we had



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SENATOR HIRAM JOHNSON, OF CALIFORNIA

(As a presidential candidate Mr. Johnson has been steadily gaining adherents through his force as an aggressive campaigner. With the treaty ratified and out of the way as a campaign issue, Johnson will doubtless accept the situation and lay more stress upon domestic problems.)

merely taken the President's word for it all and had ratified the treaty before studying it.

*America's
Deliberate
Verdict*

Three months ago, in these pages, the subject was reviewed at length and the reservations contained in the Lodge resolution were briefly explained, one by one. Our opinions as expressed at that time gradually prevailed until fully four-fifths of the public opinion of the country, as expressed through the newspapers, through political leaders, and through great organizations such as the League to Enforce Peace and the religious denominations, had come to an agreement that the treaty ought to be ratified and that the reservations (more or less modified) might well be accepted. The very thoroughness of the discussion showed that the American people were determined to act in good faith, and that if they entered the League of Nations it would be with the deliberate purpose to live up to whatever obligations we had agreed to assume. Furthermore, the longer the discussion went on, the more general became the feeling that Senators were entitled to their different points of view.



AT IT AGAIN!

[A cartoonist's view of the Senate's resumed discussion of the peace treaty]—From the *World* (New York)

Even the so-called "bitter enders" like Senators Borah and Hiram Johnson have made contributions to a debate which would have been less useful in the end if they had not borne their part in it. Thus the approach of March was bringing the discussion of the peace treaty to an end, with agreement upon the Lodge reservations, and with the full knowledge in advance—because definite assurances had been received—that such reservations would not be opposed by the leading governments of Europe.

*Railroads
and Their
Future*

Furthermore, the 1st of March was the date fixed for the return of the railroads from Government management to that of their private owners; and this necessitated the completion of legislation that had been pending for a number of months at Washington. Senator Cummins had shown constructive statesmanship of a high order in his work on behalf of a comprehensive law that should safeguard alike the public and the private interests that are so vitally concerned in the future management of our railroad system. His address to the Senate upon the conclusion of the work of the Conference Committee was a masterly presentation. Mr. Esch, who represented the other House in this railroad legislation and in arranging the final compromise between the Cummins and Esch bills, has also won deserved praise for his intelligent and public-spirited work. The issues at stake are momentous, and many of the particular problems have been most difficult and puzzling. No other large investment of American capital has in recent years performed such immense public service with so little reward as the capital invested by the owners of railroad stocks and bonds. The users of railroads—that is to say, the shippers and passengers—have had great consideration; and the employees of railroads have used the strike menace and the political threat somewhat regardless of results.

*Can the
Railroads
Recover?*

But neither the employees of the roads nor the users of transportation can fairly hope to retain their advantages if they persist in policies that undermine the national railway system upon which they both rely. If the President adheres to his announced determination, the roads will be in the hands of their owners on March 1, regardless of Congress or of the hostile attitude of labor organizations. There will then devolve upon the roads the greatest

task of corporation management that has ever been known. The glaring faults of old-time railway control must be renounced. The roads must tear themselves away from the pawnbroking of Wall Street, and must be run, not by banks, but by railroad men; and these men must perform their functions in Texas and Oregon, in Minnesota and Georgia, and not in the financial district of New York City. Public policy must take into consideration the actual facts as we enter upon the third decade of the Twentieth Century. At a time when the railroads are needed for public service we have been crippling them by subjecting them to heavy taxes, and we have been partly using the money thus exacted from the railroads to build a system of free automobile highways for the benefit of the auto trucks that now constitute the chief competition of the steam railways. This is not to suggest a remedy, but to point out one new phase of the transportation problem. It will be a business miracle if the railroads are restored to financial vigor. We discuss the features of the compromise bill on page 244.

*Also Local
Problems of
Transit*

The labor leaders say that the problem has become so complex that there is no real remedy for the railroads except Government ownership, with operation for the joint benefit of all interests. But there lies before us a task of rebuilding the railroad system which seems to require private initiative and private capital. Thus from the protracted debate of the winter we enter upon a springtime of experiments as regards the most essential of our economic enterprises, namely, those pertaining to transportation. Whereas the railroad problem is national in its extent and in its necessary treatment, we have a thousand intense local problems of transit in the difficulties confronting the street railways. Every city and town in the country has been carrying on a discussion of its own regarding the finances and control of public utilities. In New York City the great network of transit lines, including the subways, elevated roads and surface trackage, has been operating at a loss, with parts of the disintegrated system detached through the failure of holding companies, and with bankruptcy facing every portion. High wages and high costs in general have made the five-cent fare almost the sole survival, apart from the two-cent postage stamp, of a former era of extensive services rendered for small fixed fees.

*High Prices
and
Some Causes*

The most insistent topic through a winter of constant debating and dissertation has been the high cost of living and its causes. The subject is complex, but it does not baffle analysis and it can be comprehended by those who will study it carefully. The financing of modern wars—especially those of magnitude—has almost always been managed upon false principles. In war-time, when a nation's existence is at stake, the Government is entitled to levy upon all the resources of citizens. When we entered the European war we were selling goods to Europe in large quantities, but the general scale of American prices had not been much affected by three years of European warfare. We committed the usual mistake of underpaying the millions of men whom we drafted for army and navy services, while we overpaid for the war efforts of everybody else, except a few "dollar-a-year" men. The Government levied drastic taxes, and by appeals to patriotism drew into the Treasury immense sums of money by the sale of Liberty Bonds. Having thus acquired a power superior to the ordinary law of supply and demand, the Government proceeded to change price and wage standards in every direction by the methods it pursued in obtaining war materials, in building camps and cantonments, in promoting shipbuilding, and so on.

*War-Time
Inflation*

The selective draft act was expressly a law under which men were to be assigned to munition works, food-raising, shipbuilding, or any other of the many efforts which were just as truly war-service as membership in the army; but after the law was passed its principles were disregarded. We drafted the fighting army, but not the work army. If the Government had applied the principles of the draft consistently, we should have saved many billions of dollars in the cost of the war, without subjecting labor to any hardship. The scarcity of labor would in some non-essential fields of effort have advanced wages and increased cost of commodities; but this would not have caused much disturbance or led to inflation. Hundreds of millions of dollars were squandered paying enormous wages to ineffective labor in the building of camps, while drafted soldiers skilled in all trades stood by and looked on. These drafted men would have built their own camps with pleasure, and with no cost to the Government except for the bare

price of the materials. But to have done this sensible thing would not have met the views of those whose political influence was dominant at that time in Washington.

*The
Volume of
Currency*

One of the effects of the immense expenditures of Government was the increase of paper money in circulation. Our paper currency in the middle of 1914 was just over one billion dollars. At the beginning of the present year it was over four billion dollars. Some such inflation of the circulating medium usually accompanies periods of vast public expenditure and of mounting prices, although the precise relationships of cause and effect are matters of dispute. In the period of actual war, the Government could have controlled wages and prices and should have done so. Its own policies more than anything else created the difficulties that we now sum up in the phrase "high cost of living." Now that the war is over, however, the Government cannot sweep millions of men into its service by conscription, and it has to pay current prices for what it gets, whether materials or services. We cannot retrace our steps and undo the harm of our false fiscal policies of the war period. We have saddled upon ourselves a needlessly large debt which represents services and supplies that we bought from our own people at extravagant prices.

*Labor is
Not the
Gainer*

If the high wages of war-time had given us a better diffused prosperity, and had lifted the level of comfort for millions of workers, we could now face heavy taxation and the big debt with cheerfulness. But the same government policy that created high wages and low efficiency also created high rents, scarce and costly fuel, and double prices for bread, meat, and other food supplies as also for clothing. What economists call the real wage of the worker, as distinguished from the nominal or money wage, did not in many lines of employment advance as rapidly as the cost of living. Thus the entire body of wage-earners in America would have been better off if the munition factories, the shipyards, and many other war industries had been carried on by an enlisted or drafted work army—fed, clothed, and sheltered by the Government, but paid only nominal wages like the fighting army, and with dependents cared for precisely as in the case of those who went to the military camps and

off the losses and bad debts of the war period, and considers only the possibilities that lie in existing human energies and in the available surviving resources of soil, factories, railroads and the like. The necessities of the situation will help to beat down economic barriers, and we shall see sensible commercial treaties all over Europe. The beginning was made last month in the treaty between Esthonia and the Russian Soviet authorities. Even Germany began to receive consideration and such leaders in England as the former Premier, Mr. Asquith, were applauded for proposals that would have been violently condemned as recently as three months ago. It is no longer believed in England that Germany will ever pay any considerable part of the war debts of her victorious foes. That Germany can and will pay a very large indemnity for damage done to France and Belgium is not to be doubted. First of all, however, there must be a revival of industry and commerce, and Russia must become a part of the economic system of Europe.

*The President,
and His
Remaining Year*

The 4th of March brings us to the middle of the term of the present Republican House of Representatives, and completes three years of President Wilson's second term. It is about six months since he was stricken down while on his Western speaking tour on behalf of the League of Nations and the Treaty, and almost nothing was known by the public as to his present condition or the prospects of his full recovery. There had, indeed, been increasing evidences of his attention to important public affairs, and there was hope that in the early future he might emerge from the conditions that handicapped him as an invalid and resume his vigorous part in government work and public leadership. Fortunately, silence was broken on February 9 by Dr. Hugh H. Young, of the Johns Hopkins Hospital, in what was evidently a careful and authorized interview given to the *Baltimore Sun*. Dr. Young told the country that President Wilson had been gaining rapidly and that he might have appeared quite frequently during the recent weeks but for the extremely bad weather conditions. The President's mental condition was vigorous, and he had been giving several hours a day to official business. Dr. Young confirmed the general impression that President Wilson's breakdown had been in the nature of a stroke that had slightly affected his left arm and leg. As is usual in

such cases, the recovery of general vigor is more rapid than the complete regaining of the normal use of affected members; but the President, we are told, could now use his right arm freely and could walk about.

*The Office
and the
Incumbent*

Quite apart from the universal desire for Mr. Wilson's rapid and complete restoration on grounds of personal sympathy, is the realization of what it must mean to the country to have a well man rather than an invalid for president during the entire twelvemonth that remains of his official term. Our system makes it possible for a President to exercise greater initiative and larger power than the incumbent of any other public office in the world. But our government, on the other hand, is elastic enough to function fairly well in ordinary times under a president who merely signs bills and appoints men to office. That President Wilson has filled much more than this nominal role during the half-year of his illness is well understood. The great departments of government are carried on under the direction of officials who are members of the Cabinet and who, singly and as a group, are able to conduct all ordinary executive affairs without taxing the time or strength of the President during a period of absence or illness. Criticisms of President Wilson have generally been directed toward his tendency to act as the autocrat of his party and the personal ruler of the country. These criticisms were sharply revived by the painful circumstances under which Hon. Robert Lansing was obliged to retire from his post as Secretary of State on Friday, February 13. The issues involved in this cabinet change, affecting the Treaty and our foreign relations, will be reviewed in our next number.

*President's
Fight Over
the Treaty*

In view of the fact that a Republican Congress continues in office until the expiration of Wilson's term on March 4, 1921, he could not, even in full health, have directed legislative policies as he had done through the three previous Democratic Congresses. His greatest anxiety has been centered about the struggle over the ratification of the peace treaty. Our readers are familiar with the insistence he had shown against amendments by the Senate, and against any reservations that should do more than interpret or explain. The longer the discussion has proceeded, however, the more clear it has become that most of the reservations comprised

in the so-called Lodge resolution were not destructive of the substance of the League of Nations plan, and that they merely emphasized the fact that American action in international affairs would have to be guided by the rules laid down in the Constitution of the United States. Mr. Wilson's insistence had influenced a sufficient number of Democratic Senators to prevent the conversion of a mere majority into the requisite two-thirds assent. Attempts at compromise that seemed promising in January had failed, and the outlook for ratification had again become discouraging.

Lord Grey
Takes a
Hand

Meanwhile
Viscount
Grey (for-

merly Sir Edward Grey, and for a number of years British Foreign Minister) had come to Washington as temporary Ambassador to succeed the Earl of Reading. Mr. Wilson's illness had made it impossible for Lord Grey to present his credentials, but he remained at Washington for several months, studying the situation informally and meeting many public men of both parties. In January he returned to London to report upon American conditions and to confer with his government. It was surmised that he would not return to Washington, although no official statement was made. On January 31 a great sensation was produced by the appearance of an extended letter addressed to the editor of the *London Times*, which was promptly published in full in the American papers. In this letter Lord Grey undertook to enlighten the British public as to the nature of the reservations adopted by the Republican majority in the Senate, and he made it quite clear that he regarded the reservations not only as reasonable from the American standpoint, but as in no way detrimental to Great Britain or the other members of the League of Nations. In our analysis of the reservations in the December number of the REVIEW we explained that in any case arising in the

future the British or French governments would of necessity act with the sanction of parliament. Most of the Lodge reservations merely recognize the principle that the United States also, like these foreign countries, will, in cases involving the exercise of war powers, act through the legislative as well as the executive part of the Government. A considerable portion of Lord Grey's letter was devoted to making this same explanation. The effect was immediate.



VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODON

Grey Letter
Official and
Conclusive

As regards the representation of Canada, Australia, and the other British Dominions in the Assembly of the League of Nations, Lord Grey accepts as quite reasonable the principle of the Lodge amendment, which is intended merely to insure a just equality of status under certain possible though unlikely contingencies. It was not pretended in any quarter that this letter had not been carefully planned in advance, and thoroughly approved by Mr. Lloyd George and the British Cabinet before its publication in the newspapers. It was also understood that the letter had been shown in

advance to the French Government. Advances from Paris at once gave assurances that France had no objection to the pending reservations, and took the same view of the matter as that of Lord Grey. It was indeed quite well known to many Senators before Lord Grey's return to England that there was no objection abroad to the proposed reservations, and that the ratification at Washington under terms of the Lodge resolution would not cause disappointment or lead to further delay.

Justified
by the
Results

There was some attempt at first to make it appear that Lord Grey had interfered in American politics and had violated diplomatic usages and traditions. Obviously, Lord Grey would not have interfered directly in a

quarrel between the President and the Republican Senate by writing letters to the American newspapers; but after he had returned to England he could, on the pretext of removing British misapprehensions, explain to the English public that the American reservations were purely an American affair and would not lessen the usefulness of the United States as a member of the League of Nations. In point of fact the object of the letter was to notify the American public that England and France would be glad to have the treaty ratified, with or without the Lodge amendments. This, of course, need not be construed as belittling the President, who was naturally expected to advocate the acceptance of the treaty as it had been drawn. The Grey letter did, however, refute the President's principal arguments against the Lodge resolution. Senator Hitchcock, who had held together the President's forces in the Senate, frankly admitted that Lord Grey had told him that England did not object to the reservations. It was agreed that the treaty should be called up again and that a renewed attempt should be made to ratify it. The new debate began by agreement on Monday, February 16, with excellent prospects that after a few days enough Democrats would act with the Republican majority to ratify the treaty, including the Lodge resolution.

*A Chance for
the League
of Nations*

As a matter of obvious historical fact, America entered a league of nations three years ago, and staked everything upon finding a new way of ending the menace of aggressive militarism. Our national exertion was so stupendous and costly that there was bound to be some reaction. It would have been strange, indeed, if our more frank and straightforward people had not become rather disgusted with the duplicity of European statecraft and the scheming selfishness of European diplomacy. It is hard for Americans to keep in mind the distinction between the peoples of Europe, struggling for democratic freedom and security, and the statecraft of Europe with its traditions of intrigue and its habit of double dealing. It is our opinion that President Wilson would have succeeded better in his main purposes if he had been content to control the situation from the White House, and had not gone to Europe in person. But when the smoke and dust of current controversy are swept away, it will be seen that Mr. Wilson's idealism was not



LEON BOURGEOIS, EMINENT FRENCH STATESMAN,
WHO HAS PRESIDED OVER THE INITIAL MEETINGS
OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

in vain, and that the principles he laid down in his Fourteen Points and in his endeavors to secure practical justice in the Peace Conference will not have failed entirely. The humane ideas for which the President has contended are those of wise Americans of all parties from Washington's time till now. When the tides of controversy recede it will be seen that Mr. Lodge in the Senate and Lord Grey in London have not been engaged in thwarting Mr. Wilson, but rather have been instrumental in helping him to bring what is essential in his work to the point of practical achievement. The important thing has been to get the League of Nations started, with illusions removed and with the necessity of its justifying its existence by its services. Its verdicts and methods must make courageous appeal to the best elements of public opinion in all countries.

*Parties
in the
United States*

It is the more desirable that Americans should try to understand these things with the use of some imagination and some breadth of generous sympathy, because we are about to enter upon a great political campaign. Our temptation in presidential years is to invoke unduly a blind spirit of partisanship. Good work for one's party does not consist chiefly in bitter disparagement of one's opponents.

The country is more interested in having an answer to the question how the Republicans would deal with the great issues that confront us than with a portrayal of the faults and mistakes of a two-term period of Democratic management. The better and sounder a country is, the larger the domains of political harmony, and the smaller the areas of party controversy. While this fact seems to encourage independent voting, it also gives a sense of freedom within the parties that makes these agencies the more useful and patriotic. In countries that are lacking in stability, partisanship always verges upon civil war. Fortunately, there is no such dangerous cleavage in the United States. There will be strenuous rivalry between the parties in this year's campaign, but there promises to be less of bitterness and mere prejudice than in many former political seasons.

*Political
Amenities*

Party lines are rather more apparent in Congress than outside; but it is to be remembered that Senators and Congressmen are elected as party members, and that no business could be done if every member acted upon his own impulse regardless of groupings. We accomplish more by our present plan of two great parties somewhat evenly balanced than we could expect to achieve if there were a break-

up of the present party system. Even in Congress, moreover, men of both parties constantly work together in committees with the best results. The generous political temper of the country has been shown in the discussion of recent Cabinet changes. After a year in the Treasury Department as Mr. McAdoo's successor Mr. Glass has entered the Senate from Virginia. His retirement from the Cabinet has brought out quite as many favorable expressions from Republican as from Democratic sources. Secretary Lane's announced plan to retire from office after seven years as head of the Interior Department has offered the occasion for numberless compliments, quite regardless of party. In like manner, the Republican papers praised the selection of Mr. John Barton Payne, a Chicago lawyer, who succeeds Mr. Lane after being head of the Shipping Board.

*Houston's
Strength
Recognized*

In like manner the new Secretary of the Treasury has taken hold of the work of what is now the most difficult and important portfolio of the Government in an atmosphere of good-will and confidence. Dr. Houston's qualifications are set forth in a brief article which we publish elsewhere in this number. He has been a life-long student of economics and finance, with a demonstrated talent for business problems of government. No member of President Wilson's Cabinet has surpassed him—it may be said that none has equaled him—in poised judgment upon important questions. In the Department of Agriculture he has shown a statesman's grasp of the business side of the nation's most vital industry. American farming has made much progress since he became Secretary seven years ago, and the Department itself is a better instrument than ever before for the further advancement of the country's agriculture and rural life. Dr. Houston's financial views are conservative and sound. He will support the proposed reform of our budgetary methods, will probably favor certain changes in the scheme of war taxation, and will know how to draw financial lessons from the world's past experiences.

*A Farm Editor
in the
Cabinet*

Mr. Meredith brings to the Department of Agriculture a varied recent experience in public affairs, and an enviable career as editor and publisher of Western farm journals. Few people who are not familiar with the agricultural press are even faintly aware of



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HON. CARTER GLASS (AT THE LEFT) HANDING HIS COMMISSION AS SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY TO DR. DAVID F. HOUSTON

the great part played by these special publications in extending to the working farmers the results of science and experiment. A generation ago we had few farmers who read, studied, and adopted scientific methods. Now, thanks to leaders like Mr. Meredith, we have hundreds of thousands of such farmers, applying to their own problems the results of the work of the Agricultural Department and of the experiment stations. Mr. Meredith's efficiency as a man of affairs, and his knowledge of the entire country, lend added fitness to his appointment. Rumor has it that some of the party leaders have had Mr. Meredith in mind as a possible Democratic "dark horse" for the Presidential race. A picture of him forms the frontispiece of this number.

Hoover
in the
Public Eye

The most sensational of the new presidential booms was that launched by the New York

World in January for Herbert Hoover. The editor of the *World* regards Mr. Hoover as the most remarkable American personality brought into the forefront during the war period; and since Hoover's activities have been largely under the President's direction, and form a part of the story of the work of the Administration, it is held that he might properly be given the Democratic nomination quite regardless of his earlier party connections. Although his name is a household word, the story of his career is not yet familiar; and we are glad to present in this number a striking sketch of the man and his achievements from the able pen of Mr. Judson Welliver. The picture is that of a man whose efficiency in the management of large enterprises is equalled by few of his contemporaries. It has not been the kind of experience that has hitherto led to elective office in the United States, and it does not now seem likely that either of the party organizations will go outside of the recognized political ranks to find a candidate. We have to reckon, however, with an immense body of new voters in the enfranchised women of the United States; and there is a widespread sentiment among them in favor of Hoover as the man who enlisted households for food-saving, and showed women how to be vitally efficient in the war emergencies. The mining engineers have recognized Hoover by making him president of their national organization, and under his leadership the problem of coal mining and distribution was last month thoroughly discussed at the an-



A SNAPSHOT OF HOOVER

(The picture on our front cover is painted by our artist from a recent photograph taken in London)

nual meeting of the engineers. It is the custom of the Civic Forum of New York to present an occasional medal, and the recipient is carefully selected by a council of well-known members. Out of several names recently submitted to the council, the almost unanimous preference was for Hoover, to whom the medal was accordingly presented last month.

Approaching
Primaries

Under conditions that prevailed previous to 1912, the early launching of candidacies was regarded as unwise except in the case of the one or two men in each party whose claims were too obvious to be overlooked. But the newly enfranchised women voters and the young voters of both sexes who are to cast their first ballots should be made to understand that the party primary elections, which are to be held in many States, are gradually changing our modes of political procedure. In the January number of the *REVIEW* we named the States which are to hold presidential primaries, and gave the dates. These primaries begin in the present month of March, and it is plain that the marked success of one candidate or another in the earlier primaries will have advertising value and enhance the prestige of that candidate



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FRANK O. LOWDEN

for the contests that follow in the primaries of other States. The March primaries come in the following order: New Hampshire, March 9; North Dakota, March 16; South Dakota, March 23.

Those of April and May are as follows:

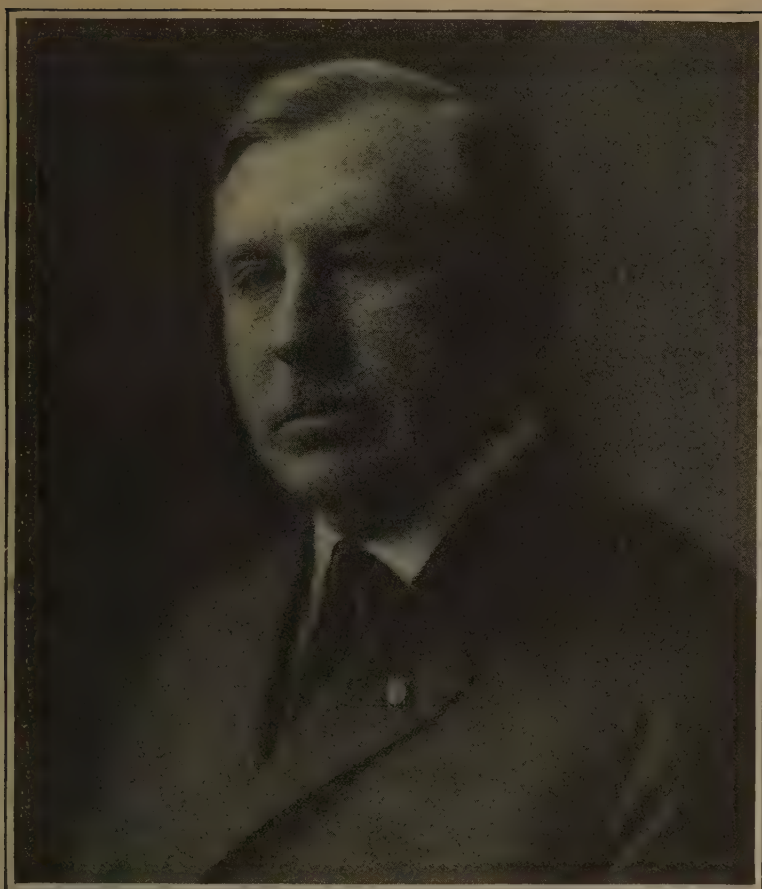
Michigan	April 5	Maryland	May 3
Wisconsin	April 6	Indiana	May 4
New York	April 6	California	May 4
Illinois	April 13	Wyoming	May 10
Nebraska	April 20	Vermont	May 18
Montana	April 23	Pennsylvania	May 18
New Jersey.....	April 27	Oregon	May 21
Ohio	April 27	Texas	May 25
Massachusetts ..	April 27	West Virginia..	May 25

Since the Republican Convention meets at Chicago as early as June 8, the primary of Florida on that date will have little Republican significance, but may have some importance for the Democratic Convention which meets in San Francisco on June 28.

The Chicago meeting-place may prove incidentally beneficial to the candidacy of Governor Lowden of Illinois, although the committees supporting all the other candidates have seemed well satisfied with the Chicago atmosphere.

The decision of the Democrats to go to San Francisco was due in great part to the energetic tactics of Senator Phelan, whose home is in that city. Senator Phelan is a friend of his fellow-Californian, Mr. Herbert Hoover, and it is understood that he holds the view that Hoover on the Democratic ticket could sweep California—and perhaps the entire Pacific slope—as against any other candidate on the Republican ticket, unless it should be Senator Hiram Johnson, whose ability to carry California has been brilliantly demonstrated more than once. Senator Johnson is

*California
on the
Political Map*



© Wallinger, Chicago

LEONARD WOOD

an "irreconcilable" opponent of the peace treaty with or without reservations. Mr. Hoover last month declared himself ready to support either party that upheld the League of Nations, as against the party that took the opposite ground.

*Opinions
of the
Candidates*

One of the advantages of the early opening of the political season is the opportunity given to bring out the opinions of candidates, and also to develop the mature position of the parties with respect to current issues. Chairman Hays, of the Republican party, has named a large Advisory Committee on Platform and Policies, and through sub-committees this group of men and women is already engaged in studies that can but be valuable both to the party and to the country. Doubtless the Democratic party will in somewhat similar fashion give careful thought to its

platform-making. The two leading candidates for the Republican nomination continue to be General Wood and Governor Lowden. Many of the friends of the first of these two men believe that he would be very strong before the country as Leonard Wood, while less strong as Major-General Wood of the Regular Army. The truth is that Leonard Wood's public services have been those of a statesman rather than a warrior. Our portraits of Wood and Lowden (on these two facing pages) are from excellent new photographs. Both men are presentable, have had long public experience, and would not be bewildered by the demands and responsibilities of the highest executive post. Leonard Wood's work in Cuba and in the Philippines was rather that of the civilian governor-general than of the military chieftain. His services to the country in urging the need of preparedness were chiefly

those of the far-seeing statesman, and in a secondary sense they were those of the practical expert in military organization and training. Wood looks even better in civilian clothes than in the uniform of a Major General. Answering Senator Borah's questioning, Wood, on February 11, declared himself for the League of Nations with the Lodge reservations. The following paragraph from his statement is in our opinion wholly admirable:

One aim of America's foreign policy has always been the promotion of the peace of the world. In order to accomplish this end her people must be free in any situation to stand for righteousness according to their judgment. As an important means to that end, instrumentalities should be created and developed by which, consistently with this freedom, the momentum of the other free and peace-loving nations of the world, acting concurrently with us, can be added to our efforts.

*Lowden's
Fitness and
Methods*

Governor Lowden's fine record as head of a great State has more than once been explained in these pages. We are glad to have, from him for this number of the REVIEW (see page 299) a statement regarding the success of the new budget system that Illinois has adopted as an example to other States and to the National Government. Governor

Lowden's temperament is that of a man who, if nominated and elected to the Presidency, would surround himself with the strongest men he could find for the Cabinet offices—in this regard following the example of Illinois's greatest statesman, Abraham Lincoln. Far be it from us to be making imaginary Cabinets, at this stage of the proceedings! Just one year from now we shall know—or at least be upon the eve of knowing—what men are to belong to the official family of the next President. Thus Wood might make Lowden Secretary of the Treasury; or Lowden might make Wood Secretary of War. Either of them might make Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler Secretary of State, and never regret the choice.

*Butler
as
Publicist*

This naturally suggests a word as to Dr. Butler's now recognized candidacy for the highest office. That the distinguished head of Columbia University has strong support among many thoughtful people in his own State is obvious. It is not so well known, however, that Dr. Butler's political acquaintance in the Mississippi Valley and on the Pacific Coast is more extensive than that of any other American outside of active politics or official life. In his younger days he was our best missionary of popular education, speak-



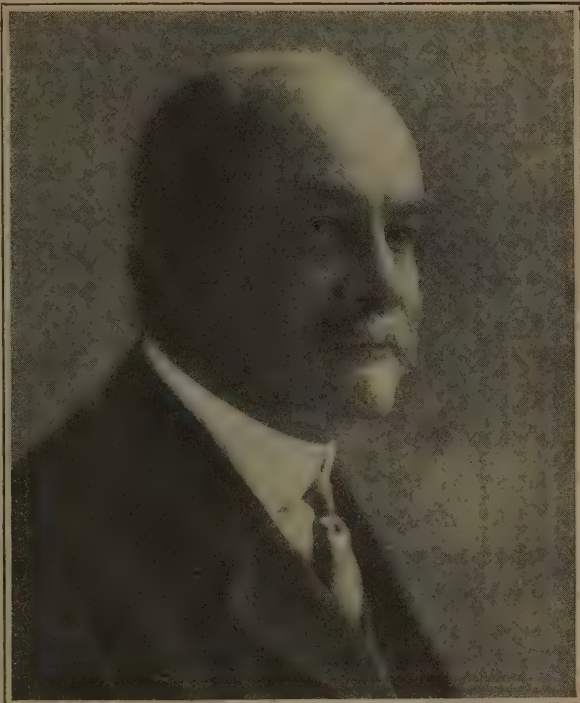
"TWAS HOOVER ON PARADE"—From *Harvey's Weekly*

ing in every State and Territory. He is an administrator with an extraordinary capacity for directing large organizations. Hardly anyone except Elihu Root, John Bassett Moore, and Henry Cabot Lodge knows as much about our foreign affairs and diplomatic relationships as Butler. He has followed the details of legislation and government more closely in New York State for a generation than any other man without exception. He has convictions and has been expressing them with courage. Next month we hope to offer to our readers a condensed statement of Dr. Butler's recent utterances, in various parts of the country, on current problems and future policies in this period of world reconstruction.

Democratic Prospects

As we have remarked in previous numbers, there has been less to say about Democratic than about Republican candidates because the Democrats have been nominally committed to the proposal of a third term for President Wilson. Everyone, of course, knows that the President will not be a candidate; but there have been reasons of tactics or of taste for keeping up the pretense. Apparently the friends of Mr. Bryan are planning to nominate their favorite for a fourth run. In the background, among the real Democratic politicians, Mr. McAdoo is regarded as first on the list. Held in reserve as the most promising of all dark horses is Hon. John W. Davis, now Ambassador to England, and an American whom everybody, regardless of party, delights to praise and honor. Dr. Houston's shift to the Treasury Department brings his sterling qualities into clearer and better view. Mr. Meredith's Cabinet post gives a very good advertisement to the man who also happens to be president of the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World. Champ Clark has his staunch friends, and so have several Democratic Governors and Senators; but the Democratic disposition to annex the Hoover boom furnished the month's sensation. It was too early to estimate the bearings of the Lansing incident and the President's resumption of activity upon candidates and issues.

Mar.—2



DR. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, OF NEW YORK

Governor Allen's Courage

Among Republican personalities there are several outstanding Governors whose work helps to answer the cynics who like to disparage our politicians and officeholders. Governor Coolidge finely upholds the best Massachusetts traditions, and the world has brought forth nothing really better than Massachusetts in the history of popular government. The State of Kansas, in its own way, has been like a Massachusetts of the West, always fighting for principles and always swayed by the strong appeal to intelligence and social ethics. Governor Allen has not pleased all capitalists and has sorely displeased some labor agitators; but his courageous leadership has put on trial in Kansas a new plan intended to give labor its just due without the need of resorting to strikes. Elsewhere in this number we present an account of this effort from the sympathetic pen of a Kansas woman. The Governor's message to the legislature of January 5 is one of the most noteworthy expressions upon the relation of industrial strife to the public interest that has ever been made. The miners soon discovered that, whereas their strike weapon had been taken away, they had acquired a



GOVERNOR SAMUEL R. M'KELVIE, OF NEBRASKA

new weapon—that of State Government. Moreover, Kansas will not tolerate a railroad strike. Coal miners and railroad workers have had grievances, and the Kansas law bids fair not only to find remedies but to apply them quickly. Governor Allen believes that after a year of operation, labor leaders will be among the chief supporters of the new Court of Industrial Relations.

*Improving
Our State
Government*

After all, are not such attempts as Kansas is making the best answer to those who are forever harping against our institutions of society and government? We are publishing another article in this number by Governor McKelvie of Nebraska which shows how, under the leadership of this able young executive (who, like Secretary Meredith, is an agricultural editor), Nebraska has reorganized State government for efficiency and economy in the service of the people. What Nebraska has accomplished has been done in a similar way under Governor Lowden's encouragement in Illinois; and Mr. McKelvie's article indicates the progress of reform in the government of a number of other States. Leaders of both parties in New York are advocating a similar unification of State departments, as recommended by the New York constitutional convention several years ago.

*Justice
and Its
Methods*

As another indication of the way in which government in a democracy may properly adapt itself to recognized needs, we are publishing (see page 303) an article showing how the practical administration of justice in criminal cases has been improved in the western city of Los Angeles by providing a Public Defender as well as a Public Prosecutor. That this arrangement is successful will be doubted by nobody who reads Mr. Wood's article with the testimonials we present from the District Attorney and a judge of the Superior Court. A recent publication of the Carnegie Institution (see page 301) is devoted to a frank and thorough inquiry into the question to what extent our tribunals fail to assure justice to the poor. The report points out some grave defects, but also proves that many experiments are being tried and that there is an earnest desire, on the part of bench and bar and the leaders of opinion, for practical justice and real equality before the law. As for readjustments in the field of industry, it is evident that the best intelligence of the country is devoting itself to the task of finding ways to make life better worth living for millions of workers. One of many current agencies for the study of our industrial problems is the conference at Washington, which has proceeded in a quiet and studious way and is likely to give us some useful suggestions.

*Europe
Finding
Solutions*

The European situations that have had most attention in America of late have been economic rather than political. The League of Nations Council met in London last month with Mr. Balfour and M. Leon Bourgeois as its most prominent members, and the absence of any American representative the most conspicuous fact. Perhaps it is just as well that the League should have begun its work at a time when its prestige was low and but little was expected of it. For our own part, we have the belief as well as the hope that the League will be able to turn the balance in a good many European disputes and that it will minister valuably in the political and economic reconstruction that has now begun. The most cheering note has been the success of Premier Nitti in converting the Italian Parliament to reasonable views about the Adriatic, Fiume, and the claims of other peoples who need maritime outlets. We shall know better next month about the opening of Russia to British

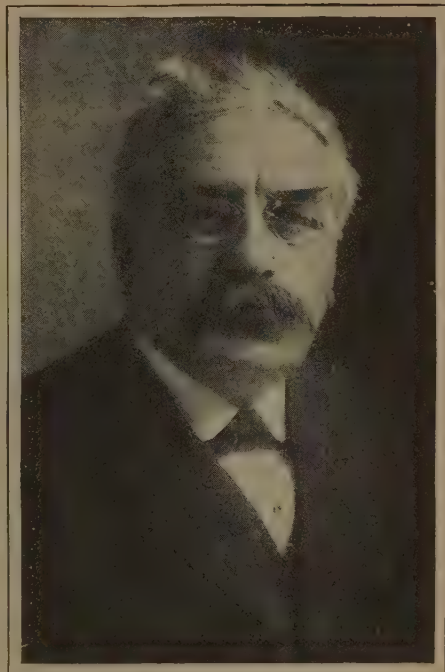
trade, and the adjustment between the Soviet Government at Moscow and the peoples of Ukraina, Poland, and the Baltic states. In later paragraphs we are remarking upon the sensational business effects in America of the slump in our export trade. Within a few weeks it will probably appear that this drastic check, due to the failure of Europe to obtain continued credits in America, will have brought benefits of its own. It will have enforced the need everywhere of economy in public and private expenditures, and it will have compelled the European countries not only to produce more but to open their trade doors to one another.

*British
Affairs*

The opening of the new session of the British Parliament found the versatile Prime Minister advocating a new and liberal policy toward Soviet Russia and meeting completely the demand of the Labor forces for the nationalization of coal mines. It is interesting to make note of our "dry" policy as viewed in perspective from England. The British financiers consider that America is already deriving economic advantages from the saving of money and of working efficiency that results from the abolition of the liquor traffic. The King, in his speech from the throne on February 10, in the course of a most judicious review of national and world problems, urged an effective regulation of the liquor traffic in the United Kingdom. The Premier and King George both referred to the Irish home-rule bill that was about to be introduced. Meanwhile the Irish attitude has grown more defiant rather than less, with many deplorable incidents. British conditions in general are prosperous, and the economic and political status of the British Empire was never before so far beyond rivalry in the world.

*Millerand
at the
Helm*

Our last month's issue made note of the election of Paul Deschanel as President of France, and of the retirement of Clemenceau, who was succeeded by Alexandre Millerand as Premier. Millerand had held various positions in former cabinets and had recently been successful as the new French Governor of Alsace-Lorraine. Millerand's cabinet colleagues are mostly new men. He himself takes the Foreign portfolio. He is conciliatory in his attitude toward Russia, is cultivating the closest intimacy with Great Britain, and is working for harmony and conciliation



ALEXANDRE MILLERAND, NEW FRENCH PREMIER

throughout Europe. France is proceeding hopefully, but is heavily burdened by the necessity of maintaining her army on a great scale in view of Europe's turmoil.

*The Crash
in
Securities*

The crashes in the security markets that began in the first week of February are generally interpreted by good authorities to mean much more than a mere temporary curtailment of speculation due to the strain on credit. On January 23 the Federal Reserve bank departed from its uniform discount rate of 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. and announced drastic increases in rates varying from 5 per cent. for bankers' acceptances to 6 per cent. for commercial papers. The market quotations for securities wavered and hesitated for a week until it became generally known that ships sailing for Europe were going empty or nearly empty; that the warehouses of our Eastern seaports were filled with goods intended for export and on which the banks had loaned great sums of money to "carry" them, and that the absolutely unprecedented drop in foreign exchange had at last reached a point where Europe, no matter how much she needed and desired our goods, simply could not buy them with the dollars required to

purchase them costing so much in European currency. The world seemed helpless in the face of the extraordinary exchange situation. The normal expedient of shipping gold to this country was out of the question because, of the entire world stock of about \$9,000,000,000, we have already one-third or more in our possession.

*A Very
Sudden
Readjustment*

In 1919 we had a trade balance in our favor of more than \$4,000,000,000. The products of our factories, mines, and cotton fields were going to war-depleted Europe in quantities never before dreamed of, and at very high prices. The greater the balance in our favor, the fewer dollars could be purchased with pounds sterling, francs, lire, and marks, and the nearer Europe came to the point where the discrepancies were too great for her to purchase in volume at all. Suddenly the point was quite reached, and American business men saw the prospect of having to sell in America the vast quantities of our goods Europe had been taking off our hands, with a new era of falling prices, and inventories shrinking in value. With its customary sensitiveness and prevision, the stock market registered these fears for the future with successive daily declines that cut the prices of many securities in half and took one-third from the value of many scores of stocks of other substantial concerns. Money loaned on "call" reached 25 per cent, and time loans were often practically not procurable. The general feeling in financial circles was that the great "boom" in after-the-war trade was coming to a definite end, and that the country was in for a period of drastic business readjustment.

*The Conference
Railroad
Bill*

It did not aid the situation to have the threat of a nation-wide strike on the railroads unless further increases in pay were promptly given. A further complexity in the situation confronting Mr. Hines in any proposal to raise railroad wages at this time was the expected passage of the Cummins Railroad Bill with the provision that the Interstate Commerce Commission must fix rates that would, as nearly as may be, give the carriers, as a whole, a net income of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the value of their property investment. As the railroads earned in 1919 only about half this return, with wages, on the average, somewhat lower than their present level, it will be readily seen that a general

increase now would point, under the new rate-making provision, to new freight and passenger rates so far above those now obtaining as to give an important addition to the general cost of living. The railroad bill was reported to the houses of Congress in the middle of February after several weeks of hard work by the conferees. In the form adopted by them it followed more closely the lines of the Esch bill originating in the House than those of Senator Cummins's Senate measure, except in the all-important matter of establishing a definite rule of rate-making, in which the Senate provision stood, with some minor changes. The House conferees were successful in eliminating the prohibition of railway strikes and in cutting out the federal Board of Transportation created by the Senate bill.

*A
Rate-Making
Rule at Last*

The Cummins device for solving the vexed question of railroad rates follows in its general working the principles and methods that have been so urgently advocated by Mr. S. Davies Warfield and the Association of Railroad Security Owners. The transportation lines of the country are to be divided into rate-making groups and the Interstate Commerce Commission is directed to fix such rates as will result in making the consolidated accounts of each group show a net income of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the combined property investment of the roads in the group. This does not, of course, mean that any particular railroad will earn so large a return. In fact, it is certain that the rates reached by this formula will, in the cases of many of the poorer railroads, give them earnings of much less than $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on their property value. On the other hand, the more profitable roads will earn with these same rates more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The bill as agreed to in conference provides that such earnings in excess of 6 per cent. shall go, half to the railroad showing them, and half to a reserve fund to be used under governmental authority for facilities to be leased to any of the roads needing them.

*Great Power
to the
Commission*

The great outstanding advantage of this plan is that for the first time since the Government undertook to restrict railroad rates, we have a definite rule for such restriction. The plain fact is that the Commerce Commission had found it practically impossible to handle the situation in the absence of such a rule,

and some of its ablest members have frankly confessed as much. The federal guarantee of the standard return is to continue for six months, giving the Commission time to deal with the altogether new and novel situation in its rate-making activities, and when the new level of rates is prescribed to yield the $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. income, the formula is to be used for two years, after which it may be changed at the discretion of the Commission. It can be readily seen that this arrangement places enormous power in the hands of the Commission—nothing less than the life or death of the railroads. In its actual workings it is hoped it will be an improvement over the former situation, in which it may be said the Commission had in its hands, as the matter worked out in practice, the death of the roads, but not their life.

*Criticisms
of the
New Plan*

There was much definite criticism of the new plan of rate-making. From the more profitable roads there was opposition to a measure which would take part of their earnings and use them to help out their weaker competitors. They call this a penalty on efficiency, and some good authorities believe the process is unconstitutional. There is no doubt that the question of its constitutionality will be promptly brought into the courts if the plan goes into effect. Quite a different set of objectors to the new rate-making rule, including Representatives Sims, Kitchen, and their followers in Congress, call the $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. provision a Government guarantee of earnings to a private business, and point to the temptation it will carry to the railroad-operating managements to be prodigal with salaries, wages, and the purchase of supplies, since they will, according to these critics, be sure of their net return over and above all expenses. Such objectors seem to forget that as to "constituting a Government guarantee of earnings to a private business," the railroads are definitely refused the status of a private business, and would be only too glad to be able to fix their own rates without any "guarantee" of earnings, as all private businesses do. The fear that the prescribed rate of profit will produce a riot of waste and extravagance is scarcely justified in the face of the fact that, as has been explained above, no particular railroad is guaranteed any return whatsoever, and that any individual road still has the opportunity under the common rates to benefit in earnings by thrift and efficiency.

*Something
Must Be
Done*

Not a few of the important railroad men of the country feel that the new plan of federal control is feasible, and the best that can be hoped for at present. They express confidence in their ability to operate and finance their properties under it. Some resolute attempt at a solution of the railroad problem is absolutely imperative if the country is not to face a disastrous shortage of transportation facilities. Every day's news brings accounts of steel, coal, motor, and a hundred other industries hampered by the lack of cars. It is estimated by good authorities that in the past six years the country's transportation needs have increased 40 per cent., while its railroad facilities have increased only 2 per cent. More than 800,000 new freight cars and 1500 to 2000 locomotives are needed immediately. The plant has been starved. It has become a matter of the nation's prosperity even more than a matter of the railroad security-holders' protection, that the plant be renewed, and it can only be renewed by some assurance that new funds invested will not go into bankrupt concerns.

*New
Tax
Proposals*

On every side is heard condemnation of the excess-profits tax, by which profits of corporations are mulcted on an ascending scale as they rise above a certain stated return on invested capital. Conceded to be a necessary war measure, the tax has now become, in the opinion of most business men, of many academic economists and of ex-Secretary of the Treasury Glass himself, a potent factor in holding up the cost of living and in encouraging extravagance and speculation. The Administration critics of the device say that with the present rate of Government expenditure there can be no diminution of the total revenue collected by taxation, and intimate that the repeal of the excess-profits tax must be accompanied by higher income-tax rates on the moderately well-to-do, the very great incomes being called on already for such high rates that it is impracticable to increase them. An alternative proposal, appealing to a great number of thoughtful Americans, is to raise a substantial proportion of the necessary revenue from a tax on sales, say, of 1 per cent. on all sales, of every description, of \$2 or more. A bill embodying this new revenue plan has recently been introduced in Congress, though probably it will have no more result than to aid in stimulating discussion.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From January 16 to February 12, 1920)



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HON. JOHN BARTON PAYNE, MR. LANE'S SUCCESSOR
AS SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

(Judge Payne had long been prominent as lawyer and jurist in Chicago when called to Washington two years ago to become general counsel of the United States Shipping Board. More recently he has been counsel to the Director-General of Railroads; and upon the retirement of Mr. Hurley, in August last, Judge Payne was made chairman of the Shipping Board. His promotion to the Cabinet was announced on February 12. Mr. Payne was born and educated in Virginia, where he was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-one, in 1876. He went to Chicago in 1833, and has long been one of the foremost citizens of that metropolis.)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

January 17.—The House Foreign Affairs Committee completes the Diplomatic appropriation bill, cutting \$2,000,000 from estimates and neglecting to provide pay increases and embassy buildings.

In the Senate, before a Naval sub-committee, Rear Admiral Sims criticizes Secretary Daniels in the matter of award of medals.

January 19.—Secretary Daniels demands justification of the Sims charges and a thorough investigation.

The Rivers and Harbors appropriation bill is cut down by \$30,500,000, leaving \$5,000,000 for maintenance, \$7,000,000 for improvements, and \$400,000 for surveys.

January 21.—The House Appropriations Com-

mittee decides not to recommend the Public Building bill, and the Diplomatic bill suffers a cut of \$3,085,125.

In the Senate, a resolution that all Thracian territory surrendered by Turkey and Bulgaria should be awarded to Greece, with an Aegean Sea outlet for Bulgaria, is adopted.

January 22.—The Senate committee investigating Mexican relations receives documentary evidence that border raids in 1915 were instigated and directed by President Carranza and his aides.

January 23.—The House, by a vote of 311 to 10, passes the enlisted men's pay increase bill, retroactive to January 1 and continuing to July 1, 1921, raising pay one-third; the measure goes to the Senate.

January 24.—The House Appropriations Committee fails to include \$10,000,000 asked by the Navy for ship repairs, but provides \$12,000,000 for vocational rehabilitation and \$4,500,000 for care of war risk patients.

January 26.—Senator Lodge notifies Democratic conferees that the treaty compromise must leave unchanged his reservations on Article X and the Monroe Doctrine, following a warning by the Republican "irreconcilables."

The Senate, by a vote of 36 to 14, passes the \$6,500,000 Americanization bill to stimulate the teaching of English and to give aliens the groundwork of Americanism.

The Senate Military Committee approves a bill compelling military training of 18 to 21 year old youths and providing for an army of citizen soldiers, 300,000 "regulars," and a National Guard.

January 31.—The House Ways and Means Committee unanimously reports a bill authorizing \$50,000,000 for food relief in Europe.

February 3.—The Senate passes the army, navy, marine corps, and coast-guard increased pay bill, aggregating \$59,500,000 and granting 10 per cent. increases to officers and 20 per cent. to non-commissioned men.

February 4.—Railroad bill conferees of both branches end two months of work by eliminating anti-strike provisions and leaving in the guarantee of 5½ per cent. return.

February 5.—In the Senate, the Agricultural Committee unanimously reports Senator Gronna's bill to repeal war-time control over wheat prices.

February 9.—In the Senate, the proposal of Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) to bring the peace treaty again before the Senate—for the first time since November 19—is sustained by vote of 63 to 9; the treaty is then recommitted to the Foreign Relations Committee, with instructions to report it with the Lodge reservations.

The House Democrats, in caucus, by vote of 106 to 17, adopt a resolution declaring that "no measure should be passed by this Congress pro-

viding for universal, compulsory service or training"; a letter from President Wilson had been read recommending a moderate course of training and urging that no party action be taken.

February 10.—The House adopts the Conference report on the Oil Land Leasing bill.

February 11.—In the Senate, Mr. Lodge accepts amendments to his peace treaty reservations as offered by bipartisan conferees; Mr. Hitchcock (Dem., Neb.), the President's chief supporter, refuses to accept the reservations.

February 12.—The Senate accepts the conference report on the Oil Land Leasing bill, the final step of a six-years' fight in Congress.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

January 16.—Nation-wide prohibition under Constitutional amendment goes into effect.

The federal woman-suffrage amendment is ratified by the Indiana legislature, with but three votes in opposition.

The Interstate Commerce Commission, in the Railway Mail Rate cases, approves space rather than weight system, increasing rates 25 per cent. and ordering payment for many services heretofore free.

January 20.—The New York Assembly begins the trial of five suspended Socialist members, before its Judiciary Committee.

Governor Edwards, of New Jersey, recently inaugurated, starts his "wet" fight by the introduction of two bills in the legislature which would legalize 5 per cent. alcoholic content in beverages sold within the State.

January 21.—In Chicago, thirty-eight Communist Labor Party leaders are indicted for treasonable conspiracy.

President Wilson reappoints Judge George Gray of Delaware, Oscar S. Straus, Elihu Root, and John Bassett Moore of New York as American delegates to The Hague Tribunal, their six-year terms having lapsed during the war.

The New York *World*, which had been considered an Administration newspaper, sponsors Herbert Hoover as Democratic nominee for the presidency.

The Mississippi legislature rejects the woman-suffrage amendment.

January 23.—Kansas adopts an Industrial Relations Court bill, protecting the public against strikes in essential industries, recognizing the right of collective bargaining, and taking over functions of the Public Utilities Commission (see page 292).

January 27.—David F. Houston is transferred in the Cabinet from the post of Secretary of Agriculture to that of Secretary of the Treasury; E. T. Meredith, of Iowa, publisher of *Successful Farming*, is appointed Secretary of Agriculture.

January 28.—Will H. Hays, Republican Chairman, names 152 men and nineteen women, including twelve National Committeemen, as an Advisory Committee on Policies and Platform.

The Coal Commission receives data from miners showing enormous profits by mine operators, tending to prove that the miners get fewer cents from each dollar paid the owners than in 1913 and 1914.

South Carolina rejects the federal woman-suffrage amendment by vote of 30 to 4.

January 30.—Secretary Glass declares that the United States, having loaned Europe \$4,226,584,688 since the Armistice, has "done all that was considered advisable and practicable"; it is time for Europe to regain her position by increased production, domestic loans, gold shipments, restriction of imports, adequate taxation, and disarmament.

The Bureau of Internal Revenue issues regulations for medicinal use of wines and liquors, limiting prescriptions to one pint in ten days.

The War Department commanders, at the request of the Railroad Administration, 72,500 tons of steel rails in addition to 42,500 tons previously contracted for, ending a deadlock over prices.

February 2.—Mine operators submit figures to the Coal Commission purporting to show that a 14 per cent. wage increase would reduce profits to less than 1 per cent. on capital invested.

February 6.—Profiteering arrests, it is announced, have totaled 895, with twenty-eight convictions and sentences with penalties up to \$5000 fines and one year in prison.

February 7.—A letter from President Wilson to Senator Hitchcock, approving his reservations and stating his position, is made public.

The Nevada legislature, in special session, ratifies the woman-suffrage amendment with but one opposing vote.

February 8.—The American Federation of Labor declares for the organization of a vast political machine to defeat candidates not endorsed; the charge is made that inherent rights are threatened, free institutions are menaced, and ideals of democracy are endangered.

February 9.—The Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Workers calls a strike of its 300,000 members for February 17, after long discussion with the Railroad Administration over wages.

The New Jersey legislature completes ratification of the woman-suffrage amendment.

February 10.—President Wilson's illness (which began in October) is described by one of his physicians as cerebral thrombosis, affecting the use of his left arm and leg; he is now able to walk without assistance and without fatigue.

February 11.—The Idaho legislature, in special session, ratifies the woman suffrage amendment—becoming the thirtieth state to approve it.

February 12.—John Barton Payne (Chairman of the Shipping Board) is named by the President to succeed Franklin K. Lane as Secretary of the Interior on March 1. . . . William Phillips (Assistant Secretary of State) is chosen to be Minister to the Netherlands.

The Arizona legislature, in special session, unanimously ratifies the woman-suffrage amendment; the Virginia House of Delegates rejects a resolution of ratification.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

January 16.—In France, at a caucus of the Chamber and Senate, Paul Deschanel receives a majority vote as choice for President; Premier Clemenceau withdraws his candidacy.

January 17.—Paul Deschanel is elected President of the French Republic by the National Assembly, receiving 734 votes out of 889; he takes office February 18, for a term of seven years.



(C) Continuit

HON. ROBERT LANSING

(Who resigned as Secretary of State on February 13, having succeeded William J. Bryan in that office on June 23, 1915. Mr. Lansing was a member of the American delegation to the Peace Conference at Paris)

January 18.—Premier Clemenceau's cabinet resigns, and President Poincaré asks Alexandre Millerand to form a new ministry.

January 20.—Irish municipal election returns show that Sinn Féin wins 70 per cent. of seats.

Italian railway unions at Triest start a strike on state-owned railroads for eight-hour day, six-day week, and fourteen lire a day.

The Bolivian Senate unanimously approves the comprehensive report of Foreign Minister Gutierrez on Tacna-Arica negotiations, by which Bolivia seeks to gain a seaport.

January 21.—The Italian railway strike becomes general, with troops on guard and private citizens volunteering to run the trains.

January 22.—The new Millerand cabinet in France receives a vote of confidence, 272 to 23 with 300 not voting; the naming of Jules Steeg as Minister of Interior is criticized.

In Japan, Premier Hara tells the Diet, in its opening session, that Japan will keep her treaty word on Shantung, steps now being taken.

January 23.—The Turkish Minister of War, Djemal Pasha, resigns following receipt of Allied note warning of armistice infringements.

January 27.—In London, George Nicoll Barnes, only remaining Laborite in the Coalition Cabinet of Premier Lloyd George, resigns his post.

January 28.—The Italian railway strike ends.

February 6.—Russian coöperative organizations are declared to be absolutely dominated by Lenin.

In France, Premier Millerand receives a vote

of confidence, 518 to 68, the Chamber endorsing his foreign policy embracing strict adherence to treaty terms.

Bands of Koreans cross from Chinese territory into northern Korea and expel Japanese troops.

February 7.—Premier Nitti discusses Italian foreign policy in the Chamber of Deputies, declaring that while he still hopes for agreement with the Yugoslavs regarding Fiume, he is prepared to relinquish claim to that city.

February 8.—The Soviet Government at Moscow announces that its troops have fought their way into Odessa.

February 10.—The new session of the British House of Commons is opened; Premier Lloyd George explains the Government's Russian policy, declaring that Bolshevism cannot be crushed by force of arms and expressing belief that trading will bring relief.

The people of northern Schleswig, former German territory, voting under provisions of the peace treaty, express their overwhelming preference for Danish sovereignty.

February 11.—The British House of Commons rejects a resolution looking toward nationalization of coal mines.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

January 16.—The League of Nations comes into actual being with the first meeting of the Executive Council in the French Foreign Ministry at Paris, with representatives from Belgium, Brazil, England, France, Greece, Italy, Japan, and Spain participating.

The Allied blockade of Russia is lifted to enable Russian coöperative organizations to exchange grain and flax for manufactured products; but there is no change in the attitude toward the Soviet Government.

Secretary Lansing makes public a memorandum to Japan, announcing the decision to withdraw American troops from Siberia by February 1.

Holland receives formal summons from the Allies to surrender the former German Emperor, Wilhelm II.

January 22.—Mexico grants provisional permits to American oil companies pending enactment of legislation, probably under a new Mexican President and Congress after the elections in July.

January 23.—The Netherlands Government refuses the Allied demand for the ex-Kaiser, because Holland was not a party to the treaty and as the surrender of a political fugitive is not their conception of national tradition and honor.

The Ukrainian Government's treaty with Soviet Russia recognizes the former government, provides for Bolshevik withdrawal, and arranges for resumption of trade.

January 24.—Russian blockade-lifting is temporarily held up because Lenin refuses to let co-operatives resume trade unless the agreement is extended to include an armistice with Soviet Russia.

German troops begin to evacuate Danzig, Upper Silesia, and Schleswig under the peace treaty, and control is taken over by inter-Allied commissions and troops.

January 27.—Yugoslavia accepts the Allied Fiume settlement.

Henry P. Fletcher, United States Ambassador to Mexico, resigns.

January 29.—The Peruvian National Assembly resolves to appeal to the League of Nations for a settlement of the dispute over Tacna-Arica between Chile, Peru, and Bolivia.

January 31.—Viscount Grey—upon his return from the United States, as special Ambassador—writes to the London *Times* a significant letter giving his views on the ratification of the peace treaty and League of Nations by the Senate with the Lodge reservations, indicating that such action would not offend Europe.

February 1.—Soviet Russia authorizes the Central Union of Russian Cooperatives to resume commerce with the Allies.

February 3.—Soviet Russia concludes a treaty with Estonia, granting her full sovereignty and 5,000,000 gold rubles, with permission to purchase 2,500,000 acres of woodland from Russia in return for granting the use of Narova River rapids for Russian power development.

The Allies submit to Germany a list of nearly 1000 Germans charged with crimes in the prosecution of war.

February 7.—The text of a note from San Salvador is made public at Washington, requesting the United States to give the authentic interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine as it is understood now and in its future application.

February 9.—A treaty giving Norway sovereignty over the Spitzbergen Archipelago is signed at Paris by representatives of eight nations.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

January 16.—The United States Treasury permits flotation of \$25,000,000 Italian bonds.

January 17.—In Chicago, 1154 new influenza cases and 46 deaths are reported.

January 18.—The report of Henry Morgenthau on Polish pogroms, in which 280 Jews were killed, is made public; blame is placed on Polish troops, with extenuating circumstances.

The Sinn Fein campaign in the United States to raise \$10,000,000 in subscriptions to bonds of the Irish Republic is opened in New York City.

January 19.—The Second Pan-American Financial Conference is opened by Secretary Glass, at Washington, D. C.

January 20.—The joint commission of the north and south branches of the Methodist Episcopal Church unanimously recommends union of the two bodies, under the name Methodist Church.

January 22.—Exchange rates suffer a further break in New York with sterling at \$3.60, marks 1½ cents, Italian lire 14.10, and French francs 11.80 to the dollar.

The influenza epidemic assumes national proportions, but fatalities are lower than in 1918 and the disease less virulent.

January 23.—Foreign trade statistics issued by the Department of Commerce show a \$60,000,000 decrease in exports and a \$40,000,000 decrease in imports, the trade balance being \$300,000,000 in America's favor.

February 2.—Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard, is appointed exchange professor at the Sorbonne University, France.

February 4.—Throughout the North Atlantic States a snowstorm begins which later turns to sleet and ice and for days causes absolute ces-

sation of street railway operation in Boston, New York, Washington, and other cities.

February 5.—Foreign exchange drops to new low levels, and nearly 2,000,000 shares are sold on the New York Stock Exchange; the Government moves to reduce paper currency, and "call money" goes up to 25 per cent.

February 9.—A mob in Lexington, Kentucky, attempting to take a convicted negro from the jail, is fired upon by National Guardsmen; five persons are killed.

February 10.—The influenza epidemic shows indications of coming to an end in New York City when the number of cases drops to 1000—compared with more than 5000 daily when the disease was at its height.

OBITUARY

January 16.—Dr. Isaac Sharpless, for twenty-nine years president of Haverford College and authority on Pennsylvania history, 72. . . . Reginald DeKoven, famous as an American composer of grand opera, musical critic, and founder of Washington Symphony Orchestra, 59.

January 20.—Gen. Alfred Mordecai, U. S. A., retired, Civil War veteran and for several years instructor of gunnery at West Point.

January 23.—Richard L. Garner, author and explorer, who sought to record a monkey language, 65. . . . William F. Powell, Minister to Hayti under President McKinley, 74.

January 24.—Rev. Dr. Cyrus T. Brady, Episcopal minister and widely known author, 59. . . . Nathan C. Kingsbury, telephone engineer, 54.

January 25.—Rev. Dr. James Morris Whiton, for twenty-five years on the editorial staff of the *Outlook*.

January 28.—Prof. Robert Matteson Johnston, Chief Historian, A. E. F., 52.

January 29.—Justice Charles H. Duell, of New York, ex-Commissioner of Patents, 69. . . . Justice Gilbert Collins, of the New Jersey Supreme Court and former Mayor of Jersey City, 74.

January 30.—Maj.-Gen. John E. McMahon, commander of the Fifth Division, A. E. F., 59. . . . Charles A. Lobeck, ex-Congressman from Second Nebraska District, 57.

February 3.—Frank Brown, ex-Governor of Maryland, 73.

February 4.—Edward Payson Ripley, for twenty-four years president of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railroad, bringing it from bankruptcy to one of the finest transportation properties in the world, 75. . . . Ohio C. Barber, organizer of the match industry, 74.

February 6.—Michael J. Dodsworth, treasurer of New York *Journal of Commerce*, 61. . . . Sir James Grant, of Ottawa, last survivor of Canada's first Parliament, physician and author, 89.

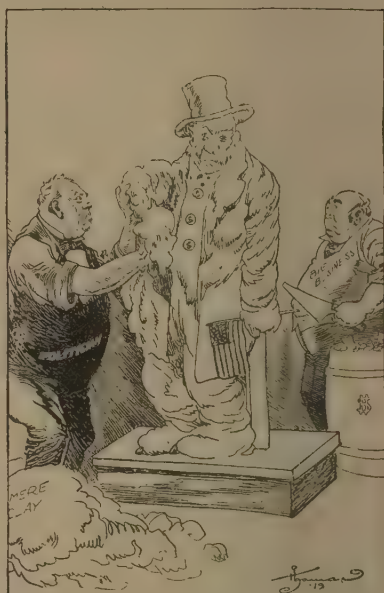
February 8.—Dr. Elmer Ernest Southard, Bul-lard Professor of neuropathology at Harvard, psychiatrist, 42. . . . Rev. J. M. Buckley, for many years editor of the *Christian Advocate*, 83.

February 12.—Henry B. Endicott, one of the largest employers of labor, who never had a strike, member of First Industrial Conference, 66. . . . Julius Chambers, novelist and dramatist who started Paris edition of New York *Herald*, 73.

TOPICS OF THE MONTH IN CARTOONS



YES, IT'S SOME JOB
From the *Post* (Cincinnati, Ohio)



THE SYNTHETIC METHOD OF MAKING A
PRESIDENT
From the *News* (Detroit, Mich.)



SYMPTOMS OF A NEIGHBORHOOD ROW
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio)



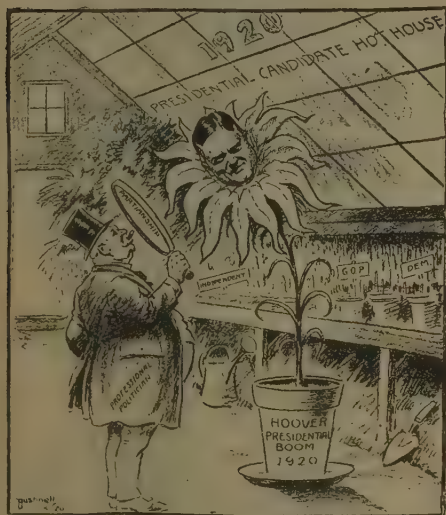
CHORUS: "IF YOU DON'T WANT IT, WOODROW, GIVE
SOMEONE ELSE A CHANCE!"
From the *Citizen* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



LOOKS LIKE HERBERT'S IN FOR A PROPOSAL
From the Sun (Baltimore, Md.)



"BY PROCESS OF ELIMINATION"
From the Constitution (Atlanta, Ga.)

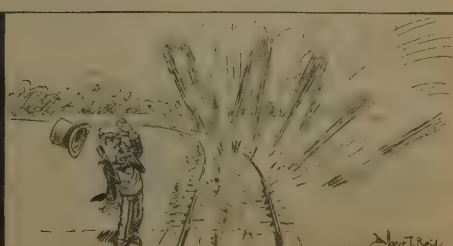


WHAT SPECIES?

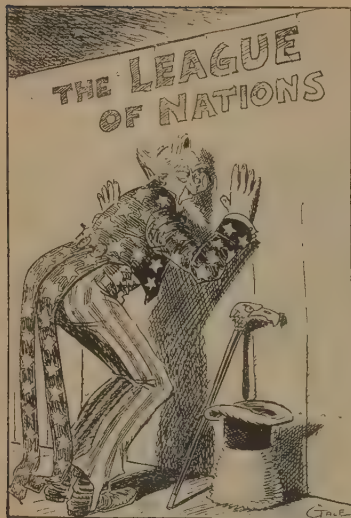
From the Central Press Association (Cleveland, Ohio)



IT'S GETTING ON THEIR NERVES
From the World (New York)



IT DIDN'T GET ACROSS—From the Call (Paterson, N. J.)



ON THE OUTSIDE LOOKING IN
(And It's His Favorite Game, Too)
From the Times (Los Angeles, Cal.)

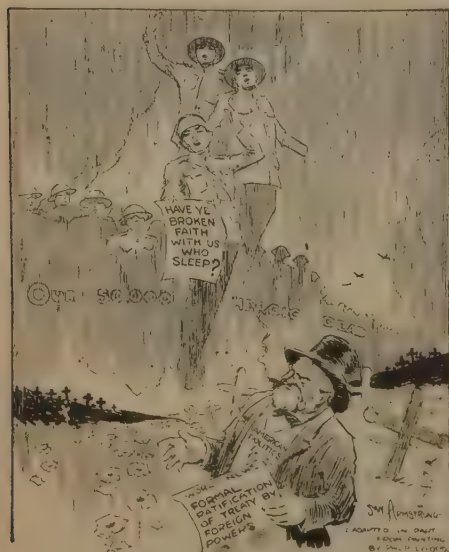
AS to the League of Nations, Uncle Sam has been frequently pictured by the cartoonists as a rank outsider. Many of the American cartoons have accepted this situation as a matter of course, notwithstanding the probable ratification of the treaty by the Senate. Those coming from Europe, on the other hand, express a degree of surprise at this attitude.



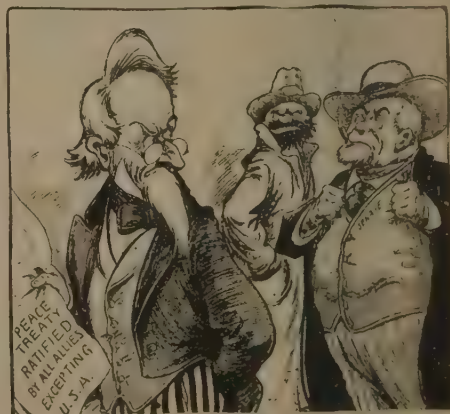
THE OUTSIDERS—From the Star-Telegram (Ft. Worth, Texas)



THE LAUNCH OF THE NEW SHIP
(We regret to say that, owing to unavoidable circumstances, Cousin Jonathan was not present)
From News of the World (London)



THE QUESTION
From the News-Tribune (Tacoma, Wash.)



LAST AT WAR
UNCLE SAM (to the Senate): "Well, you have made me—Last in war, Last in peace, and Last in the hearts of some of my countrymen." From the Star (Montreal)



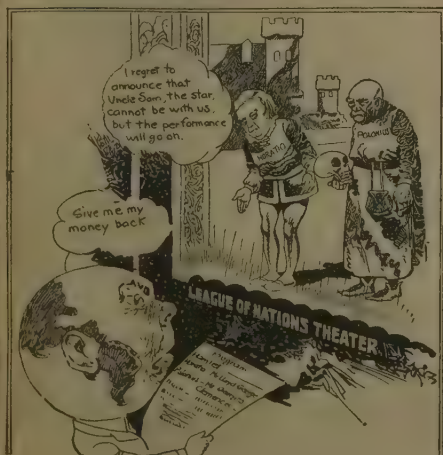
THE TREATY OF PEACE: DON'T THEY RECOGNIZE THEIR OWN WRITING?—From *Le Rire* (Paris)



THE MENACE TO THE WORLD
From *Reynolds's Newspaper* (London)



WITH RESERVATIONS
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: "You used to call me your very ownest. Don't you love me any more, Jonathan?"
JONATHAN: "Yep!—with reservations!"
From the *Westminster Gazette* (London)



HAMLET WITHOUT HAMLET
From the *News* (Detroit)



THE CRYSTAL GAZERS
"Considering all things, my dear Wilhelm, the outlook is decidedly promising."
From the *World* (London)



CLEMENCEAU, THE TAILOR

"Curious, although for a year I have torn apart, patched, and changed, I have not been able to make anything right. If I were not so certain of my ability, I might think myself a blunderer!"

From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich, Switzerland)



A CRUEL PLUCKING!

From the *Hindi Punch* (Bombay, India)



THE MAD SALOME DANCE

LLOYD-GEORGE SALOME (to Holland): "Give me the head of Wilhelm II."

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)



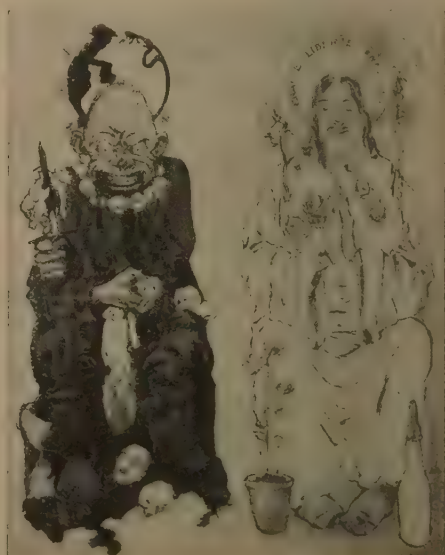
IN TIME OF STRIKES AND STARVATION

GUARD: "Where are you going, Poland?"

POLAND: "Soon all my sons will be starving or striking. I am going on strike myself, and will prepare the coffin."

From *Mucha* (Warsaw, Poland)

The cartoon immediately opposite, from the *Hindi Punch*, is a remarkable specimen of the fine work now appearing in that native Indian journal. It has special reference to the reservations of the United States Senate—India, it will be remembered, being itself represented in the Assembly of the League of Nations.



As others see him

As he sees himself

THE BOLSHEVIK

From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich, Switzerland)

HERBERT CLARK HOOVER

BY JUDSON C. WELLIVER

SENATOR DOLLIVER once described Abraham Lincoln as having enjoyed the high fortune of being born poor, and therefore starting with a fair chance in the world. There was a good deal more than humor in it. Most people, including most of those who get on and most of those who don't, are born poor. Hoover was; and, considering how well he was endowed with everything but money, he seems entitled to a good deal less sympathy than some eulogists insist on bestowing.

Herbert Clark Hoover was born in August, 1874, on a farm near West Branch, Iowa, son of Quaker parents. He was left fatherless at ten, and raised as the protégé of various aunts and uncles, living at different times in Iowa, Indian Territory, and Oregon. He was a boy of the serious and studious type, who early decided that he wanted an education, and not long afterward that he would be a mining engineer. This latter decision was inspired largely by the impression made on him when, after he had been placed with some relatives in Oregon, an old friend of his father in the Iowa, days came to see how Herbert was getting on. This friend had become a mine operator, and stories on the "great game" turned Herbert's thoughts toward the career that at length he achieved.

In Stanford University's Pioneer Class

Not pleased with his surroundings or prospects with the last of his various avuncular guardians, Herbert ran away at fourteen, went to Portland, and for most of the next three years earned his living by working at a boy's task in a real-estate office. But, though he had to work hard and hustle to make ends meet, the flame of ambition burned. He studied by night, and by day when it was possible, decided to go to the new Leland Stanford University, soon to be opened, and in the autumn of 1891 entered with the "pioneer class" of that institution.

By and large, a young fellow who goes to college "on his own" and elbows his way through a standard course by dint of efficient elbowing quality is pretty apt to find

about the same level in college life that he is destined to attain in the big subsequent world. Hoover's college life was a miniature of the career to which it opened the door.

Having squeaked into the university despite a considerable deficit in preliminary training, the youngster faced the double task of extra study and of earning his way. How he did it has been told me by one of his college mates. He organized a system of laundry collection and distribution and acted as an agent for entertainments. He was a hard student, busy, and not very sociable; flocked mostly by himself, and is pictured by those who remember him as strolling through the Quadrangle with hands deep in his trousers pockets, head hung down on his chest, apparently always in deep thought. The boys used to wonder "what Hoover thinks about so hard."

He was a shark in "math," it is alleged, and a whale for geology.

Leland Stanford had been opened with a good deal of spectacle, as a brand-new university sprung full-panoplied from the purse of Midas. It took on immediately all the trimmings and traditions, including a full equipment of Greek letter fraternities, which at once assumed the direction of all activities of the student body. Unless one wore a fraternity pin he could hardly hope for place on the baseball nine or the football eleven, or any of the other real distinctions of college existence. The Greeks kept their contemptuous heels on the barbarians' necks, and the "barbs" acutely resented it.

An "Organizer" in College

The barbarians announced a program of reform and organized themselves into control of every student organization in the institution. Their program was self-determination; the humblest barbarian was to be assured as good a chance as the most exclusive Greek, in all honorable competitions; and things were to be run "right."

When the barbarians had captured the various organizations they sought a plan to insure democratic control and business

methods. And when the Students' Board was organized, Hoover was made its manager. He was given powers to manage the business of the college organizations. Extravagances and the favoritism for Greeks at the expense of barbarians were rigidly extirpated. In a little time the old bills were paid, the consolidated funds were solvent, and the business manager was established on the basis of \$1000 salary annually—which was not to be paid until after Hoover left the office, by his express stipulation. That was Hoover's first achievement as business organizer and systematizer. It was precisely the sort of thing that has constituted a large part of his career ever since.

Hoover never wavered in his choice of a profession. All his studies—mathematics, physics, science, engineering—were directed to that end. He took little interest in language and literature, and never in his student days wrote well. But later he broadened his intellectual conquests, and learned to write excellently; lucid, condensed, understandable reports and descriptions of everything from geological indications to financial reorganizations; from dealings with a reactionary Chinese Government to the preparation of the most useful work on "The Principles of Mining," credited with being the bible of a multitude of young—and a good many older—engineers struggling with practical problems.

As a collegian, his imagination had been touched by reading of the work of Georg Bauer (Latinized, after the manner of his times, into Georg Agricola), a German scholar, scientist, engineer, metallurgist and mining expert who was born two years before the discovery of America. Bauer has been called the father of scientific metallurgy, of technical methods in mining, and of geology. He came nearer, perhaps, than anybody down to his day, to comprehending the evolution of the planet. His "*De Re Metallica*" was published apparently in 1556 in medieval Latin. Hoover, long after college days, in the midst of his busy professional life, actually found time, with his wife's assistance, to translate the twelve books of this ancient work into English. He published it with notes and illustrations, as nearly as possible a reproduction of the original, but in English!

A Practical Mining Engineer

But that came later. The boy at Stanford graduated with the class of 1895, al-

ready marked for success. He was the close friend of Professor Branner, in charge of mining and geology, who advised him to finish his education by taking a course as a mine laborer. He did just that; went away to Nevada County, Cal., and took a job shoving cars from a dump; graduated to the pick and shovel; lived among the miners, learned a myriad of things about getting on with labor that stood him in good stead afterward; and after a few months decided that he was ready to start being a regular mining engineer.

So, off to Frisco, and to Louis Janin, then the foremost mining engineer in the State, who hadn't a thing for Hoover to do unless he would take a job typewriting. He took it, for it was to Janin, not the job or the wages, that he wanted to attach himself. He ran his "mill" so well that in a few weeks he was out in the mines. Half the States of the mountain West came within his sphere in the next year and a half, and he made good with a smash.

Called to Australia and China

Then came one of those opportunities that were always opening to the California mining engineers. From the beginnings in '49, when California started revolutionizing gold-digging methods, California engineers had enjoyed high repute. They had been steadily drafted away to Australia, Korea, China, Russia—everywhere; and now Hoover was offered the position of manager of a mining company in New South Wales. Only a little beyond voting age, he sailed for the South Seas. In Australia he found new problems related to highly miscellaneous labor, a country so dry that it made the Great American Desert seem humid, and new methods of management. The concern had some properties that promised well, some that didn't. It was up to Hoover to sift them out, develop the good and chuck the bad ones. There is a story that at times he was tempted to cut it all and go back to God's country. But he didn't; he stuck, developed some highly profitable mines, including one that has ranked among Australia's great producers, and built a reputation for judgment and accuracy that presently opened a new field.

The Chinese Imperial Government was having one of its occasional spasms of ardor for modernism and development. It had decided that in self-defense it must learn its mineral resources and direct their develop-



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HERBERT CLARK HOOVER

ment; otherwise the foreigners would have everything their own way. Also, Chang Yen Mow, Minister of Mines, had conceived the idea of a real, modern code of mining laws. He was a mining man himself, and wanted to beat the foreign devils to it by giving the country a real mining system before it was too late.

Working for the Chinese Government

Hoover found himself now in a thoroughly enjoyable position. He was provided with everything he needed; established a central office, drafted assistants from Australia and California, and set out on a mining-geological survey.

It was unlike making such a survey any-

where else, for China had been mined cruelly for thousands of years before California or Cornwall, Old Wales or New Wales, Oceania or Ontario, had been scratched. Hoover was a great wonder to the Chinese, and they a never-ending delight to him. He traveled with the retinue of a nabob, and the complications of oriental form and ceremony with occidental energy and directness caused a thousand *contretemps*, some merely amusing, some exasperating, all interesting. Exasperation finally gained ascendancy when it became apparent that beyond exploration and bulletin writing, the government was not yet sufficiently aroused to go further. There was no sign of a disposition for actual development.

It was in 1899 that Hoover started his work in China. Anti-foreign feeling was growing, and Chang was liberal enough to be hostile to the Boxer movement. Peking, hotbed of the movement, became too hot for him and when hostilities opened he and Hoover found themselves in Tientsin. There Chang, who had got out of Peking in disguise, was discovered and taken out to be shot. But thanks to Hoover's active intervention he was saved from the firing squad. Hoover's appeal for his chief, from the Chinese to the foreign authorities, incensed the former against him, but earned Chang's increased confidence and gratitude.

In the Boxer Siege

Then came the weeks of fighting for Tientsin. Mr. and Mrs. Hoover were unable to get away, and he became one of the chief organizers of defense against the Boxer siege. His own retinue of Chinese was with him, and he stuck by them in the hope that if the worst fell out he might have influence enough to save them from the massacre that was altogether probable. He did rescue a number of them from the same fate that Chang had narrowly escaped. He organized the civic forces of the place, co-operated with the military and civil authorities, and has been called by many the real brains and energy of the struggle. At one time a shell came into the house where he and Mrs. Hoover were living, and their escape was a lucky one. There were something over 2000 soldiers to defend the place against many times that number of besiegers, and it could only have been done by utilizing the non-fighting population in constructing fortifications, feeding the people, moving supplies, and the like. This fell to Hoover to manage.

Hoover's intimates have all heard the story of the cow of Tientsin. She was a noble milker, that Hoover kept for the sake of her special brew. During the siege she disappeared, leaving to mourn her loss a bereaved and very vocal calf. Search was vain, but before he gave Brindle up for lost, Hoover decided on a bit of strategy. He took the bleating calf on a tour at night through the streets. In due time the bleats received an answering echo, which enabled him to locate Brindle in the German barracks. But when he went in to demand her he got his first experience of German methods in loot. The soldiers calmly took the calf—did not the cow belong to them?

In Partnership with Thrifty Chang

They lived through the siege without any more fresh milk, and when the siege was raised, Hoover's job as director of mines wasn't worth bothering about. But his relations with Chang had become intimate. That thrifty person had discovered that he needed not only personal protection but also the support of the foreigners in keeping his property from confiscation by the Chinese. He possessed a great coal-mining property not far from Tientsin, which he wanted to give to Hoover for safekeeping, as it were; but Hoover wouldn't take it. When, however, the revolution was over the two made a deal. Hoover was to enlist European capital to develop the property. He took a contract and went off to London to get backing.

In London he succeeded, and hurried back to China, only to find Chang feeling different about it. Amnesty and restored stability seemed to assure that he would retain both his head and his property, and he decided that he had made a bad bargain. He wanted better terms and hung out. Only by long perseverance did Hoover at last tire out the canny celestial and get his signature.

The mines thus organized into Anglo-Belgian control were already operating on a big scale; there were over 15,000 employees, a fleet of steamships, and a market to absorb whatever increased output might prove possible. But Hoover in London had glimpsed a still bigger and more fascinating field for his talents. He had seen how the great world of mining, petroleum, and related development is handled from London, and was determined to be a figure in it.

Removal to London

So he remained with the new company only a few months, made good his agreement to put the reorganized concern fairly going, and went back to London, to be a partner in the engineering firm of Bewick, Moreing & Co., with business everywhere. This was the firm that had first taken him to Australia.

The bigger world brought new experiences; including, presently, one that was distinctly different. The financial partner defaulted. For a long time he had been stealing and covering up, floating worthless paper, and the like. There was a loss of a million dollars or more, for much of which the firm could not have been held legally re-

sponsible. Hoover, temporarily in charge when the crash came, gave assurances that everybody would be paid the last shilling. Some of his associates objected, but Hoover stuck and won. It took several years to work out of the mess, but he saw it through.

This experience earned him high repute in the engineering and mining community, and the success of enterprises that came under his direction added to it. He was called in to organize and direct properties all over the world; zinc and gold in Australia, lead in Burma, gold in Mexico, oil and iron in Russia; Central and South America required his judgment of properties and his counsel in financial organization and technical management. In short, fortune now fairly flooded him. His friends have said that before he was thirty he had made his first ten million, and that this was merely the beginning.

*Caring for Stranded Americans in
August, 1914*

Thus we find that the young California engineer had actually arrived in the world of international mining. He was digging away in London at the beginning of August, 1914. Europe was entertaining a particularly large army of American tourists, over whom the war cloud burst so suddenly that they were in the cataclysm before they realized the danger. Almost in a day, mobilizations were everywhere in progress, the Hun was hammering at the frontier of Belgium, railroads were commandeered to move troops, ordinary service was suspended hopelessly irregular, steamships were impressed, and, perhaps worst of all, the facilities of banking, exchange and credits were well nigh suspended. The army of visiting Americans was suddenly stranded. Families and parties were broken up, luggage was lost, thousands suddenly found themselves with no clothing except what was on their backs, with letters of credit on which they could get no money, with tickets that had lost appeal to the transportation agencies.

London rapidly filled with the refugees and one morning in early August Robert R. Skinner, the veteran and highly efficient American Consul General, called Hoover on the telephone. He must see him at once.

Within a few hours Hoover had agreed to undertake the task of rescue. He secured the first floor of the Savoy Hotel and turned it into headquarters; appealed to the American colony for volunteers to create an or-

ganization; and set about caring for the unfortunates and arranging to send them home. It is said he advanced half a million dollars of his own funds. He appealed to friends for more, effected credit arrangements with banks, and cared for his countrymen and countrywomen as best he could. Congress sent a warship with a supply of gold coin and in two months the organization had started for home about one hundred and fifty thousand Americans.

Beginnings of Belgian Relief

This was but the beginning. Before the Americans were out of England, the influx of Belgians began. Hundreds of thousands of them, flying before the German armies, poured into France and England. They must be fed at a time when it was necessary to conserve every pound of food. They must be provided with occupation that would make them useful and self-supporting. Not only this, but the Belgians who had not been able to escape from their own country must be fed and cared for or the world would see, literally, a nation starve.

At first, Hoover's organization work was impressed to care for Belgians flocking to England. From this it was only a step to relief of Belgians helpless in their own country. That work, of course, could only be done through neutral agencies. The powers fighting Germany had neither the means nor the privilege of going behind the German lines in Belgium to conduct relief operations. So at the end of October the "C. R. B."—Commission for Relief in Belgium—was swung into operation.

Britain had all too limited food stocks. She was hurrying an army overseas, which must be fed and clothed. Belgium, after all, was not in sight, and as the war progressed a good deal of distrust toward the Belgians developed. Probably German propaganda had much to do with it, but at any rate the belief was widely disseminated that the Belgian refugees had become a screen for German spying.

Then there were the international difficulties. The Germans had taken Belgium. Why should they not feed Belgium? How could it be assured that if England divided her food with the Belgians, the Germans would not seize it? Ships were necessary to send supplies to Belgium, and the Admiralty was rapidly commandeering all shipping. Railroad service was necessary to mobilize supplies at ports; and railroad service was

similarly monopolized by the military authorities.

Hoover quickly organized divisions to handle appropriate parts of the work; to buy supplies, raise money, secure railroad facilities, charter ships; to survey, on the ground, the requirements of cities, towns and provinces; to deal with jealous foreign offices and suspicious military authorities. Very early, he secured a modest contribution from the British Government, giving him a certificate of approval and sympathy. Somehow, competing with the warring governments in the ship market, he managed to charter a fleet of seventy vessels. In an incredibly short time he had procured cargoes for the first squadron of his relief argosies. When the cargoes were aboard and all preliminaries arranged, Hoover appeared before the proper cabinet minister to ask clearance papers.

"Utterly impossible," he was assured. "The government requires the ships and the food, and anyhow the Channel has been closed against all but military transportation."

Then Hoover explained that the supplies were bought, paid for, and aboard the ships. He needed only clearance papers. The cabinet officer told Mr. Hoover very frankly that he wasn't sure whether he ought to be sent to the Tower for what he had already done, or given the papers and permitted to finish the job. But when he went away Hoover had the promise of the papers, which enabled the ships to sail and the real business of Belgian relief to be set fairly on foot.

By the time his preliminary surveys were completed, the Director calculated he was going to need \$5,000,000 per month. The charity of the world, plus the dubious credit of a shaking and expatriated Belgian Government, must provide it.

Staggering as was this financial situation, developing events proved it extremely conservative. The rise of prices, the increasing needs and numbers of the distressed, made it necessary month by month to inflate the estimates, until at length the Commission was expending approximately \$17,000,000 per month—and somehow was getting it!

Winning the Support of Lloyd George

It became necessary to stabilize the value of Belgian money, precisely as, at a later period, it was necessary to deal with exchange between Europe and the United States. A proposition was submitted to

Lloyd George, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, contemplating the maintenance of stable exchange rates between London and Brussels. Mr. Lloyd George read Hoover's memorandum, decided that it couldn't be done, and sent for Hoover to break the news to him.

Hoover more than suspected what was coming, and decided to crowd matters. Instead of letting the Chancellor take the conversational initiative, Hoover seized it himself. Before the Finance Minister had had a chance to spill his douche of ice water, Hoover launched into a careful statement of exactly what he wanted, why it was necessary, how it could be done. He wouldn't permit himself to be interrupted, and there was nothing for the Welshman to do but listen. Now, listening is not the most highly developed of Mr. Lloyd George's accomplishments, and Hoover knew it. Contrariwise, it is one of Hoover's foremost talents—on occasions. Hoover knows when to talk and when to keep still, and he knew this was an occasion for him to talk and the Chancellor to be silent.

So he poured out the statement, in simple, direct, lucid and understandable form. Then he leaned back, his cold blue eye on that of the Chancellor, and waited.

While Hoover had talked, the Chancellor had been readjusting his views. When Hoover stopped, the Chancellor sat silent long enough to finish the process, and then in effect said:

"I sent for you to say that these things couldn't be done. I find they can be done, and evidently ought to be; so I will make the necessary arrangements."

Demanding that Germany Respect the Commission's Flag

At another crisis a Commission food ship was sunk by a German submarine, while aerial forces had menaced others. Hoover, one of the very few men able to get audience of all governments on all sides, went straight to Berlin to demand that this sort of thing stop. Cutting out subordinates as has always been his wont, he got to official headquarters, told his troubles, and requested that the submarine and air commanders be notified to respect the Relief Commission's flag. He was assured with all appropriateunction that it had been a regrettable mistake, which couldn't occur again.

"I know," quietly replied Hoover. "I am

reminded of the man who was attacked by a neighbor's dog, and complained.

"'Oh,' replied the neighbor, 'don't worry about that dog, he'll not bite you. He isn't that sort of dog.'

"'I know all about that,' replied the man, 'and I know that you understand all about it; but does the dog understand it?'"

Even with a German official, that story was worth more than a long argument. The functionary excused himself briefly, and on returning said:

"I have just been communicating with the dog, and he knows, now."

Beating the Profiteers

In London, during the war, I was told that although the British contributions to Belgian relief had been large, it was quite possible they had been fully compensated by the effect of Hoover's operations on market conditions. Hoover knew the tricks, and fought the profiteers with their own weapons. He knew how to rig a market as well as the next operator, and his peculiar position left him freer to follow out his own devices than a government official might have been. At one time when he was buying immense quantities of beans, the produce operators cornered them and hoisted the price. Hoover sent agents quietly to gather up, in small lots, 1000 tons of spot beans. These, when the market was overloaded and top-heavy, he dumped on the market, breaking it with a resounding crash. Then, while the profiteers were scurrying for shelter, he bought up several thousand tons at the new low, making a handsome saving. That was a type of operations by which repeatedly Hoover protected himself, and incidentally the Government.

If ever a man had occasion to adopt the Scriptural advice to "Let not thy right hand know what thy left hand doeth," that man was Hoover at this period. He passed freely through Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, and England, enjoying the confidence of all governments, and always taking particular care fully to deserve it. His most intimate co-workers never knew anything he learned while traveling. A neutral in citizenry, a cosmopolitan by long training, few even knew his sympathies in the war. He had sympathies, and very real ones, all on the side of the Allies; but he made it his business to stand before the world as the exemplar of just one idea and nothing more:

"We must feed the Belgians."

American Food Administrator

America came into the war and immediately there was demand for Americans of big affairs to organize the nation on the new war basis. Just as Tientsin had prepared him for the task of American rescue at the war's opening, and just as that task had equipped him for the Belgian relief directorship, so now it was realized that his work for Belgium had qualified him to deal with the problems which confronted America. Thus far America had sold what it could spare of whatever was wanted, to whoever could pay the price and get the goods delivered. Now it was a new problem. Month by month, our Allies were drifting closer on the rocks of economic exhaustion and starvation. They must have more and more of everything, particularly food, and we must produce it despite that we were withdrawing millions of workers for the army, the navy, the manufacture of all the gear of war. Farmerless farms must produce more, rather than less. The whole people must save food, and for what they sold they must begin to take credit evidences, rather than cash.

The work in Belgium was now thoroughly organized and established, so Hoover left it in the hands of his associates and came back to America to take up his new task. In fact, his counsels had been largely directing the preliminary organization on this side for some months before he took personal charge.

Perhaps the keynote of Hoover's policy in this juncture was to give everybody something he could do. That was a trick he had learned in Tientsin, applied in the Hotel Savoy organization, tested out on national and international scale in the Belgian work. Now he sprung it on America. Raise a kitchen garden! Can! Eat corn and save the wheat for Europe; Europe doesn't understand corn. Increase the product of wheat and hogs; the American pig must furnish fats for an emaciated world. Learn to do without! Wheatless days, meatless days, strict rations of everything, enforced by her imperious highness, the housewife! She was the lady, above everybody else, on whom Hoover relied. Belgium had taught him the possibilities of food economy in dealing with great communities, without sacrificing ample nutrition. Also he had learned about the concealed supplies of necessities that every community has on hand without realizing the fact.

Not long after the Food Administration was well afoot there suddenly rose the Macedonian cry that somehow we must immediately produce a perfectly unconscionable and obviously impossible quantity of wheat, else our Allies could not go on more than a short time longer. Everybody knew—except those who really knew—that there was no such quantity of wheat in the country. If there was, the ships couldn't be had to move it.

Multiplying the Loaves and Fishes

Hoover knew better. He sent forth his appeal to farmers and business men to come forward with their stocks of wheat and flour. The so-called visible supply of wheat in the country might have made it possible to export, before another crop, considerably under 20,000,000 bushels. In the face of the statistics, Hoover started out to raise seven or eight times that much. He summoned everybody that had wheat or flour to bring it forthwith to shipping points that it might be mobilized for European demand.

What followed constituted one of the war's most impressive demonstrations of this country's real resources. Somebody asked Hoover what he thought his prospect of success was, and he grimly replied:

"I suspect that we'll have to rely on the promise contained in the fifteenth chapter of St. Matthew."

The interrogator thumbed over his New Testament as soon as he could get to one, and found that the fifteenth chapter of St. Matthew is the story of the multiplication of the loaves and fishes.

Certainly they were multiplied under Hoover. Stories came from the Northwest of railroads swamped with grain by farmers supposed long since to have unloaded their holdings. From Arkansas came report that the country roads were congested with farmers' wagons hauling barrels of flour and sacks of wheat to railroad stations. It was the same story everywhere. In a few weeks, out of a "visible supply" of perhaps 15,000,000 bushels, we had scraped up something over 140,000,000 bushels by the way of encouragement to Europe to hang on until we could supplement it with the coming harvest, and then back it up with 2,000,000 bayonets in the hands of willing young Americans.

"Ships, ships, and yet more ships," was the keynote of an almost tragically earnest speech I heard Mr. Lloyd George make one day in the summer of 1917 to the American

Luncheon Club in London. "Raise food, food, and yet more food," was the appeal that Hoover addressed to America.

Hoover's Appeal to American Women

And just as earnest and insistent was the other appeal: "Save the food." This he addressed especially to the women. He knew who would have to do the food saving, and he enlisted the women. That's the reason the women are for Hoover so strongly. He made it possible for them to help win the war; to know they were helping win it.

They were just as patriotic, earnest, willing, as the men; but they couldn't fight. Hoover showed them what they could do, and now they feel—and rightly, too—that they had a fist in smashing the Hun. Hoover put them in the war. It was the first time a public administrator had organized the women into another army, and the women are grateful to him for giving them their chance.

Policy Justified by the Event

All the way along, Hoover's broad policy as food administrator was criticized by many. It was charged that in his eagerness to get production he placed undue stress on that, and too little on the control of prices and cost of living. It is unnecessary here to discuss the merits of this policy, or the measures by which it was executed. The modern world, right or wrong, has never found but one way to float the extraordinary economic demands that a great war imposes on society, and that is by inflation. Inflation of money, of credits, of prices, of the optimistic imagination that believes two 50-cent dollars are worth more than one 100-cent dollar. Anyhow, the war had been won, and there is more time to talk about the economic fundamentals than there was during the febrile era when we didn't know whether we were going to win or not. Whether our economics were sound or not, our wheat crop was hoisted by hundreds of millions, our pig census broke all records, and our Allies were fed—the proof of the pudding.

At the peak of the load, just when nobody had expected it, came the armistice. With hardly an exception it had been believed that when peace came, it would be well along in the between-crop interval, when supplies in the Germanic countries would reach exhaustion. That it would come immediately after the harvesting of a season's crops was suspected by nobody.

Armistice meant, to Hoover's schooled understanding, that an utterly new set of problems must be faced. The rescued countries must be fed, and instantly. All eastern, southeastern, and central Europe was added to his field. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Serbia, Rumania, Armenia, and the rest must get their share. Germany and Austria now became wards of the victors; they would be at the limit in a short time, and must be saved from disintegration and demoralization.

The American Relief Commission

Ships would still be required to provision the armies and the allies, and to begin moving the millions of soldiers home from alien lands. The worn-out railroads of Europe would be unequal to their new task. All Europe, instead of half of it, was on Hoover's hands, and he had had no time to prepare because the peace was so unexpected.

So, within the week after armistice, he sailed for Europe, installed himself in Paris, organized the American Relief Commission, and took up the new task. Experts were drafted from the army and everywhere else to survey the needs of the various countries. Entente officers were placed in authority in the liberated countries and the late enemy territories. Backed by the promise of food and other necessities, they were received with open arms. In an incredibly short time they were running the railroads, rebuilding bridges, doctoring locomotives and cars that had gone out of commission for want of lubricants or repairs, restoring wire communication, getting mines in operation. Men in uniform, largely the American uniform, were bringing hope and life back to dejected and starving millions. The enemies of yesterday became the saviors of to-day. Fleets of food ships were given new sailing orders, and went as fast as steam would carry them to the ports of the Baltic, the Black, the Adriatic; to the Danube and the Vistula; wherever they could find access to the areas of need. Cargoes that had been destined for our allies were diverted to the greater immediate requirements of lands to which peace meant that war-time discipline had been relaxed, while necessities were as lacking as ever.

Every community east of the Rhine and the Adriatic began desperately grabbing whatever it could find. Fuel, food, clothing, could not be transported without guards because they would be confiscated

by communities en route. Cars were seized, loaded or empty, by every state or province; and, once seized, were not permitted to get away again if they could be held. The Relief Commission had to coöperate with the Allied military control in compelling the people to permit themselves to be provided for.

This was the merely physical chaos. Along with it was the political unrest, the revolutionary tide, the uncertainty about futures. Credit was gone, money worthless, governments toppling, dynasties fleeing from the wreck of tumbling thrones. Hoover got in his preliminary reports and cabled that he must have money. Congress gave him \$100,000,000, and, using it as a credit basis, he stretched it to cover transactions aggregating \$700,000,000 worth of supplies. When he was done he had cared for the immediate emergency, given the country time to produce its 1919 crop, and had most of his original capital remaining, though much of it was in securities whose early liquidation might not be hoped for.

Feeding the Children

In Belgium first, in this wider field now, Hoover devoted himself especially to caring for the children. He saw a long future of privation ahead of a pretty hopeless continent. The children must be saved, for they were the real future. He had discovered that in the growing years they could not thrive on the ration that sufficed for adults, so he established a system of giving an extra meal daily for children. He went out to Austria, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, and the most afflicted of all the countries at that crisis, to see how it was working. The authorities at Warsaw turned out 70,000 school children at the great race course to march for him.

Saving Hungary from Bolshevism

The sudden crumbling of the Hapsburg empire presented the most complex of all the politico-economic problems. Bolshevism was hurling its burning faggots into Hungary on the east wing; it had temporarily captured Bavaria under the cloak of the Spartacists; it was in the Ukraine. If Hungary went down before it, Austria would fall, and western Europe would have the flaming torch thrust fairly in its face. The Commission's agents saw that relief must get to this danger area; food was the antidote to Bolshevism, and there was near 100,000 tons of it at Trieste. To get it through to

Austria and Hungary was the problem. The Italians held the railroad out of Trieste, and, momentarily expecting a clash with Jugoslavia, would not let the food be moved over it.

Hoover's agents notified him of the *impasse*. He was in Paris, and instantly appealed to the Allied Supreme Council. It gave him full authority, setting aside all mere governments in his favor.

Bela Kun rose to the dictatorship of Hungary, and under Hoover's own direction the intrigue was organized that led to his downfall. The instant he was out, the Trieste food was rushed in, and Hungary was rescued from Bolshevism.

That is just an incident in the story of the American Relief Commission's work. The task was finished at mid-August last, the commission started winding up its affairs, and for the greater part middle Europe was left, with a new harvest in hand, to go ahead with the reorganization of its tangled affairs. After all, it must work out its own salvation. It had been tided over the period of worst confusion and saved by the skin of its teeth from Bolshevism.

Mentioned for the Presidency, but Not a Candidate

When he could, Mr. Hoover came home once more. He has sought to rest, and to close up the affairs of his five great years. The public has seen little of him, but its claims on him still persist. At this writing he is in Washington as a member of the new industrial commission, seeking a scheme for reconciliation of the social, economic, and industrial difficulties we commonly but inadequately describe as the question of capital and labor. Common report from the inside of these closely guarded sittings is that Hoover is one of the dominating, perhaps the foremost of all, figures in the gathering.

This human dynamo that all the world now knows as Hoover is not yet forty-five years old. He is wealthy and tired enough to retire, but nobody dreams he will. Of late his name has been urged for the Presidency, and his record pointed to as the justification. He has made a public statement of his public views, which fails to tell to what party he belongs. Some light seems to be given by the fact that during much of the fourteen or fifteen years while he lived in London, but traveled all over the world, he was a member of the Republican Club in New York and made his home there when

in the city on his frequent visits. He had offices in London, New York and San Francisco. Friends of the old California days say he voted for McKinley in 1896, and was a pretty regular contributor afterward to Republican campaign funds. In 1918 he wrote a letter appealing for united support of President Wilson. He says in his most recent statement that he would support any party committed to a league of nations against any party that opposed such a league. It is common report that he does not like the league plan framed at Versailles, and that he agrees with the Maynard Keynes view that the general terms of the peace treaty are monstrous.

Another Sir Eric Geddes

Mr. Hoover impresses one as the American "opposite number" to Sir Eric Geddes, the British Cabinet Minister. Young, smooth-cheeked, clear-skinned, square-jawed, big, husky, radiating a certain easy assurance, rather than the visible testimony of boundless energy, these two seem strangely alike. Geddes was a Scotch civil engineer, who when hardly more than a boy went out to India to build logging railroads and show how to get a lot of things done that had never seemed possible before. He had outgrown the job and come back to England to be presently the head of a great railroad system. Hoover, the Iowa farm boy, likewise an engineer, had also done his bit in the wild places, as we have seen, and, before he was forty, was controlling operations all over the world, employing 150,000 men and producing an output equalling the mining product of the State of California.

His power to do things is in the power of the man who has no patience with indirection, and the energy to get about them directly. He does business with headquarters always, whether it is managing a mine in Australia, or dealing with a finance minister in London, or getting fair treatment from a supreme naval command in Berlin. He has lived in London most of his life since the college days, maintaining a great establishment in the West End. In 1899 he married Miss Lou Henry, a California girl who went through Leland Stanford a year after him. She was of the same tastes as he, as *vide* the "De Re Metallica" collaboration, the fact that both were specialists in geology, and that from the time they wedded Mrs. Hoover has traveled constantly about the world with her husband.

HOUSTON AT THE TREASURY

BY CHARLES R. CRANE

IT WOULD be a good thing for the country just now to get a square look at the new Secretary of the Treasury. In times like this, when every political body in the world is hunting desperately for real leadership, it is a tribute to American processes to find a man like David F. Houston in so responsible a post. It is encouraging to find a man of his kind appearing above the horizon and brought to his present position by sheer ability, industry, and devotion to public service, with no artificial support through either the press or politics. He is not sufficiently dramatic to have attracted the constant attention of the headline writers, and his sense of public service, both for himself and his department, is too uncompromising to have won the especial favor of the politicians.

Through years of preparation he has had a distinguished career in more parts of the United States than any other man in public life, and he therefore understands the fundamental economic and political movements of the country better than anyone else.

Dr. Houston's genius for leadership is shown in his own personal history. As a young man he grew up in the Carolinas, and worked his way through the University of South Carolina. Afterwards he was superintendent of city schools in Spartanburg for three years. He then went to Harvard with the definite purpose of equipping himself in the field of political science and finance, where he was a graduate student from 1891 to 1894. Those three years in Massachusetts, taken in connection with subsequent experiences, have given him valuable knowledge of New England.

From Harvard, young Houston went to the University of Texas, in 1894, as assistant professor of political science, remaining



HON. DAVID F. HOUSTON

there for eight years and becoming full professor and dean of the faculty. In 1902 he was made president of the Agricultural College of Texas, but three years later found him back at the University of Texas, as president. That period of fourteen years established his leadership in another section of the country, the West and Southwest.

In 1908 Dr. Houston became Chancellor of Washington University, at St. Louis, where he became one of the civic as well as educational leaders of the great State of Missouri. He remained in St. Louis until 1913, when he entered President Wilson's first cabinet.

In the meantime Dr. Houston served on a great variety of educational and economic commissions, all of which have helped to prepare him for his present responsible post.

He studied private law for a number of years, and has given attention to public law for many more years. At Harvard he specialized under Dunbar and other members of the faculty in domestic and foreign taxation, banking (especially the history and practise of banking in the United States), public finance, public debts, international payments, industrial history, and domestic and foreign governments, including comparative constitutional law. Afterwards he lectured for eight years on these topics.

Throughout his career Dr. Houston has naturally fallen into executive positions. At college he was captain of the cadet battalion, and was elected president of the senior class. At twenty-one he took charge of a broken-down system of schools. At Harvard he was elected president of the Graduate Club before the end of his first term. Although he was the youngest member of the University of Texas in point of service, he was asked to organize and establish the duties of Dean, himself becoming first dean.

With all this broad preparation he came to Washington seven years ago to take charge of that important but entirely undramatic service of the Government, the Department of Agriculture. To give an adequate idea of the achievements of this department, and the story of its great growth under Secretary Houston, would take a volume, but it would be inspiring reading to anyone interested in real progress. Each of the following topics would contribute extensive chapters to such a volume, as anyone may discover who goes back through Secretary Houston's annual reports for the past seven years:

(1.) Food production increased in all lines, particularly to meet war-time needs; additional liberal provisions made to stimulate the raising of meat animals and the growing of plant food, and to eradicate plant and animal diseases.

(2.) Department's work reorganized to bring about a more logical and effective grouping of its activities and to make its work more directly helpful to the farmer.

(3.) Best farming information supplied to farmers through personal contact, by the provisions of the Coöperative Agricultural Extension Act of 1914, which established effective coöperation in the federal and State governments in agricultural education.

(4.) Good highways built by federal and State coöperation, made possible by the Federal Aid Road Act of July, 1916. Additional appropriation of \$209,000,000 recently provided for extension of that work.

(5.) Money lent to farmers through operation of the Federal Reserve Act and the Federal Farm Loan Act, providing for systematic financial aid on terms suited to farmers' needs.

(6.) Food distribution facilitated by directing attention for the first time to the vital "second half of agriculture"—problems involved in marketing, rural finance, and rural organization.

(7.) Cotton-marketing safeguarded by the Cotton Futures Act, under the provisions of which standards for cotton have been established, operations of the exchanges supervised, and the sale of cotton placed on a firmer basis.

(8.) Grain-marketing aided by operation of the Grain Standards Act, which aims to bring about uniformity in the grading to enable the farmer to obtain a fairer price for his product, and to afford him a financial incentive to grow better grades.

(9.) Storage and marketing standardized by the Warehouse Act, providing for the licensing of bonded warehouses and making possible the issuance of reliable and easily negotiable warehouse receipts, as well as permitting the better storing of farm products.

(10.) War operations aided in every bureau of the Department by the substitution, wherever necessary, of emergency work for non-essential activities.

(11.) Recognition of farm women and the farm home as demanding the same conveniences and advantages for prosperous and contented rural life as are found elsewhere.

(12.) Reorganization of the office of farm management, to broaden its work and increase its usefulness.

These forward steps are only a part of the work—greatly extended in recent years—of the seventeen bureaus and other divisions of the Department of Agriculture, which was described recently by President Wilson as "the greatest practical and scientific agricultural organization in the world."

Through his wisdom, judgment, and power of coöperation Secretary Houston, in his quiet way, has come to be more consulted in matters of great moment, both by the Cabinet and members of Congress, than any other person in Washington; and in the period of reconstruction which lies ahead it would be impossible to find a more useful man.



USING MILCH COWS AS DRAFT ANIMALS IN SERBIA

SERBIA'S VITAL PROBLEMS

BY WILLIAM J. DOHERTY

(Commissioner Overseas Activities of the Serbian Child Welfare Association of America)

UNLESS one keeps in mind certain events of the past eight years, there is danger of failing to understand present conditions and problems in Serbia, the mother country of the newly-formed Yugoslav nation. Therefore, at the risk of repeating facts which are perhaps common knowledge, it may be useful to recapitulate certain matters of recent history.

The declaration of war in July, 1914, had found Serbia weakened by the short but sharp conflicts among the Balkan kingdoms in 1912-'13. During the autumn and early winter of 1914-'15 her powers were further drained in routing the forces of Austria-Hungary. Later in the winter and during the spring months of 1915, typhus, introduced by Austrian prisoners, so decimated the Serbian people that one in every ten died.

In the summer of 1915—before the combined forces of Germany, Austria, and Bulgaria launched an attack which was to devastate the little Serbian kingdom—suffering had become intense and thousands of homeless children were wandering over the land.

Then followed the final crushing of Serbia, with the tragic retreat of the army and much of the civil population over the mountains to the sea. In a country abandoned for

three years to German, Austrian, and Bulgarian hatred were left few able-bodied men; and upon old men, women, children, and the infirm was enforced a merciless policy the avowed object of which was annihilation of a nation.

In her struggle for life, Serbia had mobilized every man capable of bearing arms—over 700,000, or 40 per cent. of her male population. And when the invader was driven out she had lost one million of her four and a half million people, including over half of her taxpayers.

A small and never rich land, Serbia had been looted of manufactured goods, furniture, machinery, jewelry, silver coinage, and harvests to the value of \$562,000,000, and had suffered requisitions and damage to private property to the additional amount of \$160,000,000. A nation of less than five millions, 90 per cent. farmers, had lost 130,000 horses, 6,000,000 sheep and goats, 2,000,000 pigs, 8,000,000 poultry and 1,300,000 head of cattle—practically its entire live stock.

The unestimated losses include hospitals, drugs, clothing, schools, universities, laboratories; museums, books, and works of art; churches, homes, public buildings; railroads,

bridges, tunnels, stations, and rolling stock; also wharves, boats, telegraph, telephone, postal system, factories and raw materials. All of these things had been swept away so utterly that after a thorough examination for the Red Cross, Col. Homer Folks reported Serbia "to be in need of practically everything necessary to preserve and maintain human and animal life."

Such was the condition of Serbia in the early months of 1919.

The City That Was Belgrade

The writer reached Belgrade early in October, 1919; and for some months—both as Commissioner for the Serbian Child Welfare Association of America and as a member of the executive committee of the Central Committee of Belgrade, composed of representatives of the larger British and American organizations for relief—he enjoyed unusual opportunities for personal observation and obtaining exact information.

Belgrade still shows unmistakable evidences of the severity of the bombardment undergone. The city has been badly shot up, especially along the river front. Not a public building was left intact, and few were in condition to be used. All of the bridges were destroyed, including the great railway structure across the Danube. The Austrians had stripped the city of everything—china, glass, furniture, bedding. The housing problem was most serious. During the Aus-

trian occupation the population of the city, reduced to half its size, had barely found accommodation; and the influx of returning refugees resulted in great overcrowding. Some of the hotels were open, but they were short of equipment of every kind.

It was the writer's fortune, at various times, to visit many Belgrade homes of the better class. Without exception homes and masters were ruined, stripped of everything. The merest necessities of life were often lacking and could not be replaced. Furniture, china, glass, beds and bedding, and supplies of every description were very limited. Prices were high and though possible to the traveler were prohibitive to the Serbian.

Three months after my arrival repairs were in progress, but they were mostly of a temporary character. There is no lumber in Serbia, and with the present woeful condition of the railways transportation cannot be relied upon for lumber and material which might otherwise be procured from the Banat and provinces formerly Austrian. There is no efficient labor to be had, because all able-bodied men are still in the army. There is no money and no equipment.

Conditions which prevail in Belgrade are common to Nish, Monastir, and the cities of old Serbia—the Serbia of 1914. There can be no real change until the country receives adequate help from without—in money, materials, equipment, and labor. Help Serbia has had, but it has not been adequate in the face of devastation and disorganization so absolute.

Plight of the Peasant Farmers

In the country at large, to the casual observer who is familiar with invaded sections of northern France and Belgium, it might seem that injuries inflicted upon Serbia are slight in comparison. Yet those who have been through Serbia, especially in sections outside the larger cities, fully agree with the report made by the American Administration of Relief, that Serbia suffered greater devastation and greater material losses than any other country engaged in the war.

There are many farms and villages where buildings were left standing, but in a multitude of cases they are battered and broken to an extent that renders them valueless to their owners. In Serbia, it is the universality of destruction which makes it fatal beyond comparison. Without tools, farming implements, or machinery; without furniture or domestic utensils; without horses,



THE SERBIAN FARM HAND



THE RUINS OF WAR ALONG A MAIN HIGHWAY IN SERBIA

cattle, or draught animals; without lumber for repairs, and with means of communication and transportation destroyed, the peasant farmers of Serbia—who constitute more than 90 per cent. of the entire population—are having a hard time to eke out a miserable existence.

Coupled with all this is an absolute shortage of labor. To-day, the only farm labor is that of old men and women and children, with such soldiers (never many) as are occasionally released from military duty to go home to help with the harvest.

I have seen Serbian peasant farmers living in shelters made of straw and branches of trees. I have seen these peasants, once famous for their fine oxen, using their few milch cows with which to plow fields.

Railways and Highways

In dealing with the situation, one of the most serious obstacles to be confronted is the crippled condition of the transportation system. Roadbeds, tunnels, bridges and culverts were destroyed, and the rolling-stock was sent to Austria and Bulgaria. Repairs are made slowly, and the supply of locomotives remains exceedingly scanty. To the branch lines so far re-opened, a single locomotive each is all that can be allowed, and trips are made only at such intervals as that decrepit locomotive can manage.

The country roads, always bad, are frightfully cut-up by the passage of heavy artillery. They have not been repaired for seven years. Except that here and there someone has rolled a rock into a particularly dangerous hole, roadway repairs have not been attempted.

A New Enemy Appears—Disease

With the country despoiled and laid desolate, practically crippled materially and financially, tired and worn after her seven-years' struggle, Serbia emerged from the late war only to find herself confronted with a new, more insidious and dangerous enemy—disease, which threatens to carry away still other thousands of her sorely afflicted people.

Serbia may not be threatened with starvation, but she is facing a situation just as critical. The care of thousands of orphaned, neglected, and abandoned children, the stamping out of disease, and the safeguarding of the future health of her people are problems acutely confronting Serbia at the present time. They are big problems, pressing for speedy solution if the ravages of sickness and disease are to be checked and the future generation of Serbians is to be saved.

An Army of Homeless Children

Though accurate statistics are not available, it is conservatively estimated that, in what constitutes old Serbia, there are to-day approximately 500,000 children in various stages of dependency—all scantily clad, large numbers undernourished and underfed, many homeless, and nearly all afflicted with physical ailments for which little medical provision is made. Even the most optimistic among the foreign relief agencies at work in the field are agreed that, at the present time, there are from forty to fifty thousand full orphan children, under the age of sixteen years, in need of care and protection.

During the open weather months, a large number of these children, especially those of the older ages, receive some sort of shelter

and, perhaps, care. With the army still mobilized, these boys and girls had been rather useful in helping the peasant women and old men till the fields and gather the crops. But when the farm work was over and winter approached—with the scarcity of food, clothing, shoes, and fuel staring them full in the face—the peasants were naturally prone to allow the orphans to care for themselves.

With the older boys and girls, the situation is such that it resolves itself into a question of the survival of the fittest. There are so many younger children needing care and shelter that the Serbian Child Welfare Committee has decided that boys and girls over twelve are old enough to shift for themselves.

I have seen these homeless boys—and some homeless girls, too—attempting to shift for themselves, and the sight is enough to affect even the most hardened. Go where you will in Serbia, and you will see them wearily trudging along the mountain roads in all sorts of weather, in twos, in threes and fours. They are the little wanderers, dirty, vermin-infested, ragged, shoeless, footsore and weary, going ever onward in search of food and shelter. When night overtakes

them they sleep where they may, usually in the out-houses or under the hay mow. No wonder they sicken and quickly succumb to disease.

At an American Relief Station

Down at Chachak, a mountainous section of north central Serbia, where the Serbian Child Welfare Association of America has established a training school for children, I have seen numbers of the little wanderers coming in sick and in tatters to seek admission. Friends in need, usually they come trudging along hand in hand, and when you ask whence they came they tell the same story—from some remote mountain hamlet three or four hours walk away. They have no parents, they have no home.

Some of them have had to be turned away because of lack of room. When told that there is "no room for them in the inn," they look up at you with longing eyes, as does the stray dog you turn away from the door. That look of abject misery pierces straight to the heart.

The physical condition of these homeless children with whom I have come in contact almost beggars description. They constitute a most abject lot, nearly all of them sadly undernourished, considerably under weight, and afflicted with scabies, impetigo, and various eye, ear, nose, throat and other ailments.

To understand their present pitiable physical and mental state, one has but to realize the conditions under which they were born and lived. Their mothers, throughout the long war, suffered terribly from privation and want. They were subjected to heart-breaking mental and physical strain. They were compelled to witness so much suffering, sickness, and death that life became a hideous nightmare. Naturally all of this acted unfavorably on the children born to them.

Many of the children have passed through untold hardships, and have been compelled to witness scenes sufficient to unbalance more mature persons. Some of the children under American care at Chachak had seen their parents cruelly murdered before their eyes. Some of them had themselves been subjected to cruel and inhuman treatment at the hands of the invaders. Naturally they had been impressed by conditions surrounding them, and these impressions have reacted unfavorably upon their physical and mental growth.

Serbia must be assisted in making proper provision for her feeble-minded and neu-



GATHERING FAGOTS, THE ONLY FUEL AVAILABLE



IN GROUPS OF TWO, THREE AND FOUR, SERBIAN ORPHAN CHILDREN TRUDGE ALONG THE MOUNTAIN ROADS
IN SEARCH OF FOOD AND SHELTER

rotic children, and for the training of those crippled and physically defective.

Less Than One Hundred Doctors in Serbia!

Sickness and disease are rampant throughout the country. Tuberculosis annually is taking away thousands of her people. Typhus has not yet been stamped out, and periodically reappears. Venereal disease is likewise prevalent. Infants and children of the very tender ages are pitilessly sacrificed each year to grim death, when they might be spared were it possible to give them the attention needed. The older children, the hope of the future, badly nourished and lacking in knowledge of even elementary hygiene, are growing up weakened in mind and body.

Of sanitation there is little in the cities, towns, villages, and hamlets of Serbia. Even in the rural communities, sanitary methods of living are quite unknown.

Serbia knows of the existence of this condition, yet unaided she can do little to remedy it. She has not the means, and she lacks the facilities. Even did she possess these, not much of a constructive nature could be done, because the country lacks trained personnel competent to tackle intelligently the big job of putting the nation on a sanitary basis.

The country is woefully lacking in native-born physicians. They were sacrificed during the war, and those who survive—less than one hundred—are sadly overworked. Few, indeed, are competent by training and

experience to deal intelligently with the situation. At Gutcha, where the Serbian Child Welfare Association established a health center, we found a community of 30,000 people with no hospital or dispensary facilities and with but one lone physician. At Slatina, another out-station of the association, there were some 10,000 people with no hospital or dispensary facilities, and with no physician. At Ivanjitza, around which centers a community of some 15,000 people, there was no physician and no hospital facilities.

Of hospitals Serbia has a few, but not nearly sufficient in number to meet the requirements. As far as my observations have gone, the general hospitals conducted by the Serbians are poorly equipped and sadly undermanned as a rule. Physicians are few, and properly trained native nurses are rare. Throughout Serbia, outside of those conducted by foreign relief agencies, dispensaries for the poor are quite rare.

What the Austrians Did to a Serbian Hospital.

We had not been long at Chachak when the Serbian director of the general hospital came to us seeking assistance. We made an investigation of the hospital and found that it needed practically everything in the way of medicine and surgical supplies and proper hospital equipment.

Before the war, we were told, the hospital had been fairly well equipped, and it was quite generally recognized as being

among the best conducted in Serbia. When the Austrians retreated from Chachak, they left the building completely stripped. What they could not take away with them they destroyed. The electric-light plant, the only one in that section, was rendered useless. The water system was destroyed, windows were removed, and the entire hospital and out-buildings made desolate.

When the Serbians again took possession they tried hard to restore order, but with no supplies and no money to purchase them they only partially succeeded. And yet the hospital had to operate, for sickness was rife among the people; and when we appeared they were operating the hospital to more than full capacity. In the male wards, shortage of beds compelled placing three men in two beds.

Of medical supplies there was a dire shortage, and of surgical supplies there was none. Gauze, bandages, cotton, etc., were totally lacking. Ether was not to be had. How these physicians managed to get along, and how the patients lived to endure the hardships, is something of a mystery.

Physically a Bankrupt Nation

Of medicine and surgical supplies and proper hospital equipment, Serbia has but a limited portion. Were it not for the medical supplies brought into the country by the American Red Cross and other foreign relief agencies, Serbia's sick would have to go without drugs and medicines.

Serbia has no preventoria or sanatoria for the care of the tubercular. She has no provision to make for the care of the crippled and defective.

Tersely put, Serbia in nealth matters is bankrupt, open to such ravage of disease as may well result in practical extermination.

To those who know Serbia and the Serbs, there is little doubt that this staunch little nation will in time recover from the ruin and desolation to which her enemies reduced her. It will take time to restore the homes, the farms, and the vineyards to their pre-war state; it will take time and money to rebuild the railroads, the bridges, and the roadways. But Serbia will do these things, for her people have been through the ordeal before and they possess the spirit, the philosophy, and the determination which make for the best reconstruction work. Serbia, however, can not afford to lose time in working out plans for immediate care and shelter of her thousands of homeless children, and she can ill afford delay in solving her health problems; for in the meantime her children are without shelter, food, and clothing. They are suffering and dying. Disease is going unchecked, and death continues to exact its heavy toll.

Serbia herself is fully alive to her needs. On her statute books she has outlined one of the best and most comprehensive child-caring programs. But she cannot put the program into effect without trained personnel. Through her state and church officials Serbia has warmly welcomed the advent of the English and American relief workers to the country. Serbia wants to see American ideals, American methods of public health and child care introduced into the country. She looks to the Americans now at work in the field to help bring this about, and thus rescue the coming generation. She has endorsed American plans and methods.

Given the moral support and the financial help which America can give to train her people, Serbia will arise from the ruin and lead the way in advanced child welfare and public health activities in the Balkan communities.



THE RELIEF STATION OF THE SERBIAN CHILD WELFARE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, AT CHACHAK

THE KAISER'S BATTLE

THE PICARDY OFFENSIVE OF MARCH, 1918

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

TWO years ago this month, on March 21, 1918, Germany made her supreme effort to obtain victory. In forty days she employed not less than 1,750,000 troops, and in the first fifteen days she put more than a million into the furnace in the Picardy phase. Not even at the First Marne were the Germans closer to success than on March 26, when Foch was called to the command.

In recent months a number of books have been published, notably those of Ludendorff and General Maurice, setting forth the German and British official views, hitherto little known, while Louis Madelin, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* has presented the French view. I have thought, therefore, that while something of the recollection of those terrible and magnificent days of two years ago still survives, my readers might be interested in a review of what actually happened at that time.

The present narrative deals only with the Battle of Picardy, called by the British the Second Battle of the Somme and by the Germans the "Kaiser's battle." The subsequent extension to Flanders was relatively less significant. The military operations from March 21 to April 5 actually constitute the high-water mark of German striving during the whole four years of conflict.

I. LUDENDORFF'S PURPOSE

The refusal of the Allied civil and military authorities to consider any offensive operation, such as Foch had advised, automatically bestowed the initiative upon Ludendorff. In his memoirs the German commander tells the world that he considered three possible theaters of operations, the Flanders sector, between Lens and Ypres, the Verdun sector, on either side of the hills actually covering the town, and the Scarpe-Oise sector, mainly included within the boundaries of the old French province of Picardy.

He rejected the Verdun sector completely

because the hilly character of the country promised difficulties in the exploitation of any victory, and, though he does not say this, unquestionably because Verdun had an unpleasant sound in German ears and anything but supreme success there would instantly set afloat a wave of pessimism by recalling the terrible disappointments of the previous offensive. He had, further, very special reasons, easily recognizable now, for preferring to attack the British.

He postponed any Flanders effort, while preparing for it as a later possibility, because the condition of the country, the lowness of the ground and the certainty of mud in the early spring would necessitate putting off operations until mid-April—a thing highly undesirable in view of the eventual arrival of American troops in France. His own narrative indicates that the time circumstance was decisive in influencing him to attack in Picardy.

Having decided to attack there, his first concern was to choose a time, and he fixed upon March 21—an early date when one recalls the fact that the French offensive of 1917, launched on April 16, nearly a month later in the spring, was fatally compromised by weather conditions. But Ludendorff felt that he could not wait, and, as it turned out, he was favored by an almost phenomenal stretch of good weather, while the spring was one of the driest in history.

In choosing the Picardy sector, extending from Fontaine-les-Croisilles right down to the Oise opposite La Fère, the German soldier had unerringly hit upon the weakest point in the Allied front. Here the British and French armies made junction, on the south side of the Oise; and the point of junction of two armies, and particularly of two armies belonging to different races and speaking different tongues, is notoriously a danger point.

But to this natural weakness others were added. The larger portion of this selected front the British had but recently taken over from the French, against the judgment

of the British High Command. The troops in the new area mainly comprised the Fifth British Army, commanded by Gough. This army had suffered terribly in the Flanders contest, where Gough's leadership had been such as to shake the confidence of his soldiers. The divisions had a high percentage of replacements, that is, of still untrained troops. And in addition, like all British armies, it had for three years been constantly on the offensive and had not been allowed time to permit training in the defensive—a circumstance emphasized by Haig in his own reports.

Again, this vital sector was the worst protected in fixed defenses. It had been newly taken over from the French, who had not devoted much time to fortification, since during their occupancy the Allied armies had been on the offensive. A single good system of defense faced the Germans, but behind this first system a second and a third line had not been more than sketched. The explanation is not in the main to be found in carelessness. The Fifth Army had barely time to reconstruct its forward system before the blow fell and there was lacking labor to perform the task, since British manpower, outside of the army, was totally occupied in maintaining the navy, the merchant fleet, and the necessary industries.

Even worse was the situation in the matter of numbers. Haig felt, not unnaturally, that the vital sectors for him were those covering Calais and Boulogne, that is, his sea bases. A push of twenty-five miles toward the Channel from the Flanders front would bring the harbors of both towns under German fire and compel a sweeping retirement out of the Ypres salient and back upon the coast, where he would have to fight with his back to the sea. By contrast, he had far more elbow room to the south, where his front was twice as far from the sea. Moreover, while at the north he would be for long necessarily dependent upon his own reserves, the French could be expected to reinforce Gough promptly, if he were heavily attacked.

The result was that the sector between the Oise and the Cambrai salient, covered by Gough's army, was most thinly held. Gough, with fourteen divisions of infantry and three of cavalry, occupied a front of forty-two miles—Gouzeaucourt to Barisis, south of the Oise and near La Fère. Byng's Third Army to the north held twenty-seven miles, with fifteen divisions. So weak was Gough,

in fact, that he did not feel able to hold all his front in force, and from the point where his line touched the Oise below St. Quentin to the right bank facing La Fère, he relied upon the river as a barrier and did no more than to maintain detached posts. As it turned out, this was a fatal circumstance, for in the spring of 1918 the river was so low that the Germans were able to pass the stream and overwhelm the British posts.

Finally, from the very outset it was plain that two totally different problems occupied the British and French commanders, Haig and Pétain. Haig felt that in any circumstance he must cover his communications with Great Britain, must guard Calais and Boulogne. Pétain's chief duty must be to cover Paris. But the Fifth British Army was actually covering the Oise route to the French capital. If it collapsed before French supports arrived, the road to Paris would be open.

Even the safety of Paris could hardly tempt Haig to employ his last reserves in supporting Gough, when such a course might lead eventually to opening his southern flank and to weakening his own armies so fatally, that without closing the road to Paris he would have uncovered the way to the Channel. At a certain point then, it is clear the purposes of Haig and Pétain would inevitably diverge and, if there were no commander-in-chief, each would follow his own necessities with results which might be fatal.

Exactly this did happen before the battle was a week old, on March 26, the most critical day of all, and very nearly resulted in supreme disaster. The selection of Foch as commander-in-chief at the last minute of the eleventh hour alone prevented this terrible catastrophe. Established in the supreme command, Foch restored a community of strategical and tactical purpose, accelerated the pace of French reserves coming from Pétain, fixed Haig in his positions and thus avoided a complete severance of British and French armies with necessarily fatal consequences.

A similar difference of opinion had, it will be recalled, occurred at a critical moment during the great retreat in the days of the first Marne campaign. Joffre had asked French to stay in line behind the Oise during the period when Lanzerac was counter-attacking at Guise. But despite Joffre's entreaty, Sir John had retired out of line altogether, leaving a gap in the Allied front which compelled a resumption of the retreat.

Still again, when Joffre was ready to seek decisive action at the Marne and had ordered a general attack, French was reluctant to agree, considered a further retirement behind the Seine, and finally did comply with Joffre's request with very great tardiness.

The French Government and High Command had been so disturbed by this refusal of General French to coordinate his movements with those of Joffre that Kitchener had been summoned from London, but despite his advice, French insisted upon freedom of decision, pointing to his orders which called upon him, at all hazards, to preserve his army, the single military reservoir on which the British had to depend for the making of their new army. Thus, all through the Marne campaign, while Joffre was seeking decisive action, French was only authorized to cooperate in so far as such cooperation did not risk the destruction of Britain's only field force.

Foch had faced a similar problem, when he undertook to coordinate British and French operations in Flanders in the Battle of the Yser a few months later. There was one critical moment when Sir John French had actually ordered the British to retire out of the Ypres salient—a course which would have spelled ruin to the Allied cause, since the Germans would have reached Calais and thus the Channel coast. Foch surmounted this crisis; French recalled his decision after a memorable midnight conference, but the peril persisted, since except during the ill-starred Nivelle period, the two armies acted independently. In 1918, it should be said, Haig had far more justification for his conclusion to follow his own line of action than had French four years earlier. But both at the Yser and in Picardy, such a policy, had it prevailed, would have spelled disaster exactly as it had led to evil consequences in the Marne operation.

II. LUDENDORFF'S OBJECTIVE

The main and obvious objective of Ludendorff was the whole British army, which he undertook to crush by one or more attacks, with the purpose of breaking the British will for war, the determination to continue the struggle which was still unshaken in the British people. Aside from this larger purpose, his strategy was comprehended in the following purposes: He planned to employ about sixty-four divisions at once, 750,000 men, between the Scarpe and the Oise in a

brutal and terrific attack, nourished by other divisions, after the battle opened. This attack might be expected to accomplish a complete break-through, and this break-through would separate the British and the French armies.

The weight of the blow was to be delivered on either side of the Cambrai salient by the Seventeenth and Second Armies, while the Eighteenth was to operate further south. The three armies were commanded by Below, Marwitz and Hutier, respectively. Ludendorff calculated that the two northern armies would smash the British line, roll it up north of the Somme and away from the French.

Meanwhile the Eighteenth Army, pushing through the British front on either side of St. Quentin, would drive southwestward, its purpose would be to some extent determined by the success or failure of the efforts to the north, but it might, under certain circumstances, pursue the double objective of striking at Amiens, the vital center of Anglo-French communications, and of opening the road to Paris down the Oise Valley by taking the Lassigny Heights southwest of Noyon or by turning them by way of Montdidier.

In the event, neither the Seventeenth nor the Second Army realized more than a small fraction of the expectations of Ludendorff. All of the Seventeenth and the fraction of the Second which faced Byng's Third British Army were held, forced to make a slow advance at terrific costs. By contrast, the Eighteenth made a clean break-through, routed the Fifth British Army, and thereafter began a swift and terrifying advance both toward Amiens and Montdidier, while Ludendorff, modifying his plans, threw all his reserves to the Hutier Army.

Ludendorff's strategic purpose then was to destroy the British Army—to do it, if possible, by a single blow, but failing this, to isolate the British from the French Army and prepare the way for a second blow against the British. On the subject of his own plans, Ludendorff has written as follows:

The center attack (that on the Picardy front) seemed to lack any definite limit. This could be remedied by directing the main effort on the area between Arras and Péronne, toward the coast. If this blow succeeded, the strategic result might indeed be enormous, as we should cut the bulk of the English Army from the French and crowd it up with its back to the sea.

I favored the center attack; but I was in-

fluenced by the time factor and by tactical consideration, first among them being the weakness of the enemy. Whether this weakness would continue I could not know.

After determining the divisions and other forces available for the attack, it was decided to strike between Croisilles, southeast of Arras, and Moeuvres, and omitting the Cambrai salient between Villers-Guislain and the Oise, south of St. Quentin. It was to be supported on its left by a subsidiary attack from La Fère.

The Seventeenth Army, therefore, had to make the attack on the line Croisilles-Moeuvres, the Second and Eighteenth, that between Villers-Guislain and La Fère. In this operation the Seventeenth and Second were to take the weight off each other in turn and with their inner wings cut off the enemy holding the Cambrai salient, afterward pushing through between Croisilles and Péronne. This advance was to be protected on the south flank by the Eighteenth Army in combination with the extreme left wing of the Second. The strength and equipment of these armies were adapted to their tasks.

For the decisive operation the Seventeenth and Second Armies were to remain under the orders of the Army Group of Crown Prince Rupprecht. The Eighteenth Army joined that of the German Crown Prince.

III. THE BATTLEFIELD

The front on which Ludendorff elected to attack was some sixty-five miles in extent and lacked any such striking circumstance as the Vimy Ridge or the Craonne Plateau. Beginning at Fontaine-les-Croisilles, the British line ran east and then south, first on the slope and then across the crest of a bare plateau between the Scarpe and the Oise rivers—a central knot of hills in which rise both the Somme and the Scheldt rivers. In its easterly trend the British line lay along the downward slope of the plateau and was crossed by the little streams, the Sensée and the Cojeul, which descend into the Scarpe in the Douai Plain. When it turned southward, having circled the high ground southwest of Cambrai, seized in the 1917 battle, the British front approached but did not quite touch the Somme-Scheldt Canal, connecting St. Quentin with Cambrai. As a consequence, both banks of the canal were in German hands and the canal was not an obstacle to German advance.

Circling around St. Quentin, which was less than a mile from the British front, the line inclined southeastwardly until it touched the Oise near Moy, and then ran behind this stream to the great bend near La Fère, where it crossed the stream and made junction with the French lines west of the St. Gobain Forest, which remained in German

hands. Save for the stretch behind the Oise, the British front was without natural protection and the Oise barrier was to prove fatally inconsiderable. In addition, the country was devoid of woodland, in striking contrast to the region south of the Oise and of the Aisne, where the forests of Compiègne and Villers-Cotterets were formidable military obstacles.

If the Germans should succeed in breaking through the defense system of the British between Fontaine-les-Croisilles and La Fère, there was no fully organized line of artificial defenses to be stormed. North of the Somme at Péronne, there was, too, no natural obstacle of any sort, until the assailants had passed over all of the old battlefield of the Somme and arrived at the swamps into which the Ancre brook had expanded after the bombardments of the 1916 campaign. As a consequence of the destructions of the Hindenburg Retreat, the country was destitute of all natural cover; villages, farms, even orchards, all had been methodically razed.

It was true that the tiny Tortille Brook, coming due south and entering the Somme below Péronne, did offer a suggestion of an obstacle, but it was inconsiderable and played no part in the conflict. From Péronne southward, as far as Ham, the Somme offered a natural obstacle stretched straight across the pathway of advance of the Eighteenth Army, and this obstacle was prolonged to the Oise, behind the British battle positions, by the Crozat Canal. Ludendorff, in his plan, had taken cognizance of this natural defense line and had therefore directed his main effort north of Péronne, where, once the British battle positions were broken, he would have nothing before him until he reached the Ancre.

Unfortunately for the British, however, the unusually dry season had lowered the Somme, so that the stream, inconsiderable in all but flood seasons, constituted nothing like a serious barrier, while the completeness of the collapse of their thin line behind the Oise, similarly due to the low water in that stream, enabled the Germans to push westward and cross the Canal Crozat and the Somme at Ham before the British could make good this line or destroy the bridges.

Once the line of the Somme was gone, the British had no real line of defense based on a natural obstacle until they had reached the west bank of the tiny Avre, which after its juncture with its insignificant tributary,



the Trois Doms, a mere brook, flows north from Montdidier to the Somme, which it enters just east of Amiens. Moreover, when the Germans reached the east bank of the Avre they would be within three or four miles of the all-important Paris-Calais railway, coming up to Amiens from Paris, and could cut it by their artillery fire as they cut the Paris-Verdun railway in the offensive of 1916. Thus they would by taking them under their artillery fire abolish all the railway lines which at Amiens bound the British to the French and permitted the free interchange of reinforcements.

Again, if from the great bend at La Fère to the hills near Noyon the Oise flowed from east to west, parallel to the Somme, after that stream turns west from Péronne, and

the German advance would be for the moment canalized between the two rivers; beyond Noyon the Oise turns south, away from the Somme, and the corridor would begin to open out. If the Germans could take Noyon and the hills southeast, in which stood Lassigny, they would open the Oise road to Paris, by way of Compiègne. Even if they were temporarily checked in these hills, they might flow westward and then southward around them, having taken Montdidier, and thus open both the Compiègne and the Creil routes to Paris, down which Sir John French had retired behind the Oise in the far-off Mons campaign.

A collapse of the British defense systems, then, would clear the way for a German advance north of the Somme, where it makes

its big bend at Péronne, as far west as the Ancre. South of the Somme there would be the Somme and Crozat Canal barriers. These passed, the Germans would have a clear road to the Avre, and if they reached the Avre, they would cut the Paris-Calais railway and menace Amiens at the north and Paris less immediately, but not less clearly, to the south.

If they were not checked on the line of the Avre, then, the rupture between the British and French armies would be complete and permanent; the British armies would be crowded northward and in upon the coast, the French armies flung back upon Paris. If the line of the Ancre collapsed, either together with that of the Avre or before it, the result would be the same, so far as the isolation of the two enemy armies was concerned, but the profit for the Germans would be greater, because Gough's army would be cut off from the British, thus weakening the chief enemy more severely. As a consequence his area of operations would be more circumscribed and the Somme would offer the Germans a good defensive barrier against the French during the period in which they were driving the British into the sea.

The mission of the British Fifth Army was to hold on until French reserves could arrive. If it could hold on, either at its battle system or at the Somme, the German gain would be unimportant, but a defense of ninety-six hours was essential to enable the French to get up. If British resistance were broken before the French came, then the disaster might be without limit. As far as Gough was concerned, he could rely only on the French for reserves. Byng, on the contrary, might look to Haig for support. In addition, Byng had considerable reserves of his own, seven out of fifteen divisions in his army, but Gough had only three in fourteen, because the greater length of his front required more men to garrison.

To understand the Battle of Picardy, the greatest single contest of the whole war, a simple figure may suffice. Striking at the point of junction between the British and French armies, the Germans rushed in like a flood breaking through a dike. Owing to the measurable failure north of the Somme, the flood was promptly restricted between the parallel rivers of the Somme and the Oise as far westward as Noyon and the Lassigny Hills where it was in a sense canalized. But beyond the point where the courses of

these streams diverge, save for the insignificant Avre obstacle, there was nothing to prevent the flood from spreading to the right and to the left, to the north and to the south, and swirling behind both the British and French lines, thus engulfing Amiens and the Lassigny Hills, covering the roads to Paris and also extending to the sea below Abbeville. The effort to prevent the flood from sweeping over the Avre barrier, to block the mouth of the corridor between the Oise and the Somme, comprehends the whole problem of British and French effort between March 21 and April 4, and Foch's success in doing this was actually as great a contribution to ultimate victory as Joffre's victory at the Marne nearly four years earlier.

A single other circumstance requires notice. Since the German occupied the center of a great half-circle, extending from Verdun to Ypres, he could direct his attack from the center outward, wherever he chose. Not until the very last moment, when his reserves were almost at the battle front, would his purpose be unmistakable. Up to that hour his enemy could believe that he meant to strike in Champagne or in Picardy, in Artois or in Flanders. Moreover, by making preparations both before the British and the French front, he could compel each commander to retain his own reserves against expected attack.

Thus, in March, 1918, both Pétain and Haig expected attack and before both Ludendorff had made preparations for attack. In this situation Haig, who was satisfied that the attack would come south of Arras, although he did not foresee its magnitude or extent, would naturally have declined to send reserves to Pétain, even had he possessed them. Pétain, expecting attack on the Chemin des Dames front, where the enemy had made those preparations which enabled him to attack in May, disposed of his reserves to meet the blow he foresaw.

The result was an inevitable delay in the arrival in Picardy of French reserves, mainly concentrated to meet an attack in Champagne, while the absence of a general reserve in the British army, as a consequence of the Georgian estimate of the military outlook, terribly complicated the situation. Haig was right and Pétain wrong as to the point of attack, but two months later Foch was wrong and Pétain right and a blow did fall with deadly consequences upon the Chemin des Dames front, where Pétain had expected

it in March. For Ludendorff, the value of the initiative was vastly enhanced by having the equally great advantage due to his occupation of the central position.

IV. THE FIRST PHASE

On March 21, shortly before four o'clock in the morning, the German artillery opened on the whole front from Arras to La Fère. It was the greatest artillery overture in history to the most colossal battle this planet had ever known. At that hour more than three-quarters of a million men, the best troops of the German army, selected with utmost care, trained over many months and brought to the front by secret marches at night and on foot from camps fifty and even a hundred miles from the line, lay in the shelter trenches just behind the German line, awaiting the moment when the artillery should switch from its preparation to that barrage fire which was to cover their great advance.

Thus began Michael's Day, to give it the name the Germans selected in expectation of victory. For many days hundreds of thousands of German troops had been moving toward this designated front. "All Germany is on the march," one German officer had exclaimed exultantly and even with a degree of awe as he saw the enormous human tide rolling toward the front. "The chimes of Easter will sound peace," the German Crown Prince had boasted, forgetting his equally confident forecast two years before, when the attack upon Verdun had opened.

A month before Ludendorff had told the Kaiser that though the battle would be hard the victory would be attained. Now he had moved his headquarters forward to Avesnes, to be nearer the scene of action, and the Kaiser had come in his special train and settled beside his great captain. Two great armies, those of Below and Hutier, had taken position on either side of that of Marwitz, hitherto holding the sector. Sixty-four divisions were now to fall upon the twenty-ninth of Byng and Gough, but unequally, since forty would strike the fourteen of the latter. And of this mighty concentration the British had no adequate warning. Before the battle ended, moreover, the Germans would employ no less than eighty-nine divisions.

Haig expected an attack on March 21. He expected it astride the Bapaume-Cambrai road, that is, on Byng's front. Both Byng

and Gough had warned their troops, but, as far as Gough was concerned, he had no other resource, nor is there anything to suggest that he had the smallest hint of the magnitude of the blow. Thus at the weakest point in the British line at the decisive hour Ludendorff had accomplished a secret concentration of unparalleled strength. What was left now was the putting of everything to the touch.

On the subject of this supreme effort to win a decision, Ludendorff's narrative is extremely interesting: "That the attack in the west would be one of the most difficult operations in history, I was perfectly sure and I did not hide the fact." This is the burden of his comment. It was the "biggest task in history," he says at another point, and at the outset of the assault, his view was, "What we would achieve, whether we should break through and start a war of movement or whether our effort would remain a sortie on a large scale was uncertain, like everything in war."

The bombardment lasted five hours and in that time more shells were consumed than in the whole Franco-Prussian War. The morning had been foggy and the smoke shells increased the density of the pall that hung over all the front. Toward the end of the terrible storm the Germans began to employ gas shells in great quantities and of various sorts, paralyzing the defense, forcing the artillerymen to don gas masks and thus greatly reducing their effectiveness.

At exactly 9.40 A. M. the guns switched to a rolling barrage and the great attack began. Beyond the narrow "No Man's Land" the Germans entered the forward system of British defense. This system had been modeled upon the similar zone in which the Germans had received the British attacks in Flanders in the previous year. It was thinly held—not a continuous trench line, but a series of strong points furnished with machine guns and designed to give a cross fire and thus stop a hostile rush.

The fog and the smoke produced by the gas shells combined to destroy all visibility. The Germans were upon the strong points before the defenders were able to discover their advance. The efficacy of the cross fire was equally destroyed. All along the front the defensive zone was submerged with little or no really effective resistance and the German masses arrived with incredible speed at the battle positions themselves.

Thereafter the rate of German progress

was unequal, in the main greater as one looked from north to south, that is, before Gough's army rather than Byng's, but by the end of the day the British battle position had been reached everywhere on the front assailed, and in at least three places it had been actually penetrated. Moreover, the attack had been so swift that very large numbers of the forward troops had been submerged and captured or killed. Still on the night of March 21 the situation did not yet appear critical and the official statements issued by the British led the world to believe that the German attack had been decisively held.

On the following morning, however, still aided by fog, the Germans began to disclose the real extent of their purpose. To the north they opened a breach in Gough's lines, west of St. Quentin and in the valley of the little Onignon Brook, which led to the Somme above Péronne. Thus they penetrated the third and last British position and entered the open country beyond. Meantime two divisions belonging to the Seventh German Army had crossed the Oise near La Fère and swept through the thinly held line of posts on the west bank, had reached and passed the Crozat Canal, and taken Fargniers. Worst of all, Gough had used up all of his own reserves and French reinforcements were only just beginning to trickle up. Instead of holding out for ninety-six hours the British line, the larger part of Gough's front, had collapsed in less than forty-eight, while French reserves were a whole day late in getting off.

By the 23d the Germans were across the Somme at Ham, while to the south the Crozat Canal had been permanently lost. To the north of Ham they had passed the Somme at several points and the last barrier, natural or artificial, west of the Avre was thus abolished. Gough's Army was beginning to dissolve. It was still maintaining some sort of cohesion to the north, astride the Somme, although a dangerous gap had been opened between it and Byng's Third Army, but to the south there was only a confused mass of men, fighting in groups, in handfuls, fighting magnificently, but tossed upon the German flood like chips on an incoming wave. A gap was thus opening between the British and French armies and the road to Paris by the Oise valley was beginning to be in danger.

The main hope of salvation to the south lay henceforth in the speed and numbers of the French troops, which were already on their way in large numbers and beginning to

intervene in small units. Still the gap continued to widen and by March 25 the Germans were back in Noyon and the danger of losing the Lassigny Hills, the last considerable barrier on the road to Paris, was acute. Only north of the Somme was the situation improving. There the British had been driven straight across the old Somme battlefield, but were beginning to take root behind the Ancre. They would, in fact, hold fast, with minor fluctuations, on the line coinciding with that front from which they had attacked on July 1, 1916, although Albert and its knot of roads would be lost presently by an unlucky blunder.

South of the Somme, on the contrary, the situation was everywhere approaching a crisis. Ludendorff, feeling himself checked in the north, held by Byng's forces (for Byng had now assumed command of all of Gough's troops north of the river), multiplied his efforts toward Noyon, toward Montdidier and last of all toward Amiens. Added to all else was the fact that Haig, now becoming acutely apprehensive as to his own army, was beginning to draw his troops back in such fashion as would preclude all chance of closing the gap between the two armies, between the French and the British. Lack of unified command now threatened to produce the supreme disaster which Ludendorff conceded he expected on this day, March 25.

V. FOCH IS CALLED

In this crisis and on the following morning British and French military and civil authorities met in solemn conference in the little town of Doullens, north of Amiens and back of the Arras front. Haig and Pétain were there, as were Poincaré and Clemenceau. Lord Milner represented Lloyd George and Great Britain. At two o'clock in the afternoon—the day and hour forever memorable—Clemenceau and Milner, in the name of the French and British Governments and with the approval of Pétain and Haig, signed their names to the following document:

General Foch is charged by the British and French Governments with coordinating the action of the Allied Armies on the Western front. For this purpose he will come to an understanding with the generals-in-chief, who are requested to furnish him with all necessary information.

A halting, lame, almost pitiful commission to give a general literally called upon to save the world at a supreme crisis and in the

presence of an unparalleled defeat, threatening hourly to become a disaster utterly irrevocable, but, such as it was, Foch could use it, and the way he would use it, in a few weeks would shame the givers into the extension of power, which was necessary if the war were first to be saved and later won. Meantime Foch undertook the task.

And what a task it was! Between the Lassigny Hills and Bray-sur-Somme the flood of German divisions was ever swirling forward and ever increasing in volume. British divisions, already in ribbons, were tending away from the French, drawn by Haig's anxieties, by their own instinctive drift toward their own armies. Above all, the German troops were approaching the Avre and the Trois Doms, were drawing near to Montdidier, which would fall the next day, were approaching the Paris-Calais railway life-line of Franco-British coöperation. They already seemed about to break out of the sides of the Somme-Oise corridor and spreading out to engulf Amiens, Montdidier, realize their terrible purpose, and separate the British and French armies.

What was Foch's first objective? Unmistakably to prevent the separation of the two armies, to cover Amiens and Paris at one time, by bridling the flood, by constructing a dike across the front of the tidal wave, to make good the line of the Avre. This was the first, the single, the all-compelling task of Foch.

To fill the gap Foch can henceforth depend only on French troops. All available British reserves are required north of the Somme. It will require much effort to persuade Haig to permit his stricken divisions south of the river to hang on the necessary time, for time will still be required to get up the French divisions, flowing to the danger point in a flood of horizon blue. Everyone must dig in, hold on, die, but not yield an inch. Joffre's order to his troops on the eve of the First Marne is again the word of command.

"Hold the enemy where he is. We can't afford to lose a single metre more of French soil!" This is Foch's first word to Pétain. He will accomplish miracles, literally miracles, in hastening the reinforcements, but now, before they can arrive, he will demand miracles of the weary, defeated, stricken troops, who still fight back, after a week of this agony.

The French historian, Louis Madelin,

clearest expositor of this crisis as of the First Marne campaign, whose facts I have frequently followed here, records the first twenty-four hours of Foch's activities thus:

One hour after his investiture he "runs" to Dury and sees Gough. Settles him at last, by putting his hands upon his shoulders, very energetically. "Make your Eighteenth Corps hold at all costs on its present front. Make your Nineteenth Corps hold at all costs on its front. Wait until you are relieved before you withdraw a single man or retire a single step!"

At Dury he sees also Barthelemy, chief of staff of Fayolle, who now commands the two French armies, those of Humbert and of Debeney, which are struggling to fill the yawning gap. For him he writes a short note, its tone unmistakable. "At all hazards maintain the position of the British Army south of the Somme, then, as quickly as possible relieve all British troops south of the Somme!"

Having telephoned to Debeney, he decides to join him at Maignelay. "Hold at all costs, where you find yourself, preserving your junction with the British." He reappears at Paris, at ten o'clock that night, writes a letter to Pétain, indicating his first ideas, sets out for Clermont, where he sees Humbert and Fayolle. For them the same message, always the same message—"Hold where you are. Organize solidly. Demand of the troops their maximum effort, make their commanders realize their responsibilities." By noon, the next day he is back at Dury, where it is still necessary to hold Gough, and from Gough's headquarters he "runs" to Byng's.

Recall that Foch is sixty-seven—he was nineteen on that far-off evil day when he first saw the German invader in Metz—that he has been in nearly all of the great crises of the war since the Marne, that France held him exhausted a whole year before this March, and the magnitude of the merely physical exertion can be appraised. But the moral overpasses the physical. His spirit is in some mysterious manner almost immediately communicated throughout the whole Allied host. In the presence of defeat he does not recognize that he is beaten, he will not accept this battle as lost. His mood is that of Napoleon at Marengo.

Months later, the victory won, the war over, Foch will say to his friend, André de Maricourt:

"When, at an historic moment, a clear vision is given to a man, and when he finds, as a consequence, that this clear vision has directed operations having enormous results in a formidable conflict—and I think that I had that clear vision at the Marne, at the Yser and on March 26, 1918—I believe that it comes from a Providence in whose hands the man is but an instrument and the victory is directed from above by a higher, by a Divine Will."

VI. THE FLOOD IS DAMMED

March 26 is the decisive day. The course of events is oddly analogous to that at Verdun two years earlier. Then Falkenhayn attacked on February 21, and on February 26 began to feel himself checked. But Foch has evil days before him still. The great gap between the British and the French is still open. In truth there are a series of gaps. His line is still "dotted" rather than solid. On this day the Germans are crossing the Avre and mounting the eastern slope of the narrow plateau between the Avre and the Paris-Calais railway. On this plateau and at Cantigny, American troops, the First Division, will do a heroic deed a few weeks hence, far-shining and fraught with grave consequences.

If only Gough will stick, if Haig will recall his decision to take his fragments north of the Somme, if Foch can hold the two corners of what has become the Somme salient, the Noyon and the Amiens corners, he will somehow contrive to stretch a dike between them. But Ludendorff feels himself checked. He has already—he complains of it in his memoirs—been compelled to change his plans once, because of the failure of the forces north of the Somme. Exactly two months later an unexpectedly complete victory will lead him to a second change of plans in mid-battle, this time fatal. He has turned all his attention to the Somme-Oise front and, despite the capture of Montdidier on March 27, he already senses the fact that the Noyon corner, the Lassigny Hills, will hold.

Wherefore he turns north, storms against the line from the bend of the Avre to the Somme. Amiens has become his final objective the next day, and he attacks in tremendous force north of the Somme all the way to Arras and to Vimy beyond. This is the beginning of an effort to escape from the effects of the canalizing of his thrust between the Somme and the Oise. It is an effort to break down the northern "corner" of the new Somme salient. We shall see exactly the same maneuver partially successful, this time in the Battle of the Lys, when Messines and Kemmel are taken. We shall see the same effort, a failure on that occasion, when Ludendorff has broken through between Soissons and Rheims and endeavors to break down the Soissons corner of the new salient.

This offensive of March 28 is a particularly costly thing for the Germans, repulsed

both before Byng's Third Army and Horne's First. Two days later Ludendorff made his second great effort south of the Somme. He had now abandoned the Montdidier thrust. Amiens had become his last objective, but the thrust was parried.

The 31st is Easter Sunday, whose chimes, in the forecast of the German Crown Prince, were to sound peace. But instead, as Madelin heard Fayolle promise Mangin two days earlier, the Allies sing Hallelujah in Amiens Cathedral, although the German shells are now falling on that noble pile, seeking to repeat their achievement in vandalism at Rheims, but failing, failing utterly, a thing for which the whole world will be grateful.

April 4 and 5 see the last convulsions, attacks south and then north of the river Somme—the final effort, as Haig says, to prevent the new Allied front from stabilizing, to avoid a return to the war of positions, to escape a repetition of the Verdun check. But these actions, on which he staked so much, prove "indecisive," as Ludendorff later reports. He cannot break the Amiens corner, he cannot extend the dislocation of the British front north of the Somme. On the contrary, he suffers such heavy losses on the ground where the British won the Battle of Arras, just a year before, on Easter Monday, that he abandons all further idea of breaking through between the Somme and the La Basse Canal, although he will try for Amiens by Villers Bretonneux on April 24, making a brief effort at the point where Sandeman Carey performed his great feat. Momentarily successful, thanks to tanks, here used by the Germans for the first time, this effort will be broken by the Australians. The battle has become one of exhaustion and on April 5 Ludendorff breaks it off.

Madelin saw Foch in the closing hours of the battle and his description of the interview is striking. He writes:

I saw General Foch at this period at Beauvais, in the hall of the Hotel de Ville, where he was camping rather than established. There was nothing like the stir one would expect to find about a chief of such importance. A handful of officers worked under the direction of General Weygand, the faithful chief of staff of the Grand Couronné de Nancy, who had followed the great soldier everywhere, seconding him in an invaluable fashion, and had now hurried thither to resume his rôle as the good right arm. No apparatus—the least German colonel would have had ten times the racket.

The General himself I found again just as I had always found him in his grey-blue uniform moving about on legs which are a trifle short and

strongly bowed as a result of horseback riding, his strong head crowned with short locks and furrowed and bronzed by war. His glance was clear, just a trifle malicious under his wrinkled eyelids, his shaggy gray moustache yellowed with tobacco and—that mouth which could in so few minutes assume so many different expressions of utmost vigor and of ironical good humor.

His gestures were still marvelously quick, prodigiously expressive. His hand as usual emphasized and supplemented his words. I found him calm and just a little bantering, but wholly without conceit. He led me to that map on which in various colors the dying battle was writing itself. He explained the phases to me and then—there, that is over. What was the problem? To check at all costs, and he made a gesture with his arms, which separated slowly. Instantly the "pocket" was dug before my eyes. "Next, to hold fast. That is now," and he plunged both arms to the ground with a gesture which would have stopped the universe.

"And finally, that will be later, *that*"—and his arms opened again and he brought his fists together to smash the reckless adventurer. I have related the circumstances. To-day it seems as if it had been arranged then just as it was going to be one day, but on a day a little further off than he thought then.

In fact, as Madelin points out, Foch was already prepared with his plan for an attack on the Somme side of the new salient by April 8, but on the next day Ludendorff's attack in Flanders intervened. Foch would have to wait, but this attack would come on August 8, Germany's "black day" in Ludendorff's calendar. Still on April 4 Foch could tell the Allied correspondents that the flood was "dammed" and he could add, talking to General Maurice, "Ludendorff will probably try again, but he won't get through." That trial on April 5 was the last convulsion of the battle.

VII. THE RESULT

It remains to appraise the value of the German offensive, of the Kaiser's Battle, as the Germans had proudly named it, in advance. The battlefield success had been prodigious. There had been a break-through on a front of nearly thirty miles. The extreme penetration had been over sixty miles. One British army had been in part routed, and in the main destroyed. It would never again appear as an army and its commander was recalled in something approximating disgrace. The loss of ground had been unequaled in the history of the war of positions on the Western Front. In ten days all the territory gained by the British and French in six months of battle at the Somme in 1916, and as a consequence of the Hinden-

burg retreat in 1917, had been abandoned.

The Germans were back at Noyon. Clemenceau's critics could now taunt him with precisely the fact that he had used in taunting his predecessors from August, 1914, to March, 1917—the Germans were westward of their old Somme line. They were within range of Amiens, and their guns commanded the Paris-Calais railway, which was thus closed to traffic. They gravely hindered, if they did not actually prohibit, the use of all the railway lines centering about Amiens and serving the Allied army. They had captured an enormous number of cannon, vast depots of material, hospitals, railway rolling stock—a booty hitherto unsurpassed on the Western Front in the war.

Of prisoners Ludendorff counted 90,000. In captured and missing, the British alone had lost more than 75,000, including 2392 officers and 72,968 men. Their killed for March alone exceeded 20,000; their wounded were in excess of 84,000. The ten days of battle from March 21 to 31 had cost them in killed and wounded approximately as much as the American operations from September 12 to November 11, that is, the St. Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne operations, would cost Pershing's army. Killed, wounded, and captured or missing, the British loss for March amounted to 175,000 officers and men—a number as large as Bazaine had surrendered at Metz, and equal to the combined strength of the armies of Meade and Lee at Gettysburg. Counting the loss of the French, Ludendorff's first blow had thus cost the Allies a quarter of a million of men. It had crippled their communications and by lengthening the battle line had increased the difficulties of the Allies, since they possessed inferior numbers. It had, further, made a deep draft upon French reserves rushed up to save the British army and to restore the connection between the two armies.

By contrast, Ludendorff, despite very heavy losses, had realized none of his larger purposes. He had not crushed the British by a single blow. He had not separated them from the French. In his own memoirs he confesses that the hope of March 24 and 25 had not been realized, and concedes that at the close of the gigantic operation the future was obscure and the tactical and strategic outlook unpromising.

What was the cause of the German failure? For failure it was in the larger sense. It seems to be discoverable in the fact that

German strength was worn out before decisive results could be obtained. The great German mass arrived at the Avre, as on the battlefield of the First Marne, exhausted. It had outrun its artillery and used up its provisions. Victorious, it was incapable of exploiting the success, of realizing the fruits, of its labors. Once more, as at the Marne, German High Command had calculated the mechanical elements of the problem accurately, but had neglected the human factor completely.

Despite the enormous expansion of the front ruptured, despite an immediate progress seven times as great as at Verdun, the actual circumstances had been the same. The armies of Humbert and Debeney, commanded by Fayolle, like Pétain's immortal army at Verdun, had arrived in time to restore "a delicate situation" and the previous deadlock had been restored. It had been restored so completely that Ludendorff broke off the engagement rather than run the risk of further repetition of the Verdun experience.

In point of fact the Allies had lived through the worst crisis of the whole war. Their danger would never be as great, although it might seem even more acute in succeeding weeks.

On the human side, the great conflict presents a picture of heroism and of devotion beyond the power of the historian to describe. If the cohesion of the Fifth British army was largely destroyed in the first days, the isolated groups which survived fought to the end with courage and devotion unequalled. Day after day unrested, and unfed, the British fragments stolidly, doggedly fought on through the long moonlight nights so favorable to the foe, who had timed his attack to gain advantage from the brilliant nights. These beaten men dragged themselves to new positions and at daybreak resumed the conflict.

Nor was the French contribution less splendid. Fayolle, Humbert, Debeney—these are famous names forever in French

history. The first French troops to arrive flung themselves into the furnace without artillery support, made of themselves willing sacrifices in the hope, not entirely vain, of gaining a few hours for the reserves which were coming up behind and seeking to take root before the German masses arrived.

In the end victor and vanquished alike were exhausted, and German divisions advanced. British troops retreated with dragging footsteps, fell asleep by the roads in the midst of the battle. Not even the retreat from Mons brought to British soldiers exhaustion like that of the first week of the March offensive.

Memorable, too, amidst the crowd of unforgettable incidents is the exploit of Sandeman Carey, in command of a force of fortune gathered from all ranks and conditions, like that forlorn hope of cooks and hostlers assembled by Sir John French at the crisis of the first battle of Ypres, and including a detachment belonging to that regiment of American engineers who had volunteered when Marwitz broke the British line at Cambrai in the previous year. With this "scratch" force Carey barred the road to Amiens when it lay open to German advance. He not only held the gate, but by a despairing counter-attack actually threw the enemy back. Haig will have special and generous words of praise for these engineers later. Equally daring and devoted was the service of British and French aviators who from the air checked German divisions and paralyzed German transport, and thus gained time.

In this battle fell Lieutenant-Colonel Raynal C. Bolling, the first American officer of rank to give his life in the war. Surprised while reconnoitering the German advance, he was killed, pistol in hand, defending himself to the last. In the circumstances of his death there was a reminiscence of the equally untimely fate of Colonel Ellsworth in the first days of the Civil War. In both cases, a brilliant officer marked for greater services was cut down before his real work had more than begun.



FINANCING EUROPE'S TRADE

BY BURWELL S. CUTLER

[This article concludes Mr. Cutler's presentation of the difficulties of Europe's trade and finance, the first part of which appeared in our February number. Mr. Cutler has recently visited Europe as American Trade Commissioner, and has written the present article after full conference with financial and industrial leaders as well as public officials at home and abroad.—THE EDITOR]

EVEN from communistic Russia comes evidence of the universal realization that production, and production only, will save the world from economic starvation with vast political consequences. Production of food must precede eating, and manufacture of goods is the only way to have them for self-comfort or for exchange into other equipment of decent living.

No less true is it that the main industrial areas of Europe are ready to work hard and long, as soon as working materials come to hand. To hasten the first consignments, France, Italy, and Germany are finally willing to put up any security which the creditor nations may reasonably designate out of lists ready for submission. There is no choice in the matter for the excessive populations which occupy the non-productive soils of western Europe; in some cases fertility and the natural resources of mines and forests have been exhausted by intensive use throughout the centuries, and in other cases they never existed.

Imports of Western Europe

The following import figures of England, France, Italy, and Germany depict vividly their dependence on outside sources for food and the working materials of industry. Gradually during the last three hundred years they had built up a delicately adjusted sequence of manufactures for these materials. Discrepancies in value between the total outflow and the inflow were expressed by international credits in the terms of domestic currency and by debits in terms of foreign currency, and an elaborate system of book-keeping trusteeship was set up among the banks to take care of the balances.

The United Kingdom imported in 1913 80 per cent. of her consumption in wheat, 100 per cent. of corn consumed, and 100 per cent. of sugar. France depended on importation for 50 per cent. of corn consumed, 15 per cent. of wheat. Italy had to bring in

28 per cent. of wheat needed and 12 per cent. corn. Germany was dependent on outside supplies for all of her corn and nearly one-third of her wheat.

Consult, if you please, the 1913 percentages of certain imports for industrial consumption, showing the dependence of Europe on outside sources, mostly overseas:

	Iron Ore	Oil	Copper	Cotton	Wool
	%	%	%	%	%
United Kingdom	30	86	99	100	80
France	—	100	100	100	87
Italy	—	97	—	100	61
Germany	25	90	89	100	44

From the poverty of soil implied by these figures there has been no escape for the teeming populations, except by emigration to more bounteous regions of the earth or by investment of hard-earned industrial savings in foreign enterprises which could be translated into living necessities. Both these things they did until the Great War came along and not only disrupted their scheme of production and exchange, but also barred every avenue of physical departure from the areas of high pressure. Even at that the deadlock might have been broken by purchase of a few primary materials with such fragments of free credit as remained, had it not been for the debasement of their currencies.

These foreign currencies have for the most part become merely the echoes of old sounds. Whereas, they used to have behind them the accumulated increment of many past years, they are now taken in trade by those people only who *hope* the governments of issue may be able to redeem them eventually out of earnings in the future. No better illustration of this can be found than in the preferability of the British pound sterling as against the German mark; the former bears the guarantee of a nation which, above all others in Europe, will remain orderly and solvent in spite of economic upheavals.

Attempts to Employ Barter

Under the drive of a desire in every manufacturing nation to sell goods to needy communities, trade by barter has been tried on a small scale here and there. Cotton yarn has been traded to French factories for hosiery, Italian silk for lubricating oil, American fusing metals for German cutlery, and so forth. Security sometimes was deposited by the debtor pending delivery of the finished article, and the claim on the goods was sold to a third person forthwith. But instances of success in a large way are not known to be many—if we exclude the several shiploads of British merchandise which were bartered on the shores of the Black Sea, before Odessa and other ports. The operation seems usually to require the presence of banks which will act as guarantors of delivery, as agents for collection, as repositories for collateral, and as endorers of liens covering goods promised in exchange.

Outside of these mechanical difficulties, a haphazard application of the plan does not promise to reach enough starving factories or to supply enough material for the needs of any comprehensive region. Frequently the danger of labor troubles acts as a deterrent on both sides to the bargain. But the chief difficulty is to find enough merchants of raw materials who know what to do with finished goods when they get them.

Nevertheless, barter seems to offer some hope to the Düsseldorf Chamber of Commerce, if we understand correctly its recent bonding of nearby coal mines. Apparently the purpose is to pledge this security in earnest of a trade for American raw materials and for British wool and hemp.

A Dutch Proposal

Another scheme has been elaborated by Dutch bankers and traders, on the following lines as communicated by Dr. van Tienhoven, manager of the Amsterdam branch of the Rotterdamsche Bankvereiniging, the largest banking corporation in Holland, with affiliations all over Europe. The proposal recommends the formation of an international syndicate, by representatives of the "Haute Banque" of Great Britain, United States and Holland, to which initial subscription shall come from the three nations in the respective amounts of five million pounds sterling, fifty million dollars, and sixty million guilders. We quote from his document, using italics of our own:

Shares are made out to the owner and are only transferable with the consent of the management of the syndicate. Twenty-five per cent. must be paid up in ready money on each share subscribed. Those banks already represented in the syndicate are entitled to increase their participation by further subscriptions. The management shall decide about applications for the subscription of shares handed in later by banks not (originally) represented and shall fix the *lowest amount of shares to be allotted to the various countries.*

INTERNATIONAL TRADE CERTIFICATES. The working capital shall be procured by the issue of International Trade Certificates. They shall serve as payment for goods imported *through the intermediary of the syndicate.* The maximum amount shall not exceed four times the amount of capital subscribed (or paid up). These certificates shall not run longer than one year and the syndicate shall be responsible for their redemption. An interest of 6 per cent. shall be paid on them.

FINANCING. The importer shall cover the invoice amount by accepting bills of exchange, which shall be made out in dollars, pounds, sterling or guilders, as the case may be. They shall be *endorsed by first-class banks of the importer's country.* The sight of the bills shall be decided, as far as possible, on the following principles for a country like Germany:

For raw materials:	25%..... 6 months
	25%.....12 "
	25%.....18 "
	25%.....24 "
For foodstuffs:	25%..... 1 year
	25%..... 3 years
	25%..... 5 "

The bills of exchange shall be deposited with the syndicate at its central office (possibly The Hague, on account of its general proximity and its political neutrality), and the Note Issuing Banks (of the subscribing countries) shall be bound to *discount the certificates*, made out in the currency of their country at 7 per cent. These banks (Federal Reserve Banks) shall, moreover, *advance as much as 90 per cent. on shares fully paid up.*

LIABILITY. The participating governments shall be bound to provide that when a foreign loan has been negotiated an amount shall be set aside sufficient for the redemption of those International Trade Certificates, covered only by bills running more than one year.

It may be said that the idea is inspired largely by the conviction in Holland that the first duty is "to save Germany from a financial breakdown that would endanger the solvency of various other countries" by the intermediation of all nations that have "a common and vital interest in maintaining her buying power," without undue emphasis on the "political upheaval that (in the event of intolerable economic crisis) would not confine itself to Germany."

The syndicate might commend itself also

as a private enterprise between several nationals, for then it could act as a great sales intermediary, transmitting European orders to America when they were accompanied by sufficient collateral (preferably bonds) from the buyer to vouchsafe payment of bills. Short-term notes could be issued to the shipper, based on the collateral, and those notes could be made discountable by the American banks subscribing to the stock of the syndicate. The expenses and profits of the syndicate would be found in substantial rate charges to the buyer and nominal charges to the seller for services by the syndicate as credit agency and collector. It is even conceivable that some sellers in the United States would be glad to take over securities in payment of bills, particularly in case of forfeit by the consignees failing to pay cash.

Utilizing Banks

A comparatively simple expedient of private financing is given trial by Americans in countries of higher banking responsibility. The American shipper agrees to accept from his British customer pounds sterling at the prevailing rate for dollars, the sterling being then deposited to the American's account in a British bank with the understanding that it is not to be withdrawn for twelve or eighteen months. Every thirty days the exchange is refigured and a further deposit, or a withdrawal, made in the account in order to keep on hand enough sterling to satisfy the dollar face of the invoice. At the end of the period the creditor American may choose to check out or to renew a similar agreement. Meanwhile, in the event of needing the money at home, he takes to his own bank a certificate of deposit from the British bank and hypothecates it for about 80 per cent. of face value in dollars.

This is the more effective with concerns on whom the banks may rely to cover immediately any shortage of dollar value in the certificate on account of a sharp fall in the exchange value of the British deposit. If the concern's credit is good enough, there would be no danger in advancing 100 per cent. of value, since it is in essence a collateral loan by the bank and not a purchase of security.

Although much faith has been professed in the ability of American security companies to finance Europe by the marketing of stocks, bonds, and mortgages to our public, no progress has been made so far, in spite of earnest efforts by the Committee on Finance,

whose appointment sprang out of the international business men's conference held at Atlantic City last October under the auspices of the Chambers of Commerce of the United States. Many people have taken Chairman James E. Alexander's financial sermon on the godliness of thrift and labor to be a confession that no American market for foreign securities has been found adequate to the purpose. This brings no surprise to those who have always recognized the impulse of our people to buy goods, not investments; the quick unloading of Liberty bonds at banks and department stores proves the point. But there are greater disabilities in relation to a relief measure.

The bankers, who naturally assume lead in the security market, are under obligation, first, to keep deposits liquid, and, second, to employ them with the greatest legitimate profit possible. Depositors demand the one thing, stockholders and directors the other. Consequently, say critics in Europe, these security brokers will perforce seek investments where they can be picked up at lowest depressed figures, for sale to the American public at the highest stimulated figures. The margin of profit thereby accrues to capital, and not only reduces by so much the credits to Europe but also entails on the resulting commerce an excessive overhead cost. In other words, the instinct of the broker would send him primarily into the raw and inept states, the Balkans, where rich concessions in mines or public utilities are often to be had for nominal consideration under circumstances of fiscal pressure. France, Italy, and Germany, the original applicants, would be lost to sight if the brokers began competition in that sort of thing. Another question is asked:

Assuming that the three above powers were selected for exclusive attention, is there any way of guaranteeing that a few powerful corporations would not absorb all the credits, leaving none to the lesser but substantial producers who make up three-fourths of any nation's business?

The great corporations of national repute command first attention by power of their property, visible and implied. Their corporate identities, fortified by American banking endorsement, would merit the respect of investors everywhere. But what becomes of poor Jules Chamoix, with his little shoe factory in some small city and his hundred-thousand-franc output? Unless he and his kind come together in great numbers from a

large area and pool their resources for credit security on a large scale, they are completely out of business from now on, and the bulk of the nation's industry goes with them.

Already French trade syndicates have reported failure to find supplies in modest amounts for minor members of good credit, because distributing companies prefer the larger profit and more ease in purveying exclusively to the big corporations which can take all the supplies on hand.

Interrogation, too, of political import is not absent. If alone the great combination of capital and industry is going to receive credit protection, may it not provide the rising tide of communism with further argument that capital is exclusive, self-centered, tyrannical? Weak as the argument would be, it will some day have to be refuted by measures wholly comprehensible to hungry proletariats at large.

Government Loans

So goes the comment of those economists and statesmen who think that the problem of economic revival is not one for solution by free trading security-brokers, but rather one for nations acting upon nations through their governments. When Governor Harding, of the Federal Reserve Board, pointed out the further inflation of currency that would result from more loans to Europe, they nodded their heads and called it an unavoidable, a minor evil. They thought that the vast wealth and commercial profits of the American people would put substance into our currency long before Europe could restore her own. There is, for that matter, ample belief in the necessity of doing business hereafter largely on "I-owe-you's," since the accumulated capital with which the world used to operate has been burned and blown up by five years of intensified war.

When objection is made to governmental loans, that our people will not tolerate another item in the burden of taxation, particularly for the object of financing Europe, reply is heard that further flotation of United States bonds could be sold if the rates of interest were 6 per cent. taxable, and if a patient sales campaign were instituted throughout the country. Happy, indeed, would be the outcome if we could teach our people thus to save and invest; no one denies that the lesson will have to be carried to them some day in a genuine offer of government securities worthy to compete

as income producers with the more speculative shares of private enterprise.

Another discouragement to government-lending is the prospect of our being called upon as a nation to cancel the ten billion dollars' worth of debts owed to us by Europe. To this there is no answer; it overwhelms all debate. The only question remains, then, whether Europe could still survive starvation in raw materials.

The Supreme Economic Council at Paris has been impelled recently to permit commercial relations with the coöperative societies of Russia, from which there appeared no escape so long as supplies from the New World were not forthcoming. Germany had turned for subsistence in that direction, and it seemed advisable to spread to all nations the opportunity before Germany preëmpted it completely by political *rapprochement* with the Lenine government, which she may adopt as a last resort against economic isolation. The point is that millions of people will not wait idly on relief from their natural associates until stagnation brings death upon them.

Much, anyway, may be said in favor of loans to the several European governments, no matter what the nature of their source; for they constitute the sole agencies of fair and effective distribution of supplies. Disliked and mistrusted as the present Berlin government is among the two extremes of Conservatives and Radicals, opposed as the Italian ministry is known to be in several quarters, nevertheless neither government has many opponents who would not trust them to play truer to the national welfare with several hundred millions of credit than would any consortium of private negotiators. There would be, furthermore, little opportunity for those ministries to play politics with the funds; auditing by the creditors would take care of that.

On the other hand, the United States should guard carefully against the kind of sharp bargaining which might profit unduly out of Europe's distress, were a financing consortium of security-brokers to be relied upon entirely. Those who provide such funds cannot expect other than profit to the full extent of market susceptibility. Nothing, we submit, is clearer to vision than the hatred that would inevitably pile up between a creditor people which had put on the screws and a debtor people which had to take its medicine that way. A forerunner of this is found in the indignant refusal of several

factory-owners in the Ruhr district to transfer to Americans controlling stock in their plants prior to delivery of materials on credit. No less alarm was felt by a French *arrondissement* when agricultural machinery was offered by importers on a rental basis that would equal the cost price in two years and still leave the farmers minus machinery. For a government distributing relief supplies, nominal banking interest is sufficient.

What Materials Are Essential?

Restriction of expenditure to a minimum list of materials, for industrial processes exactly specified, requires the authority of government, according to some opinion, since decision as to importation must continuously be rendered in relation to stocks on hand and to tariff regulations. French internal policy of economy and home industry might easily be outraged if their officials had no chance to rule between the conflicting ideas of what materials are essential or non-essential as presented by different trading companies. There has been a suggestion that all the American companies extending credit on security shall appoint a central committee on expenditure regulations. But one may be skeptical about their ability to agree, reflecting that each group has predilections for a different industry ordinarily.

Typical questions will arise in this form respecting certain things usually considered non-essential:

Since licorice is an ingredient of certain preparations of tobacco, shall application by an Italian factory be conceded? Mercerizing looms in France want silk for their process; is it essential? How much rubber shall be allowed to the German automobile industry?

Granting unanimity on the replies, we may inquire where among individual creditors resides enough authority to rule on the most effective and economical employment of the materials after their importation?

In international measures of relief, exactitude and discipline should govern as truly as in military emergency.

Governmental Initiative

It is an acting principle in Europe that governments shall always take the lead in formulating policies and operating them where emergency gives no opportunity to educate the public in the needs of the situation. Europe cannot now understand the reluctance of our Government to coöper-

ate with other creditor governments without first obtaining an affirmative mandate from the uninformed masses. Where they expected to see the positive kind of world leadership that led us into the trench-line defense of democracy, they find now what they think is political timidity. As to our ready resources they have exaggerated ideas.

Little doubt exists about the eagerness of Britain, Holland, Spain, Norway, and Sweden to make contribution of at least 40 per cent. of the credits needed. Management by the United States of the total fund would be greatly to their liking. Although Japan and the South American countries have not spoken, they could hardly hold aloof from association according to their means, since they comprehend even better than we the fatal consequences of an economic deadlock in Europe.

Suppose, for the sake of deliberation, that the Treasury of the United States should announce to all other governments that, acting under authority of the Congress, it was prepared to loan up to \$500,000,000;

Provided, first, that an equal contribution be subscribed by any or all other nations;

Provided, second, that the beneficiaries of the loan shall be selected by the United States;

Provided, third, that the resultant debt shall enjoy first lien on all income not actually needed for current internal expenses and on unencumbered property, at the election of the United States, taking precedence of all other foreign debts and claims;

Provided, fourth, that the United States shall exert final jurisdiction over the kind, quantity, and disposition of goods charged against her credit;

Provided, fifth, that our credit reposes in the United States, subject to purchase of American goods only, allowing for exception at the option of the United States;

Provided, sixth, that our merchants will accept United States Treasury certificates of indebtedness in payment of goods;

Provided, seventh, that Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany pledge the use of their navies and armies for the preservation of political stability in the localities financed during the life of the loan;

Provided, eighth, that this offer is open to acceptance for six months only (since immediate relief is the object sought).

As to the first provision, it should probably meet with quick response from Holland, Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland; because

they are financially involved with Germany and France, and they feel obliged to devote every vestige of resource to the salvation of industry in the neighboring powers, on which they themselves depend for trade and clear solvency. Probably they would first inquire as to what sums we expect from them; to which we would reply that we have no figures to recommend to any single nation; that the amount is wholly discretionary with each one and that a voluntary combination of subscribers is the natural answer to our offer.

How the U. S. Could Be Safeguarded

We are mistaken if Great Britain, acting maybe with France and Italy, would not forthwith invite all the remaining governments, Spain, Japan, Denmark, including her own dominions, Australasia, Canada, South Africa, to name their subscription sums, should the terms be acceptable. It would be, for those which could respond, a call to the defense of civilization no less compelling than the call to arms in August, 1914. Only to the extent of that response would the United States own obligation.

Provision two is a matter of course, since the United States would consent to place its money only where industrial resumption bids fair to appear promptly, and where moral as well as material security may be forthcoming.

Provision three has direct reference to foreign debts, which in countries taking this loan should be subordinated. Likewise claims yet to be defined by the Reparation Committee must be relegated to a lower place if any credits go to Germany. France's possible objection on this score may be met by announcement that the entire offer is void unless the application of Germany can be considered on a par with the others—and this for the sake of France as much as for her erstwhile enemy, because a revived Germany can pay indemnities, whereas a ruined Germany pulls France also into the dust.

Provision four calls for an expenditure auditing committee, appointed we should say by the U. S. A. Treasurer, which shall confine purchases to U. S. A. materials and act with the borrowers in holding them to specified industrial uses.

Provision five follows the same line.

Provision six might be thought an excessive precaution on our part, in so far as it predicates the availability of the credit on the willingness of our own merchants to trade goods for temporary investment. Certifi-

cates of indebtedness are usually designed to run from one to three years, bearing 3 to 4½ per cent., or enough interest to balance banking charge for discount and still leave a residue of income. Undoubtedly time and interest would be framed attractively in competition with currency notes, so as to stimulate investment by those who are not forced to bank them.

At this point the regulations of the so far ineffective Edge bill coincide nicely.

Provision seven calls for an earnest of good faith on the part of those countries which have sounded the alarm, have declared their fervent desire to contribute anything and everything they have in the place of money, and have spoken their readiness to act the very minute that the United States signifies acquiescence. If the provision imposes upon the aforesaid four great powers conditions which they cannot together guarantee, in principle at least, then it is a confession that economic and political disintegration has progressed beyond the point where financial help can bring salvation. We could not, however, exact guarantees further than *genuine efforts* to preserve peace, because existing ministries can do no more than commit their own parties and leave to such other groups as may come into power, even to the extreme radicals, a sense of moral obligation to keep the pact.

We may here observe that the commercial credits now flowing to Europe from the United States, estimated at one and three-quarter billions of dollars, are lacking in safeguards as to political protection in several directions. In that view of it they imperil our own financial stability.

Provision eight would promote prompt response from those statesmen who profess to see catastrophe in the near future. If renewable at the end of six months it should be made so once only, and by authority of the President.

International Currency

By no means are we in duty bound to throw the golden anchor of our "reserve" into the sea of debauched currencies; but neither can the almost exclusive possessors of gold—the United States, Spain, Japan, and other creditors—withhold its purchasing power too long from debtor nations, since dearth of gold and raw materials at the same time is calculated to bring on bimetalism at the very least. Unfortunate at this juncture would be the discovery of large silver de-

posits in Europe. With keener interest than ever before we note frequent suggestions that bushels of wheat or pounds of cotton be conventionalized into units of value embodied in commercial notes of exchange. It is a sign that commerce is groping blindly for a standard available to peoples shorn of their previous power in gold but having value in precious foodstuffs.

Under bitter necessity of warfare, the European belligerents were spurred on to issue obligations regardless of future consequences. All kinds of securities and industrial paper were posted on the credit side of their ledgers. Notwithstanding their present efforts to banish note-printing-presses, to call in old issues and to augment gold reserves, they may be defeated by the feebleness of their gold-lacking currencies abroad. Even at home their governments are beset by the angry clamors of people whose franc or lire or mark is becoming no good unless another and another is added to it. The march from dearth of goods to more paper money, to vitiated currency foundations, is direct.

We might wish that there had been in universal use during the war an international gold note. Such a medium of exchange, bearing the face promise of all gold-standard countries to honor in gold, might have driven less pretentious national notes into the discard, if indeed they were issued at all. Certainly, disappearance of international notes by reason of prodigious buying abroad would have revealed financial exhaustion to the people several years earlier and might have induced them, perhaps, to call a halt on both sides of the battle line. Undue hoarding of the preferred money would have exposed the shallowness of patriotism, which is another hindrance to international warfare too long continued.

If anything in the nature of a world conference on economic salvage comes about, we are likely to hear more about an international currency. Financial authorities, mostly outside the home of the pound sterling on the Thames, used to consider it the logical outcome of a universal financial system, particularly since it would fit well the varying degrees of wealth amongst subscribing members. Example is afforded by the participation of insurance companies of different liability in a single risk, with a percentage partition of indemnity according to the coverage accepted by each. Thus, Great Britain, in order to introduce one hundred million international dollar notes (call them "centuries"

if you wish), in a world issue of one billion, must commit herself to redemption of one-tenth the whole issue. Nor would the other subscribers submit to her particular issue before she proved the possession of basic securities of the standard values adopted by world convention. They might be public utility bonds, and they might be gold or debentures covering a combination of industrial paper. In this way exact relativity of fiscal practice could be gauged and mint parity be made a constant norm. The competition among national banking communities to capture more gold than was prescribed for conservative amounts of currency issue would lose its point completely; exchequers would be dismayed to find themselves possessors of excess gold that had to be kept in profitless retirement. The world needs such regulation.

Fiscal Warning

Thus we have tried to present the preëminent plans for European relief devised by business men, statesmen, and economists on both sides of the Atlantic.

It remains to be said that we shall very wisely maintain a caution akin to terror against being involved in the sad results of fiscal manipulation by Europe since 1914; no credit allowance should be made for temporary resuscitation of sick currencies, no diversion of American materials into third party countries for the purpose of liquidating mortgages on state-owned securities now in escrow, no cross-entry surrender of obligations which are secretly thought to be uncollectible, no employment of funds directly or indirectly in the restoration of demolished property.

Nor will it suffice to extend food-credits indefinitely and let it go at that. Every such "credit" cuts down by just so much the advance of *working materials* which Europe must have to make an independent livelihood. If feeding alone is to be our function, we might better finance an exodus of the starving to the unworn productive soils of new regions, Africa, South America, Asia, the natural refuge from intermittent hunger in Europe for many years to come.

Whether or not it is expedient politically or financially for the United States to join with the other nations in an industrial relief program, this much is clear: One-billion dollars' worth of materials deftly applied right now in a few localities of Europe will make all the difference between world stagnation and business life revived.

GOVERNOR ALLEN'S SOLUTION

HOW KANSAS UNDERTAKES TO ABOLISH INDUSTRIAL STRIFE

BY EDNA OSBORNE WHITCOMB

THE entire nation has been deeply interested in the recent efficiency of Governor Henry J. Allen of Kansas. In December he mastered the coal strike; in January the legislature passed his pet measure, the industrial court bill.

Blizzards were sweeping over the prairies when the coal miners of the State refused to work. This action was especially serious in Kansas, a sparsely wooded State, where people are practically dependent on coal for fuel. Governor Allen realized this; he knew that a strong will on the side of the people was needed on the job at once. Having seen the Kansas boys in action when he was in France, the Governor had a deep appreciation of the spirit of the Jayhawker youth. He called for volunteer miners—young men who would be willing to work hard. In three days over five thousand had offered their services. He took twelve hundred, and with them he sent a thousand members of the State Guard. He ordered army equipment left over from war times. Then he announced that interference with the volunteers' work would mean trouble.

Volunteer Coal Miners

The Governor himself, with his clerks and stenographers, went along to Pittsburgh with this strangely assorted company, composed of gritty football heroes, overseas veterans, physicians, clerks, farmers, lawyers.

Pittsburgh, a town of 10,000, the seat of the mining region, became the capital temporarily. The well-dressed miners thronged the streets, filled the "movie" houses, and crowded the soft-drink parlors, while Governor Allen's industrial army marched into the strip mines and mined coal because it was their patriotic duty to help save the people at home from suffering. As one watched the youths and older men working with nervous, eager tension, one saw a splendid picture of America's power when once it is aroused.

The Kansan volunteers were a jolly crowd. They joked, they laughed, they sang, and they shoveled! They were on the

job from sun-up to sun-down, for they knew no union hours; nor Saturday half-holiday, nor Sunday as a day of rest. They slept in army tents and washed in basins.

The Supreme Court granted a receivership for the mines. Governor Allen appointed three receivers; one for the operators, one for the miners, and one for the public. The miner and the operator refused to serve, so he named others.

Before Governor Allen ordered in his volunteers, he addressed a meeting of miners. The Governor, who has the fire of Billy Sunday and who has been a strong force on many gospel teams, pictured very vividly the needs of the people of the State. The women wept, but the men remained unmoved. Alexander Howatt (the union leader for Kansas and Missouri) was their guide, not Governor Allen, nor the public at large.

At length the miners went back to the mines and the volunteer army, after sending many cars of coal merrily on their way to alleviate suffering, returned to their usual callings.

There were several results from the strike: first, the volunteer mining of the coal and its shipment to needy towns; second, the loss of respect and sympathy throughout the State for a labor union that will take advantage of the public at the beginning of winter; and third, the doctrine of public's right—that the people are supreme.

The Industrial Court Law

Governor Allen determined to deal with the problem of strikes and other labor troubles by legislation. At the special session of the Legislature in January the Industrial Court bill was worked out, passed, and became a law at once.

The bill is not, properly speaking, an arbitration bill; nor is it, as some of the members of the lower house were prone to think, an "anti-strike" bill; but it is, first of all, a public-welfare measure. It provides for the establishment of an industrial court of three

judges appointed by the Governor, with three-year terms. The court is given full power and authority to supervise all public utilities and all common carriers in the State.

The new law will give the people that protection which the people cannot get outside of Government activity. Every restriction of the measure on capital and on labor alike is merely incidental to the protection of the people. It provides an open door for labor; a tribunal to see that labor gets all that it is entitled to get and obtains it without the old strong-arm methods of strikes and riots. Moreover, it pledges the good faith of the State to see that labor's rights are protected, and, at the same time, that capital is not endangered.

In the passage of this bill Kansas established an experiment station (just as she did for prohibition) for the nation in the matter of industrial legislation. If good results are obtained, other States in the Union will doubtless follow suit. If the Kansas law, or any part of it, is declared unconstitutional by the courts, the nation will at least give Kansas credit for having tried to solve the problem of industrial strife.

As one listened to the debates on the measure, one wondered if the patient, quiet farmers, or even the shrewd, small-town lawyers, realized its possibilities.

A Governor with "Horse Sense"

In the crowded galleries of the House, each bit of praise of labor and each mention of a union leader's name was greeted by a round of applause from the eager listeners, black and white—for both races were represented. A New York visitor asked the Jayhawker farmer, who sat next to him, how it happened that Kansas was coming forward with such a law.

"Well," said the long-legged Kansan, "you see, it is just like this. Our Governor is a man with a lot of horse sense under his hat and the people of the State are aware of this fact. That's why they elected him when he was still in France. That's why they back him up in all he tries to do."

The old Kansan was exactly right. Governor Henry J. Allen has good common sense—and the courage that should go with it; and the people throughout the State, with the exception of certain extremists, are backing him. When he sensed the public's demand for a cure for industrial troubles, he outlined the bill to W. L. Huggins, of the lower house, who drew up the original draft



HON. HENRY J. ALLEN
(Governor of Kansas)

of the industrial court bill. Then the Governor called a special session. The members of the legislature were convinced, almost unanimously, of the justice of the Governor's plan. After the most careful consideration, they passed the bill. W. L. Huggins, a member of the State Public Utilities Commission, which will now be superseded by the new court, was appointed as the first member of the court.

The other day, as the writer sat in the outer office awaiting an interview with Governor Allen, she thought over the wonderful possibilities of this new law. If it should meet the purpose for which it is intended, its importance will scarcely have been equaled in the domestic affairs of the country since the abolition of slavery.

As the writer entered the Governor's private office and seated herself opposite the former editor of the *Beacon*, whom she had known at Wichita, she realized that Lincoln and Allen were both big Americans. Of course, they did not look alike—the tall, gaunt, bearded, martyred President, with his decrepit old plug hat and baggy trousers, was a far different-looking individual from the portly, smooth-shaven Kansas Governor,

in his correct business suit—but they were men of similar moral type. Allen has the courage, patience, love of humanity, mercy, humanity, and simplicity of Abe Lincoln.

Like our Pilgrim Fathers, who braved hardships and pestilence, so the Kansans have braved tornadoes, floods, drouth, grass-

hoppers, and other treacherous enemies, but they have come out of all their hardships, a fine people with worthy leaders. One of these leaders is Henry J. Allen, a man of vision, a man who has helped make Kansas a place where dreams come true because the dreamers are also doers.

THE COURT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

THE object of the new Kansas law referred to in the preceding article is to find a way to give effect to the following declaration in Section 6:

It is hereby declared and determined to be necessary for the public peace, health, and general welfare of the people of this State that the industries, employments, public utilities, and common carriers herein specified shall be operated with reasonable continuity and efficiency in order that the people of this State may live in peace and security and be supplied with the necessities of life.

The intent of the act is that neither capital nor organized labor shall start a private war of its own against the economic welfare of the public. The law applies to all businesses connected with the production and distribution of food, clothing, and fuel, and also relates to the facilities of transportation. The previously existing Public Utilities Commission is abolished, and all the powers of the new law are exercised through a so-called "Court of Industrial Relations," consisting of three members appointed by the Governor with the approval of the State Senate.

The authority of this court to make investigation in particular controversies and to issue orders is of a sweeping nature. Either party to a dispute has a right of appeal from the Court of Industrial Relations to the Supreme Court of the State of Kansas. Provision is made for incorporating labor unions, and for collective bargaining through properly designated officers or agents of unions, whether incorporated or not.

The powers of the new Court to regulate industries are so extensive that they could readily be used to compel the owners or operators of coal mines to work continuously and provide ample quantities of fuel in reserve storage. The law, as regards employees, practically prohibits strikes, and

definitely abolishes the practice of "picketing" and intimidation of other employees.

Violation of the provisions of the act are punishable by a maximum fine of \$1000 or by imprisonment for a term not to exceed one year. Any officer of an employing corporation or of a labor union, who "shall wilfully use the power, authority, or influence incident to his official position" to compel any other person to violate the act or to disobey the orders of the Court, may be indicted for felonious crime and subjected to a fine of \$5000 or imprisonment in the penitentiary at hard labor for two years.

Further, in case of suspension of any of the essential industries named in the act through labor troubles, the Court of Industrial Relations is authorized, by certain prescribed methods, to assume the control and direction of the industry just as the State took over the coal industry in December.

No enactment so fundamental and drastic as this new Kansas law has ever been adopted in the United States, so far as we are aware, to protect the rights of the public when affected by industrial strife. Yet the intent of the law is justice to all parties concerned. Kansas is a farming State, and its population engaged in manufacturing is relatively small. It is only in a State like Kansas that such a bill could be passed at present.

Almost everything will depend upon the way in which the three members of this Court of Industrial Relations apply the law as emergencies arise. There are extensive clauses of the act which provide for fair wages and good working conditions, and, in the hands of a sympathetic and intelligent board, the act is decidedly for the benefit of the workers. With proper laws to secure the rights and the well-being of individuals, the strike methods become mere relics of barbarism, like all other earlier forms of private warfare.

A RESPONSIBLE FORM OF GOVERNMENT

NEBRASKA'S NEW CIVIL ADMINISTRATIVE CODE

BY GOVERNOR SAMUEL R. McKELVIE

IN these days of constitution-making and administrative reforms, it is timely to consider steps that have already been taken by some of the States. Illinois, Idaho, and Nebraska have all adopted a Civil Administrative Code. At least thirteen other States, reporting through reconstruction commissions, survey committees, or their chief executives, have recommended that plan of administration. It is timely, then, that the people generally should begin to inform themselves of what is meant by a Civil Administrative Code and what is sought to be accomplished under that form of State government.

Briefly, it is simply a return to first principles, as embodied in the Government of the United States, a republic the like of which has never been founded. In its origin it stood as a happy medium between two extremes—on the one hand, an autocracy with all power centered in one individual; on the other hand, a pure democracy with direct action by all the people. It was indeed a representative form of government, which protected individual rights and provided for the economical and efficient administration of the country. The entire system consisted of three distinct and separate branches: executive, legislative, and judicial; the first two filled by popular vote, and the third by appointment.

From the fact that the federal Constitution (Article IV, Section 4) provides that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government" it may be inferred that each State was expected to follow this plan of administration; and, in fact, such was the general belief as evidenced in public discussions of that time. But Nebraska, not unlike the majority of the States in the Union, early broke away from that ideal.

When the Constitution of Nebraska was drafted, in 1875, provision was made for

electing not only a chief executive, but also several other executives who were to head the different departments of State government. As the State grew, various boards and commissions were created, and these boards were given both executive and administrative power. It was evidently thought that greater security to individual and property rights could be obtained through the delegation of authority to numerous elective and administrative officials, boards, and commissions.

Nebraska Reforms Her Administrative System

But finally there was so much confusion of authority and responsibility that the system itself became a menace to good government. As a result, many efforts to better the situation have been made in the past few years; governors and legislative committees have repeatedly urged reforms. In 1914, a joint committee of the Senate and House reported eighty-two distinct objects of appropriation and expenditure, whereas the State had started out with seven executive departments in 1875. This committee recommended consolidation of miscellaneous departments wherever possible.

Governor Morehead, during his administration, advocated the consolidation of departments and declared that where he had been able to follow such a plan he had always shown a saving in expense and an improvement in efficiency. Later, Governor Neville declared that "divided authority and divided responsibility produce waste and inefficiency" and asserted that "it is impossible to handle the State's affairs in the efficient manner that would be demanded by any business man in the conduct of his private transactions."

Noting the successful operation in Illinois of that State's civil administrative code, the Republican party of Nebraska brought the

entire proposition to a head, in 1918, by making the following declaration in its platform:

We favor the enactment of a Civil Administrative Code in this State, creating a financial and accounting system whereby a vigorous and effective audit over financial expenditures of the State may be established, and providing for the consolidation of the boards, institutions, commissions and different departments and agencies of government, thereby eliminating useless offices and positions and avoiding the overlapping functions thereof; and we further favor the creation of an effective budget system to the end that government functions may be more efficiently and economically administered.

Six Departments Displace Twenty-One

The legislature carried this plan into effect last year, with the enactment of Nebraska's Civil Administrative Code. Although the bill contained over 500 pages, only twenty pages consisted of new legislation providing for the establishment of the present system of administration. The rest consisted of legislation previously enacted, included in order to bring it under the Code.

The Civil Administrative Code eliminates eleven boards and commissions and ten other sub-divisions of departments. It creates six administrative departments: Finance, Agriculture, Trade and Commerce, Labor, Public Works, and Public Welfare. These departments are administered by secretaries appointed by the Governor with the consent of the Senate. Each secretary receives an annual salary of \$5000.

The six departments are subdivided into bureaus and divisions, the head of each of which is designated as a "chief." The six secretaries are responsible to the Governor, the chiefs of the bureaus and divisions are responsible to their respective secretaries, and the minor employees are responsible directly to their chiefs. Thus responsibility is fixed at every station, and the commonly recognized practices of business administration are established.

The work of each of the six Code departments is briefly outlined in the following paragraphs:

The Department of Finance

The organization of the Department of Finance well illustrates some of the changes that the Code Bill has made in the administration of the State's affairs. This department is charged with the preparation and submission to the legislature of a budget of expenditures and revenues for the next bien-

nium. Estimates of necessary expenditures are secured from each department, together with estimates of the money to be derived from taxation and other sources. This does away with numerous demands which boards and commissions have made upon the legislature in the past and puts the entire financial system on a business basis.

The Bureau of Taxation was created as a subdivision of the Department of Finance, with supervisory powers over all taxation questions in the State.

To reduce duplication in financial accounting and obtain control over expenditures, the Division of Accounts and Pay Rolls in the Department of Finance has taken over the financial accounting work formerly carried on in the separate departments, boards, and commissions. Heretofore purchases have been made and contracts have been let without anyone certifying that funds would be available to meet the expense. Under the new plan the Department of Finance has supervision over all funds. As soon as a purchase order is given by any department the estimated cost of the purchase is charged to the respective fund making it impossible for any department to overdraw its fund and thus preventing deficits. The Department of Finance certifies monthly the money remaining unencumbered in the fund of each Code department.

A modest civil service plan has been instituted under the Code. The same pay for the same duties is now paid throughout the State service regardless of department lines. Arrangements are also made for the recognition of increased efficiency through advancement in position and pay. The Department of Finance keeps an employees efficiency service record, which serves as a basis of recommendations for promotion.

The Department of Agriculture

The Department of Agriculture has full police power and control over the enforcement of laws relating to the subject of agriculture in all its branches. Within this department is the Bureau of Markets, created to aid farmers in their problems of distribution and to prepare agricultural statistics. Methods of sorting and grading agricultural products will be evolved so that the markets of the world will be open without prejudice to the products of the farms of Nebraska.

The Bureau of Foods, Drugs, Dairy, and Oil is charged with the enforcement of laws relating to food, sanitation of food, cold

storage, drugs, commercial feeding stuffs, gasoline and kerosene, paint and linseed oil, imitation butter, commercial fertilizers, livestock remedies, dairies, weights and measures, agricultural seeds, and hotels. This bureau maintains a chemical laboratory to which official samples of any article coming under these laws are submitted for analysis. The Division of Dairy Industry enforces laws relative to that industry and issues licenses to those engaged in handling dairy products.

The Bureau of Animal Industry has charge of the work formerly performed by the Livestock Sanitary Board, giving special attention to the prevention of hog cholera, to eradication of cattle tuberculosis, and to enforcement of the stallion registration laws. The Division of Weights and Measures looks after the inspection of scales and measuring devices, including oil and gasoline measuring pumps, and enforces the laws relating to the standardization of building materials such as brick. The old Game and Fish Commission becomes a division of the Department of Agriculture.

Departments of Trade and Commerce, and of Labor

The Department of Trade and Commerce combines the former banking, insurance, fire-prevention, and securities departments.

The Bureau of Banking has supervision over all State banks, building and loan associations, as well as over trust and investment companies. The Bureau of Insurance is in charge of a trained actuary and maintains a full corps of examiners.

The Bureau of Securities was formerly known as the "Blue Sky Department" of the Railway Commission. This bureau supervises the issue and sale of the securities of all corporations, partnerships, and individual enterprises. Its most important duty is to prevent the sale of fraudulent and worthless securities. The Bureau of Fire Prevention, formerly known as the Fire Commission, enforces the State's fire regulations and investigates fires of supposedly incendiary origin.

The Department of Labor conducts a free employment bureau, compiles industrial statistics, enforces the laws relative to child labor, workmen's compensation and employers' liability, and looks after the welfare of workers. These laws were formerly administered by the Commissioner of Labor; but the work of the Department of Labor is much more extensive.

The Department of Public Works

The most important subdivision of the Department of Public Works is the Bureau of Roads and Bridges. This bureau has charge of the construction of all State and federal aid roads, the designing of all county bridges, the construction of State-aid bridges, and the administration of the motor vehicle tax laws. The bureau works in close co-operation with the county commissioners and the Federal Government in supervising the expenditure of funds for the improvement of Nebraska's system of State roads. About 4500 miles of road are now being improved under the supervision of this bureau with the aid of State and federal funds.

Another very important bureau in this department is the Bureau of Irrigation, Water Power, and Drainage. It has supervision over matters dealing with the irrigation systems and all water-power developments.

A Department of Public Welfare

Sixteen former departments and boards have been merged into the Department of Public Welfare, which has to do with matters relating to sanitation, quarantine and general public health, licensing of professional people, paroling of prisoners, and child welfare, including the inspection of maternity homes.

The Bureau of Health, in this department, maintains divisions of contagious and communicable diseases, sanitation, sanitary engineering, venereal diseases, vital statistics, and a bacteriological laboratory—each supervised by an expert.

The secretary of the Department of Public Welfare acts as chief of the Bureau of Examining Boards, and the law provides that he "shall have the right at all times to inspect the equipment and methods of teaching in all professional schools, and shall have the power to refuse examination to the graduates of any school which, upon proper notice and hearing, shall be adjudged not a professional school in good standing." This bureau maintains divisions of physicians, chiropractic, dentists, nurses, pharmacy, optometry, embalmers, veterinary, medicine and chiropody.

The powers of the former Board of Pardons and Paroles are now vested in this Department of Public Welfare, and come under the Bureau of Social Service.

The chief of the Bureau of Child Welfare exercises general supervision over de-

pendent and delinquent children, cares for their training and education, investigates the importation of dependent children from other States, visits children placed but not legally adopted, and looks after the abused.

Advantages Over the Old System

A system of uniform reports has been adopted throughout the departments. These reports are made out each week by the various bureaus of divisions, and are then submitted to the secretary of the department, where they are compiled. Each secretary makes a weekly report to the Governor, who is thus able to visualize administrative conditions and results; and the Governor makes these reports the basis of his own annual reports to the legislature and the public.

The Civil Administrative Code accomplishes the State's work with fewer employees and with greater efficiency than under the former system. A practical illustration of its principles may be found in any well-organized business. In every department store, for example, there will be found a responsible form of administrative government in which every employee makes an accounting to someone in higher authority, and no department is left for administration to a group of individuals with divided authority and responsibility.

There is nothing complicated or mysterious about the Code. It is just this—a law that provides for a simplified responsible form of government. It does away with the duplication and overlapping of duties in many departments, and consequently brings

about an increase in results per dollar of expense and an actual reduction in the number of employees. It makes possible a definite program for each department and subdivision, with appropriations justly commensurate with the work in hand. It takes care of the State's money by centralized purchasing, standardization of salaries, and uniform control of expenditures. It provides for the formation of a budget for the legislature's guidance, embracing estimates of all resources and expenditures. Finally, it enables the Governor to make detailed reports

to the legislature and to the people, so that every voter and every taxpayer may know whether the State's affairs are being efficiently administered.

Under the old system of boards and commissions—often composed of opposing parties or factions—there was an ever-present disposition to play politics.

Results Already Achieved

In operation the Civil Administrative Code in Nebraska has met the expectations of those who urged its adoption. At the end of the first five months of its operation, it had saved to the State over \$50,000 in actual cost of administration. On this basis, it is fair to assume that the saving for the biennium will be over

\$200,000. In one division alone, the Registration of Automobiles, a saving of \$8000 per annum was effected in cost of administration.

But more important still—it so expedites the handling of the State's business that those requiring service receive it promptly, and the tedious details which accompany the system of administration under boards and commissions are largely eliminated.

GOVERNOR MC KELVIE'S RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE NEBRASKA CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, RELATING TO THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

(The Convention is now in session, and these recommendations are in addition to changes recently effected under the new Civil Administrative Code, described in this article.)

1. *The Executive Department should consist of a Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Comptroller, to be elected.*

2. *The Governor to be elected for a term of four years, and not subject to reelection.*

3. *The Lieutenant-Governor to be elected for a term of four years, and to serve only in the event of the death or disability of the Governor.*

4. *A Comptroller to serve as Auditor and Treasurer, to be elected for a term of four years, and not subject to reelection. He could either be elected by direct vote of the people or by the House of Representatives.*

5. *All appointments, aside from those having to do with the office of Comptroller, should be made by the Governor, with major appointments to be confirmed by the Senate. The creation of departments, and the grouping of activities with them, to be left to the legislature. The selection and term of service of minor employees to be subject to a limited civil service, the provisions of which the legislature should determine.*

6. *There should be no boards, except those that are quasi-judicial, quasi-legislative, or having to do with education.*

7. *Provisions may be made for the recall of any of these officers, or the appointees under them, upon the petitions of a given percentage of qualified electors.*

THE BUDGET SYSTEM IN ILLINOIS

BY GOVERNOR FRANK O. LOWDEN

WHEN the Administrative Code was adopted in Illinois, three years ago, it was of course supposed that a thing so revolutionary in character would be assailed when the next General Assembly met, two years from the time of its enactment. So satisfactory, however, had been the operation of the new plan of government in our State that there was not a bill introduced attacking it in any way, but, upon the contrary, all measures were made to fit into the Administrative Code. I have not heard of a single suggestion from anyone to return to the old system.

It was also supposed by many that a budget, if prepared by the executive department, would receive scant consideration at the hands of the General Assembly. This fear, however, proved unfounded. When it was ready for submission to the General Assembly, the Director of Finance and myself were invited to appear before a joint session of that body. This, of course, we were glad to do. We each made statements and invited questions. In this way real coöperation between the legislative and executive branches of the government was established.

The Governor Works with the Legislature

The appropriation bills based upon the budget were prepared and referred to the appropriations committee, there being one appropriations committee in each house. Subcommittees were constituted to take up different parts of the budget. This they did in good faith. Of course, there were at times differences of opinion as to some item. When these differences arose the subcommittee, in conference with the Director of Finance, and—in cases where they did not agree—in conference with myself, took up and adjusted the differences. The appropriations as finally passed were based altogether upon the budget submitted, and in comparatively few instances departed at all from the budget, and then usually only after the executive branch of the Government agreed to the changes.

The appropriations committees themselves found that, for the first time, there were real

data in the office of the Director of Finance upon which to base the appropriations. They therefore found their work much easier and much more satisfactory than before, and the chairmen of both the House and the Senate committees so expressed themselves at the end of the session. I do not think that anyone in the legislature would seriously suggest going back to the old, haphazard method of appropriations.

Of course, there must be coöperation between the executive and legislative branches of the Government in order to make an executive budget function satisfactorily; but such coöperation is necessary, under our form of government, in all other matters as well. I think we have disapproved the theory, held by some, that an executive budget is workable only after changes have been made in the Constitution limiting the power of the legislature in the matter of appropriations.

It so happens that during the development of perhaps the latter half of the last century the thought that was in men's minds when they framed constitutions and when they framed laws was: "You must prevent some public official from doing something wrong." They were thinking of that all the while, not of putting the public official in a position where he could affirmatively do something good. The ingenuity of man could never work out any scheme by which you can tie men's hands for evil and leave them free for good. You must give power commensurate with the responsibility which you are going to exact.

Give Power, and Demand Responsibility!

So this Administrative Code, which we in Illinois adopted in 1917, had for its first principle the concentration of all the powers in the department in the head of that department. He is supreme, and therefore if I ask him why this has been done, or why the other thing has not been done, he cannot say that it is because he has no power, for he does have power, and therefore must take responsibility.

The other great principle which we put into the code was this: that it is individuals

who do things and not bodies of men. We have acquired the habit, of late years, of creating a commission every time something goes wrong. The fact is that it is the individual who executes all the while, and not a board or a commission. There is no commission anywhere and there never was, and there is no board anywhere and there never was, that did things affirmatively unless it was absolutely dominated by one man; and the only benefit of the rest of them is in an advisory capacity, and if they do not hamper him, the body is fortunate.

Now, if that is true (and it is true), when it comes to administration, since you must rely upon one man anyway, why not appoint him and omit the others? Then he will not be hampered, at least. At the head of each of these nine departments we put a man, and not a board nor a commission.

It is true that there is wisdom in numbers, as we are told, and it is true that the man at the head of any great work likes the advice of other men. So we created advisory boards with no power to administer, no power to decide unless they were asked by the actual executive head of the department. As a matter of fact they are frequently called into a meeting, their advice is sought for, they have just as much influence, and yet the decision is actually made by the head of the department. We have used these advisory bodies very freely. In that way many of the most eminent people of our State are serving the public, because there are many men whom you can get to work for nothing a year that you cannot get to work for \$2500 a year. The result is that we have relations with the best thought and the best effort.

The Keystone Department—Finance

The Department of Finance really became the keystone of the structure, and that, in effect, was a new department of State government with us in Illinois. It was given two sets of powers. First, it was authorized to provide for a uniform system of bookkeeping, and a system of reports of all activities of the State, so that it could supervise all accounts rendered by any department. It had the power to ascertain the legality as well as the correctness of any account. It was required to approve of vouchers that should be paid. This department, therefore, was a very important part of the scheme of government created by the Administrative Code.

The next and perhaps most important duty of all devolving upon the head of the

department was that of the preparation of a budget. He was required not only to assemble estimates and expenditures of the preceding year, but he was given power to require testimony by the head of a department who might make a request, upon the need of that request. In fact, he was given all the power that could be given him under the constitution to make a thorough and exhaustive investigation into the needs of every department of government.

He also was empowered to establish summary and controlling accounts. He was permitted to require the several departments at the beginning of a year, or before any part of an appropriation theretofore made could be expended, to make analyses month by month of how the head of that department proposed to apportion the amount of money granted to him among the several forms of activity.

A Real Budget Commission

Obviously, the Department of Finance is from the beginning of any fiscal year discharging the duties of a budget commission. Our fiscal year begins on July 1. Our Department of Finance, then, on July 1 begins in effect the preparation of the budget for the next biennium; because, by virtue of its power of scrutinizing accounts, and of going into accounts, and because of the requirement that it shall approve of vouchers upon appropriations before they are paid, it must day by day be acquiring the information necessary for the initiation and preparation of the budget for the next biennium. Our legislature meets but once in two years, and we appropriate for two years at a time.

It is human nature that the better you know how much money you are going to have to expend, the more you will get for it. That applies to corporations and public bodies as much as to individuals. Therefore, until you have ascertained what you can reasonably raise, you are not in a position to apportion that money intelligently among the expenditures; and whenever you find a business man who runs away from his balance-sheet you find a business man with a receivership coming very soon. That is what we have been doing with our public expenditures all these years. The mere fact that we are great and rich and powerful makes it all the more important that we do ascertain, and ascertain before we begin to make up a budget, what we ought to expend, and what we reasonably can expect during the next year.

"JUSTICE AND THE POOR"

THE country resounds nowadays with talk about the things that government—local, state or national—ought to be doing for the benefit of one class or another class of people. Furthermore, a good many new experiments are being tried with a view to making one set of people or another set happier than they had been, through the use of government as a collective agency for promoting social welfare. Whether or not it is desirable to entail these newer functions upon the governmental structure, there is one function about which everybody is in agreement. It is the business of government to see that justice rather than injustice shall prevail, and that the common man may be secure in the rights that belong to him by express terms of law or by fully recognized understandings.

Even in countries like Mexico there are beautiful codes of law, but it is not easy to translate the theoretical equality of men, in their rights of person and of property, into terms of practical everyday security. In these times of unrest we are told on all hands that our existing institutions do not give men freedom and equality. We are told that, however the law may read on the statute books, justice smiles upon the rich and the fortunate and frowns upon the poor and the friendless. Certainly our institutions are far from perfect in their everyday workings. This is quite as true of the official machinery of government as it is true of the ordinary industrial system.

The test of institutions, however, is not their perfection but their tendency. Society changes constantly, and the real question is whether society is steadily modifying its institutions to fit new conditions. Is our government firmly controlled by interests adverse to the welfare of the toiling masses? Are our courts of law and our methods of administering justice artfully contrived to let the poor man suffer, while the rich man escapes the consequences of his misconduct? Can the unselfish citizen honestly advise poor men to support our institutions on the ground that their faults can and will be corrected from time to time?

These are timely questions that are not to be answered merely by assertion or by ar-

gument. They can only be answered satisfactorily by careful and competent investigation. A very valuable study has been made of this subject under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. The results of this survey appear in a volume entitled, "Justice and the Poor," and the author is Reginald Heber Smith, a member of the Boston Bar. The scope of the inquiry is shown in the subtitle, as follows: "A study of the present denial of justice to the poor, and of the agencies making more equal their position before the law, with particular reference to legal aid work in the United States."

The book has a foreword by Mr. Elihu Root, in which the following statements are made, addressed especially to American lawyers:

We have had in the main just laws and honest courts to which people—poor as well as rich—could repair to obtain justice. But the rapid growth of great cities, the enormous masses of immigrants (many of them ignorant of our language), and the greatly increased complications of life have created conditions under which the provisions for obtaining justice which were formerly sufficient are sufficient no longer.

I think the true criticism which we should make upon our own conduct is that we have been so busy about our individual affairs that we have been slow to appreciate the changes of conditions which to so great an extent have put justice beyond the reach of the poor. But we cannot confine ourselves to that criticism much longer; it is time to set our own house in order. And as we do so we should recognize with gratitude the noble and unselfish men and women whom this book shows to have been devoting themselves to the task which most of us have been neglecting.

This quotation well shows the motive and spirit with which Mr. Smith undertook his work, and indicates the candor with which denials of justice are pointed out. Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, President of the Carnegie Foundation, in his general introduction to the volume, shows the system upon which this careful inquiry has proceeded, and we can do no better than to quote from Dr. Pritchett:

The study here presented sets forth in simple and non-technical language, first the defects in the administration of the law which work in effect a denial of justice to the poor or to the ignorant; and secondly, the agencies, supplementary to the

existing machinery, whose object is to remedy these defects.

The important defects are three—delay, court costs and fees, and the expense of counsel. The agencies suggested to remedy these defects fall into two groups according as the nature of the case admits of settlement without legal counsel or, on the other hand, requires counsel for the full protection of the disputants.

In the first group of remedial agencies are placed the small claims court, the agencies for conciliation and arbitration, the domestic relations courts and administrative tribunals, and all officials authorized to deal promptly with disputants. For the other group of cases—those for whom legal counsel is necessary—the present report discusses the defender in criminal cases, the assignment of counsel, and finally and most exhaustively the legal aid organizations.

The outcome and the object of the report is the effort to prove that these various agencies, if properly articulated with the existing system of the administration of justice, can be made to secure, so far as human means can do, the practical equality of all men before the law and to afford to all citizens without regard to wealth or rank or race the means for a prompt, inexpensive, and fair adjudication of their complaints.

For no group in the citizenship of the country is this more needed than in the case of the great mass of citizens of foreign birth, ignorant of the language, and helpless to secure their rights unless met by an administration of the machinery of justice that shall be simple, sympathetic, and patient. To such the apparent denial of justice forms the path to disloyalty and bitterness.

Dr. Pritchett concludes his introductory remarks with the observation that "the very existence of free government depends upon making the machinery of justice so effective that the citizens of the democracy shall believe in its impartiality and fairness." The book is one that every intelligent citizen and every State legislator could read with advantage; but its especial mission is to teach the legal profession a fuller sense of social obli-

gation. It would be hard to praise sufficiently the completeness and the accuracy of Mr. Reginald Heber Smith's work. It is systematic and clear, while terse and condensed; and no commendation can well overstate its merits. Every law student should be examined upon it before being admitted to the Bar.

The subject falls into three main parts, the first of which deals with existing defects. The nature of these is pointed out in the quotation we have already made from Dr. Pritchett's introduction. The second part sets forth various remedial agencies such as Small Claims Courts, Conciliation, Arbitration, Domestic Relations Courts, Tribunals such as those that administer Workmen's Compensation Acts, Assignment of Counsel, and, notably, the new functionary in criminal cases known as the Public Defender. We are publishing in pages immediately following this an account of the working of this office of Public Defender in Los Angeles, where it has made its most important demonstration. The third part of the book deals historically and practically with the Legal Aid organizations in New York and various other cities that have rendered such noteworthy service to poor people, particularly in the enforcement of civil claims.

A careful study of this book, while convincing the reader that there is serious need of improvement in our system of justice, leaves the encouraging impression that the situation is growing better. That there is to be still greater progress in the near future than there has been in the recent past, together with the general adoption of methods found useful in local pioneering experiments, may reasonably be expected.—A. S.

A STATEMENT REGARDING THE PUBLIC DEFENDER, BY THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY, THOMAS LEE WOOLHINE

In my two terms as District Attorney of Los Angeles County there has at all times existed complete harmony between Public Defender Walton J. Wood and his force and myself and my official force. While Defender Wood has conserved in every way the interests of his clients, we have found a total absence of the perjured defenses that are, unfortunately, in numerous instances built up by unscrupulous criminal attorneys. Furthermore, I believe it to be a humane and proper measure to provide competent counsel to represent the thousands of indigent accused persons. The Public Defender has been of great assistance in calling to the attention of the District Attorney facts in mitigation or tending to show innocence, which have been of material assistance in dealing with accused persons with entire fairness.

THE PUBLIC DEFENDER

AN ACCOUNT OF SIX YEARS' SERVICE IN DEFENSE OF THE POOR IN COURT

BY WALTON J. WOOD

(Public Defender of Los Angeles County)

In the article immediately preceding this we have referred to the office of Public Defender as one that has been established in order to improve the administration of justice in criminal cases. The value of this office has been best demonstrated in the populous city of Los Angeles. The following article is from the pen of the Public Defender, Hon. Walton J. Wood. At the bottom of the facing page is a testimonial sent to us last month by the District Attorney, Hon. Thomas L. Woolwine. On a subsequent page will be found an appreciative statement from Judge Craig of the Superior Court at Los Angeles. We may hope that the writing of this excellent account by Mr. Wood will so stimulate interest as to aid in the provision of similar court officers in other cities and States.—THE EDITOR.

AS one steps from the elevator at the eleventh floor of the Hall of Records in Los Angeles he looks at the door to the right, whereon is painted the words "District Attorney"; and then on the door across the hall to the left he reads the words "Public Defender." These two offices have thus existed in close proximity for six years, in the first county in the United States to establish the office of Public Defender.

When the office of Public Defender was established in Los Angeles, in January, 1914, it attracted much attention throughout the country. The REVIEW OF REVIEWS, in its issue of December, 1914, stated: "The whole country has been interested in the experiment made by the City of Los Angeles, California, in creating the office of Public Defender, whose function it is to employ the same activity in the defense of an accused person as the District Attorney employs in his prosecution."

Since the establishment of the Public Defender's office in Los Angeles, similar offices have been created in several other cities. Much interest has been manifested in the movement by legislators, jurists, and those engaged in social welfare work. Inquiries continue to come to us from all parts of the United States, indeed from foreign countries also, asking the results of the work of the office. I feel, therefore, that



HON. THOMAS LEE WOOLWINE
(District Attorney of Los Angeles County)

our experience in Los Angeles is a matter of general interest.

Relations with the District Attorney

Cordial and harmonious relations have been maintained between the District Attorney's office and our own. Both offices are trying to bring about the same result: the proper administration of justice. No unfair advantage is taken by one office of



HON. WALTON J. WOOD
(Public Defender of Los Angeles County)

the other, and trials are conducted with the smallest possible degree of friction. At the same time both offices diligently and earnestly represent the interests of the respective sides of the issues involved.

Before the establishment of our office it was thought by some that the District Attorney and the Public Defender would necessarily be opposed to each other and that the State should not support two offices the purpose of one of which should be to oppose the work of the other. This, however, is not the true conception of the purpose of the Public Defender. He should cooperate with the District Attorney and the judge, rather than oppose either of them. A fair-minded prosecutor not only does not want innocent men convicted, but he wants the guilty to receive only a just sentence.

Before the advent of the Public Defender, cases were frequently presented to the court in which the District Attorney wanted to know the side of the accused but, owing to conditions, could not properly learn all the facts. He now knows that every accused man is receiving fair treatment and that he need not worry that possibly full justice is not being done to both sides. The District Attorney has often called the attention of the Public Defender to individual cases in which it appeared that

a thorough investigation might develop that the prisoner has a good defense.

The case of *People vs. John Collins*, a murder case, furnishes an example of co-operation between the offices of the District Attorney and the Public Defender. The only question before the court was whether Collins should suffer the death penalty. The only eye-witness to the homicide was a young colored girl living in Arkansas. The defense desired the appearance of this witness but was without means to provide her transportation to Los Angeles in time for the trial. A request was made of the District Attorney for assistance in this matter, and the District Attorney in a spirit of fairness secured transportation for the witness to come to Los Angeles. She arrived in time for the trial and mainly upon her testimony the jury decided in favor of the less penalty.

An Experienced Lawyer for the Accused

It was generally understood that the Public Defender should take the place of the youthful attorneys who had been receiving "assignments" from the judge to represent impecunious defendants. Clearly, it was not fair to place a man upon trial and provide for the prosecution an able, experienced attorney with all the resources of the State at his command while at the same time furnishing for his defense a lawyer just graduated from law school and without funds to conduct the defense properly. In most cases such attorneys rendered greater service to themselves by gaining experience than they rendered to the accused in presenting the defense. The Public Defender has a staff of lawyers who are on the same salary basis as those in the District Attorney's office, and who receive their appointments from the same civil service commission. The trials are therefore conducted on an equal basis in Los Angeles and the danger of convicting an innocent defendant has been reduced to a minimum.

Important among the results obtained by our office, with the cooperation of the officials at the jail, is the elimination of the attorneys of low standing who made a practice of preying upon unfortunates within the prison walls. While we have taken the place of the "assigned" counsel in many cases, a much larger number of our cases are those in which the defendants were formerly represented by a class of attorneys of low standing at the bar who solicited busi-

ness in the jail. It is difficult to find a name which properly fits this class of attorneys. A Chicago lawyer has referred to them as "human harpies"; one of the deputies in the District Attorney's office called them "vampires"; a report of the committee of an Eastern bar association refers to lawyers of this class as "legal vermin"; a writer in Kansas City called them "switch lawyers"; and the public in general knows them as "shysters."

Some Examples of the Old System

These lawyers made a habit of keeping close watch on the jail and of offering their services to anyone who might be arrested. Prisoners without means, and generally without friends, were glad to find someone with whom they could talk over their cases. Very often the accused were foreigners and unable to talk English, many of them in Los Angeles being Mexicans, not conversant with laws and having no knowledge of the relative merits of attorneys. Interpreters were quick to introduce themselves to those unable to speak our language, the object being to extol the alleged merits of some attorney seeking to pick up the few cents that the unfortunates might have upon their persons at the time of arrest.

THE SUPERIOR COURT

Los Angeles, California
Gavin W. Craig, Judge
Los Angeles, Cal.,
January 17, 1920.

Mr. Albert Shaw, Editor,

REVIEW OF REVIEWS,
New York City.

DEAR SIR:

The office of Public Defender has become an established institution in this county. It is fortunate that the first attorney to hold the office was a man of good judgment and a good lawyer. Its establishment was an experiment. It has passed that stage and is now a recognized success. Public Defender Walton J. Wood is entitled to great commendation for his conduct of the office.

Very truly yours,

GAVIN W. CRAIG,
Judge of the Superior Court.



JUDGE GAVIN W. CRAIG, OF THE SUPERIOR COURT
OF LOS ANGELES

If the prisoner had no money he might serve the attorney by recommending him to some other prisoner who could pay a fee. These attorneys were willing to accept any fee, no matter how small, promising to work diligently for the accused but in most cases failing to render faithful services. One case came to my attention in which an attorney offered to undertake the defense in a murder case for three dollars, the sum total of the prisoner's resources. Often the attorneys would have one interview with the defendants and advise them to plead guilty and apply for probation, taking whatever means they might have in return. The turnkeys have told me of cases in which attorneys have obtained promissory notes in large amounts from defendants, thereupon advising them to plead guilty. Upon the release of the accused on probation they found themselves without means and with the attorneys trying to enforce collection of the notes given for services never in fact rendered.

A common method for these "harpies" to pursue was to seek interviews with the prisoners, lauding their own alleged abilities as criminal lawyers and volunteering to render "services" without remuneration. Their next step was to inform the accused that they would require names of intimate friends and relatives for the purpose of es-

tablishing good records to be taken into consideration by the court. I have known of cases where defendants have furnished such lists, with instructions to the attorneys that the lists were not to be used for any other purpose and by all means funds should not be sought from the persons named therein. The attorneys, nevertheless, sent out letters to the addresses given, asking contributions of funds for their fees. When the attorneys found that no funds could be secured, or if the funds obtained seemed inadequate, they withdrew from the cases, advising the accused to secure the services of the Public Defender. These attorneys were not equipped, either in point of integrity or ability, to represent properly the accused.

Shortly after our office was established a man was arrested and taken to the city jail. Soon thereafter he was removed to the county jail but his clothing and personal effects still remained at the city jail. He requested his lawyer, one of the type just mentioned, to secure his clothing for him. The lawyer helped himself to the limited wardrobe of the prisoner and appeared at the county jail wearing one of the prisoner's shirts.

Seventy Per Cent. Plead Guilty

The Public Defender has demonstrated that criminal cases can be conducted upon purely ethical lines with the sole purpose in view to promote justice. Our office has tried to keep uppermost the idea that justice should be done, and that even in criminal cases attorneys should not try to get the defendants "off" regardless of the merits. We have not asked for unnecessary delays and have not resorted to technicalities. No motion has been presented which was not necessary to protect the substantial rights of the accused. In cases where there is no question of the guilt of the accused, it is the established rule of the office that no trial be held but that pleas of guilty be entered.

In cases where the services of expert witnesses are necessary, it is the custom of the District Attorney and the Public Defender to unite in requesting the court to appoint disinterested experts to serve as the only expert witnesses in the case. This procedure has been followed on a number of occasions, the experts in some cases reporting in favor of the District Attorney's contention and in other cases in favor of the Public Defender's contention. The court has thus

been spared the spectacle of having so-called experts color their testimony in favor of the side which pays them.

The presentation of mitigating circumstances and of applications for probation constitute a very important part of the work of the attorney for the defendants, a work which was sadly neglected under the old system. Seventy per cent. of our clients plead guilty, and the court is faced with the difficult problem of passing a just sentence. In most cases mitigating circumstances can be shown if diligent effort is made.

Aiding in Parole and Employment

A nineteen-year-old boy entered a butcher shop at Los Angeles harbor and purloined a ham. He was a sailor and expected to go to sea at the first opportunity. He was without funds and while awaiting the sailing of a vessel subsisted on the ham in a shanty on the outskirts of the city. Upon his arrest for the burglary he told the court he was guilty and did not desire to disclose the names of his parents but wished the court to sentence him immediately. The court appointed the Public Defender as his counsel, and we urged him to tell the court all the circumstances of his life in the belief that he had a good record and that probation would probably result. At our earnest entreaty he told us his story, giving the names of his parents in an Eastern city. We wrote to the parents and learned that he was the eldest of several children, that he had left home two or three years earlier in the desire for adventure and that the parents had advertised for their boy throughout the United States. The father sent a railroad ticket to his old home and the price of the ham to reimburse the butcher. He wrote us that he would meet his son at the train with a new suit of clothes ready for him and that a warm welcome was waiting if the court should see fit to grant probation. The boy's previous record had been good and the court upon learning these facts promptly sent him to his parents.

An important part of the work of the Public Defender is the securing of employment for prisoners upon their release from the jail. The judges are loath to release men on probation who are without means of securing a livelihood and who, very probably, would become charges on the community or again resort to crime. Our office has endeavored with considerable success to reclaim men who have fallen and to make

them useful citizens. Often the judges order that prisoners be released as soon as the Public Defender secures employment for them.

A Saving, Not an Expense

An unexpected result from the establishment of the office of Public Defender is the reduction in expense to the taxpayers. It was conceded that the new office would, of course, add some expense; but that was considered only fair to the accused and to the attorneys who had been formerly called upon to donate their services. A careful calculation has been made of the time actually consumed in handling the cases conducted by the Public Defender's office during the first three years of its existence, and those conducted by attorneys in private practise during the same period. The figures show that the cases tried by the Public Defender occupied an average of seventy-nine hundredths of a day for each trial, while the cases tried by attorneys in private practise occupied an average of one and sixty-four hundredths days. Pleas of guilty were entered in 69.8 per cent. of the cases handled by the Public Defender, and in only 46.1 per cent. handled by private counsel.

The saving of the courts' time in these two items alone has more than offset the

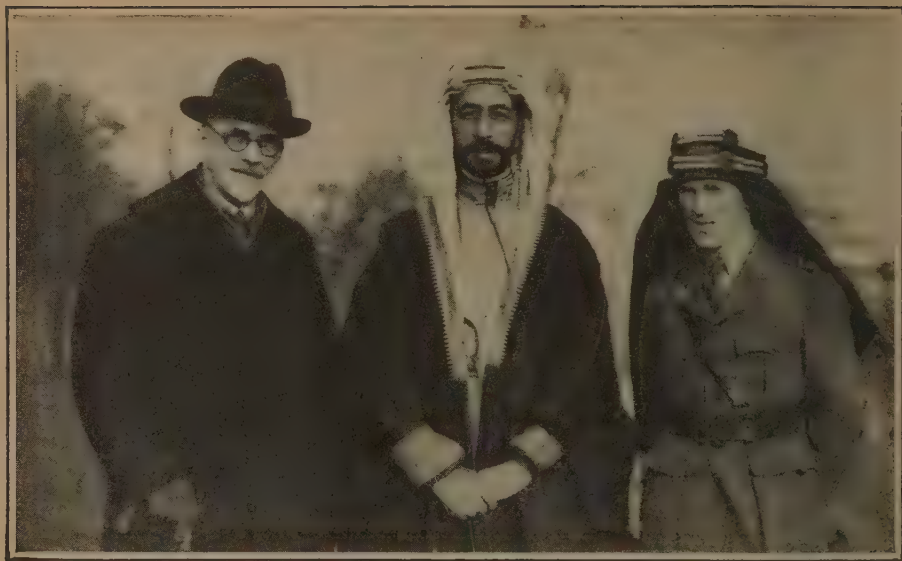
expense incurred in maintaining the criminal department of the Public Defender's office.

To this should be added the saving in the time of the courts in passing upon demurrers, motions for new trials, and similar matters. Although the Public Defender appeared in approximately one-third of all the criminal cases handled by the Superior Court, demurrers were filed in only four cases, while attorneys in private practise filed one hundred and eleven demurrers. The Public Defender appealed in four cases, while attorneys in private practise appealed in fifty-four cases. A higher percentage of acquittals resulted in cases tried by the Public Defender than in cases tried by private counsel.

After the Public Defender's office had been in operation in the county courts in Los Angeles nearly two years, the chief of police was elected mayor. In his first message to the city council he recommended that an ordinance be passed providing for a defender in the police courts. Acting upon this recommendation the city council created the office of City Police Court Defender. Both offices have received the hearty co-operation and support of all officials of the county and the city. The office of Public Defender is no longer an experiment.



THE LOS ANGELES COURT HOUSE, WITH THE HALL OF RECORDS JUST BEYOND
(In the Hall of Records both the Public Defender and the Public Prosecutor have their offices)



COLONEL T. E. LAWRENCE (AT THE RIGHT), PRINCE FEISAL, AND MR. WILLIAM T. ELLIS
(From a photograph taken in London)

THE WAR'S MOST ROMANTIC FIGURE

BY WILLIAM T. ELLIS

MR. KIPLING and I were talking together in London about Colonel T. E. Lawrence—Lawrence of the Hejaz—and I ventured to suggest that, despite a certain celebrated story of the same title, Lawrence really is "The Finest Story in the World."

"Mine," replied Kipling, "was merely the last rinsings of an effete imagination, but Lawrence—why, man, you've got your arms up to the elbows in riches—silver and pure gold and precious stones."

That anent my rather familiar acquaintance with this young man from the desert whose exploits were so important and unique that they were not permitted to be told in the war dispatches. The Turks esteemed him so greatly that they put a price of half a million dollars in gold on his head.

Even while his market value was so high, amid a people poor beyond imagination, Lawrence went openly to Damascus and studied the enemy forces and arrangement; and from the station platform watched the Turkish troops entrain for the Hejaz, where he, as commander of the Arab forces, was

later to deal them surprising defeats. Richard the Lion-Hearted, and Haroun el Raschid, could teach this youth nothing in the way of romantic and audacious enterprise.

Speaking of trains, Lawrence became an expert in blowing up railways and trains—doing the deed in person, with his own hand. One does not lead an army of Arabs by "orders of the day," or from base headquarters! Lawrence would sit inconspicuously a few hundred yards distant, with his finger on the electric wire, waiting exactly the right instant to blow the most vital parts of the train into the air—and then he would make his merry exit from the scene! When the blown-up metal ties and rails on the holy Mecca Railway were too easily replaced, he devised a method of explosion which wrecked the metal ties, or "sleepers," beyond repair. More than seventy bridges he himself destroyed. Rather an unusual lark for an Oxford don, wasn't it?

This man Lawrence is "a wonder," as Sentimental Tommy used to say; although nobody ever heard Lawrence praise himself.

His modesty is as marvelous as his powers. He seems as shy and embarrassed as a school-girl. He was all confusion one afternoon when visiting me because, all unconsciously, he had dipped, as he thought, too often into a box of candy from the States, England being on a stiff sugar ration. A country cousin who had made a *faux pas* could not have been more embarrassed; yet that man's cloak had a dozen bullet holes in it; and his exploits are sung—literally sung—by Arabs from Aleppo to Akaba.

He created the Kingdom of the Hejaz, and was the brains and strength of its king; and he was the David to the king's son Jonathan, Prince Feisal, who became the ruler of Syria. London took its Arab policy, and the whole brilliant scheme of attacking the Turkish forces in Syria in the rear from the East, by an Arab movement, from this young scholar who has turned thirty since the armistice!

When General Allenby was about to enter Jerusalem, he sent airplanes scouting all over the land to find Lawrence to accompany him; and finally brought him a hundred miles by air, that he might walk into the holy city with the conquering general. When Damascus fell to Lawrence's Arabs—he would say they were Feisal's Arabs—he became the ruler of the oldest city in the world, but left in a week because it was becoming impossible for him to efface himself.

All sorts of apocryphal stories have already sprung up concerning Lawrence's deeds, and how he came to his unique place of power. To him it is all as simple as A. B. C. I summarize his own narrative of it to me. He always had a flair for the Near East; so where other Oxford lads of like years and station (he is Oxford born and bred) would spend vacations in France, he went instead to the Holy Land. Arabic he easily mastered, while studying on the ground the Crusades and Crusader architecture, for an Oxford thesis. After exhausting the subject of the Crusades, he went in for archeology, especially Hittite archeology, and he worked at Carchemish, traveling all over Syria betimes. Lawrence has the distinction of having unearthed the oldest archeological man. He found himself possessed of the knack of dressing and living like an Arab, and he got along famously with the Bedouins, sojourning often in their tents.

Early in 1914, before the war, which was then clearly on the horizon, some British

officers, camouflaged as an archeological expedition, were making surveys in southern Palestine. The Turks pointedly remarked that it was an archeological expedition made up wholly of soldiers! Thereupon a hurry call was sent up to the ruins of Carchemish for young Lawrence, who appeared quickly on the scene—and dug so well that the Turks arrested him for unlicensed excavation!

When the big storm broke, Lawrence, who is an amazing encyclopedia upon Syria and Arabia, placed his services at the disposition of the government; and soon was outlining his now famous plan to set up an Arab kingdom, to challenge the Islamic supremacy of Turkey. He proved to be a doer as well as a deviser; and the most remarkable of his exploits may not yet be discreetly written about. He created his own volunteer force of Arabs, and personally led them in dozens of battles with the Turks. His personal power is phenomenal. He combines the audacity of a soldier of fortune (once he rode from Aleppo to Bagdad on a motorcycle!) with the poise, vision, and sagacity of a statesman.

There is nothing of the "wild West" or "wild East" about this mild-mannered and inconspicuous young Briton who is far less fastidious about his uniform and his hair than is the usage in the British army. He has no parlor tricks. He is more interested in archeology and in poetry than in war or statecraft. He has a little book on either subject to his credit. He was more combative in arguing with me the merits of "The Second Book of Oxford Verse" than in discussing any phase of the war or the Arab question.

Lawrence confided to me his two ambitions—one to retire to Oxford on a fellowship; and the other to own, by gift from Feisal, the site of Carchemish, the ancient Hittite capital, that he may explore it in the name of scholarship and Great Britain. Already, Colonel Lawrence is back in Oxford on the coveted fellowship; and he intends to spend his life between the university and the buried city.

Those who know him and the present condition of the Arab world, which includes Syria, expect to see him again in the thick of things, as champion of the Arab and of the best British ideals. Last summer in Damascus, Emir Feisal, harried and uncertain, said to me, "Would God that Lawrence were here now!"

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

BRITISH INTERESTS IN PERSIA

THE Anglo-Persian Treaty, published on August 15, 1919, has been the subject of much discussion in the British periodical press. An American, Mr. Lothrop Stoddard, enters the debate in the pages of the *January Century*. It should be stated, however, that his article expressly disclaims any intention of arguing the rights and wrongs of the agreement in question. In his view it is utterly useless at this date to make a "plea" for Persia, since Persia herself is dead. Indeed, Mr. Stoddard's article is entitled, "How Persia Died: A Coroner's Inquest." He regards the treaty of 1919 as Persia's death certificate, completing, "for the exclusive benefit of Great Britain, that systematic destruction of sovereignty initiated by the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907."

Mr. Stoddard rapidly sketches Persian history for the past dozen years, reminding us of the civil war that led to the abdication of Shah Muhammad Ali and the accession of his son, Ahmad Mirza, then a boy of twelve, in the summer of 1909. Russia having taken northern Persia and England the south, as their respective "spheres of influence," it will be recalled that the Persian leaders themselves asked an American, Mr. W. Morgan Shuster, to act as Treasurer-General, with full power over Persian finances. He proceeded to clean the Augean stables and was fast putting Persia on her feet as an independent nation, when England and Russia interfered and forced Mr. Shuster out.

This all happened in 1911, and before the breaking out of the Great War in August, 1914, it had become evident that Russia was planning for the permanent annexation of northern Persia. The presence of the Russian army of occupation in Persian provinces naturally brought on an attack by Turkish forces before the end of 1914, and soon the province of Azerbaijan became a battle ground for the Turkish and Russian

armies, supported by their native partisans. Central Persia also largely fell into the hands of Turks and Nationalist partisan bands. In 1917 the Russians succeeded in driving out the Turks and at the same time the British made a dash through Central Persia, scattering the Nationalist forces. Then came the Russian Revolution, which upset all calculations and quickly removed all fears of Russian domination. England, however, rapidly extended her control not only to Persian territory but to Mesopotamia and Turkish Armenia on the West.

Persia's next move was to send a delegation to the Peace Conference at Versailles. The Persian Government had received assurances of sympathy and support from several of the Allied governments, notably France and the United States, in asserting Persian claims. Nevertheless the Peace Conference quietly ignored the Persian delegation. Concerning this Mr. Stoddard says:

The reason was, of course, the stubborn veto of England. Great Britain was determined that Persian affairs should not come up for discussion at Versailles, and Great Britain had her way. The one sop which Persia received was her inclusion in the list of states invited to assent to the Covenant of the League of Nations, thereby nominating Persia as a presumptive member of the league, and thus by implication recognizing her as a sovereign state. This, however, was cold comfort in view of rumors as to what was afoot between Great Britain and Iran.

These rumors proved well founded, for on August 15, after Germany had signed the treaty and the European decks were fairly clear, the British Government showed its Persian hand. On that date it announced, as the culmination of negotiations lasting nine months, the Anglo-Persian "agreement." That "negotiations" avowed is most illuminating. Nine months backward from mid-August, 1919, brings one to the exact time of the armistice which ended the European War. In other words, the instant fighting ceased on the western front, Great Britain got busy about Persia. Another highly significant thing is the place at which these negotiations were conducted. Not in Paris, not in London, but in Teheran, were held those con-

versations so fateful for Persia's future. The best and strongest minds of Persia had gone to Paris to plead their country's cause. There they were held inactive and impotent through Great Britain's veto. Meanwhile, British diplomacy, so leisurely at Paris, acted with executive promptness at Teheran. With many of the country's best defensive brains absent in Paris, the personnel of the Persian Government that remained at home was still further depleted, patriots being dropped and replaced by Anglophiles. And of course Sir Percy Sykes and his "South Persian Rifles" stood ever outside the door. The upshot was naturally a foregone conclusion.

The salient feature of the treaty is a British loan of \$2,000,000 at 7 per cent. interest, redeemable in twenty years, secured by a lien on Persia's customs and telegraphs, and taking precedence of all other Persian debts except a former loan (also British) dating from 1911.

The British Government agrees (at Persia's expense) to supply the services of expert advisers for the Persian administration, and also such officers and equipment as may be necessary for the formation of a uniform force adequate to establish and preserve order. The British and Russian spheres of influence, delimited in 1907, are abolished.

BRITISH OPINION

Commenting on this treaty, a writer in the *Round Table* ventures the opinion that the agreement is sound from the strategic point of view, but regrets that it was followed by the announcement that the Ameer of Afghanistan had been released from the obligation laid upon his predecessors of consulting the British Government in all matters affecting his foreign policy.

Yet from the British point of view Afghanistan and Persia cannot be dissociated. Geographically they are parts of a single great plateau, and between them they fill the gap that separates India from Mesopotamia. Now that we are established in both the latter countries, any policy applied to one of the intervening states will be abortive unless it is extended to the other. Yet apparently we elected to abandon control over Afghanistan of forty years standing at a moment when we were working to establish ties of a similar or even closer character with Persia.

Again, according to the terms of the Persian treaty, we have undertaken to reorganize the Persian army, a contract which practically pledges us, on pain of compromising our military prestige in the East, to guaranteeing Persia's defense. Yet a few days after the publication of the treaty it was announced that our army of occupation was being withdrawn from the Trans-Caucasian Railway (the line from Baku on the Caspian to Batum on the Black Sea), which



SHAH AHMAD MIRZA

is the strategic key, in the present lack of modern means of communication in Persia itself, to the vulnerable northwestern frontier of that country.

In the *Fortnightly Review* for October, 1919, Robert Machray, in reviewing the relations that led up to the Anglo-Persian Treaty, denies that the British cherished any idea of aggrandizement in Persia. They had to safeguard India and protect their trade in the Gulf, and if Persia had broken up they would have been forced to take such measures as were necessary to secure these ends. Early in 1918 Lord Curzon declared British policy in respect to Persia to be "that we (the British) desire Persia to remain neutral during the war and to retain its complete independence after the war."

What Great Britain wished was that Persia should set her house in order, and be mistress within her house; but she required to be helped, and Great Britain offered to give the necessary assistance. While the Persian delegation, afterwards said to be unofficial, was in Paris presenting its flamboyant statement of claims along with the map, negotiations were in progress in Teheran between the Shah's government, presided over by Vossug-ed-Dowleh, Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior, and the British Minister, Sir Percy Cox. The result, attained after months of discussion, is the new Anglo-Persian Agreement.

AN ITALIAN PROTEST AGAINST THE PEACE TREATY

A SINGULARLY outspoken paper is contributed by Senator Chiappelli to *La Revista d'Italia*. In his opinion the results of the Versailles Conference have neither satisfied the victors nor the vanquished. Instead of a new order of things created in response to Wilsonian ideals, we see a reincarnation of the old order.

Perhaps it is neither practicable nor desirable that all the nations of the earth should be included in the League, but only a group of nations powerful enough to guarantee the world's peace. It is, however, of essential importance that this group should be politically and morally homogeneous.

The form of government of the League members matters little, provided autocracy and despotism be excluded; and this would imply that Germany cannot be excluded, even provisionally, nor can Italy be practically, if not formally, excluded. But now France, with the approval of the other confederate nations, has demanded and secured the ostracism of Germany. This arbitrary shutting-out of Germany, which will fail to stifle her life, but will rather stimulate her efforts for national resurrection and reparation, has already aroused sympathy for that land in Holland, Norway, and Sweden, and perhaps also in Denmark, Russia, and Japan.

The writer finds that the Italian Government never took effective means to check the anti-Italian feeling which prevailed among her allies. It was a drawback for Italy that she alone among the nations had been called upon to quit one group of powers, without succeeding in forming a close alliance with the other group. Not less is it to be deplored that during the period of her neutrality many months were wasted in useless negotiations and dickerings, which made it appear that if Austria had seen fit to concede what Italy demanded, the latter power would have failed to support the Allies.

Moreover, the grave error of Italian public opinion during the preparations for the war was a blind trust in the loyalty and in the good will of the new confederates, as though all Italy's history had not warned her that once victory has been achieved, all considerations of generosity are commonly forgotten by the victors. Graver still was the fault that with this truthful attitude to-

ward the Allies was associated Italy's visible intention to carry on the war solely for her own immediate ends, however just and sacred were her claims for territorial gains on her alpine frontier and on the Adriatic, instead of laying stress upon her wider interests in the Mediterranean, and her colonial interests as a great European power. In confining herself to questions concerning the Adriatic, she left out of account the vast and vital Italian interests in Asia and Africa.

As a young, vigorous, and naturally maritime country, set like an outpost in the Mediterranean, equidistant from Gibraltar, from the Bosphorus, and from Suez, and therefore the natural mediator between Europe and the East, Italy, which lies across all the routes from Western Europe to the Levant, would necessarily have become a maritime rival of the great Western Powers, France and England. This foreseeable and inevitable state of things would have required on the part of the Italian Government preventive measures, and precise assurances as to Italy's means of occupying effectively those Asiatic regions to which her rights were recognized in the two secret treaties concluded at her entry into the war.

Senator Chiappelli finds that the continual postponements of a decision as to the vital Italian claims before the Versailles Conference have rather been proofs of the incapacity of the Italian plenipotentiaries than of the ill-will of the Allies. With the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon group as rulers of the sea, the Latin, or Mediterranean, group has been thrown into the background, to the serious injury of France, as the French are just beginning to perceive. But if "Messenia weeps, Sparta does not rejoice," and it is not even possible to celebrate the victory of the prevailing Anglo-Saxon group, for the stifling of the principle of national self-determination, which is not recognized for Fiume, nor for German-Austria, nor, as it now appears, by England, in the case of an Egypt which protests against the British protectorate, and the intervention of the United States in European affairs at the very moment the Monroe Doctrine is reaffirmed, leaves a train of resentments and rancours, and threatens a nullification of the principles of the League of Nations.

ITALY'S EIGHT-HOUR DAY AND THE NATIONAL OUTPUT

THE adoption of the eight-hour day in so many of the Italian industries, and the prerequisites for the maintenance of this reduction of the longer hours for labor that prevailed in Italy before the war, constitute the test of a paper by Signor Pio Perroni in *Nuova Antologia*.

He recognizes that it had been suggested to, indeed almost imposed upon, the employers as a result of the experiences acquired during the war, which brought about a notable progress in the organization of the various industries. This was principally due to the standardization of products necessitated by the enormously increased output. Even before the war, in certain special industries, it had been remarked that a reduction of the daily hours of work often resulted in an increase of production and a decrease of expenses; but this concerned only a limited number of cases, and could only very slowly have brought about the general introduction of a shorter working day.

War conditions, however, rendered indispensable the production of objects of the same kind in enormous quantities, and at the same time demanded the maximum utilization of the machinery employed. Obviously this could only be done by keeping the machinery constantly in motion, and it therefore became necessary to divide the workmen into a number of shifts and to lessen the hours of work for each of these shifts. This led at first to a ten-hour day and then to the eight-hour day.

The experiment, made on such a gigantic scale, demonstrated that this change and the standardization of the products intensified the "rhythm of labor," while the shorter hours were found to have increased the individual output by inducing the worker to do his task more skilfully and rapidly.

But in order to produce great quantities of merchandise, it is necessary to have the raw materials, and for the distribution of the products, as well as for the transportation of the raw materials, there must be a corresponding development of the means of transport, both by land and by sea. As to the exportation of the merchandise, it must be remembered that Italy possesses foreign markets, second only to those of Great Britain, in the ten million Italians who have

settled for a longer or shorter time in foreign countries all over the world. Active, industrious and patriotic, they are always ready to favor in every way the trade expansion of the mother country.

Thus Italy has to a notable degree the essential elements of a large commerce, but she lacks what the writer terms "connecting bridges," that is to say, the means of communicating rapidly, surely and cheaply with all the foreign countries in which Italian emigrants live, work and prosper. Italy lacks a merchant marine in which to import raw materials and export the finished products, and she also lacks an adequate banking organization to control the movement of exchange. It was the possession of both these requisites that rendered it possible for Germany, before the war, to dominate Italy's economic and commercial life. Signor Perroni adds that the weakness of Italy's merchant marine is aggravated by a deficient organization of her railroads.

The writer maintains that the South American nations, being members of the Latin race, and realizing the menace of North American invasion, are looking toward Italy, the great mother of that race which has emerged victoriously from the terrible war, and these sentiments find expression in the fact that the Italian merchantmen bound for South America leave their home ports loaded to the decks with Italian merchandise.

In conclusion, Signor Perroni says that the eight-hour day is not an abstract question, as the labor unions wish to regard it, but a measure which cannot be adopted without giving attention to many other considerations and circumstances. It must be treated as the logical consequence of a "vast and rhythmic national organization of labor," which if not already in existence must be created. This signifies an organization of Italy's resources which shall give that land the means of utilizing the great factors of progress and prosperity at its disposal, namely, the possession of a larger supply of manual laborers than any other nation, laborers who are at once abstemious, industrious and quick-witted, and the existence in foreign countries of an immense body of active and thrifty compatriots.

AN OBJECT-LESSON IN DEFECTIVE DIET

THE *Monthly Bulletin* of the Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station (Wooster, O.) for October, 1919, contains an article by E. B. Forbes on "Vitamines in Human Nutrition," which deserves reprinting in a journal of wider circulation, since it contains information which a great many people must have sought in vain in reference books. Allusions to "vitamines" and "deficiency diseases" abound in the current literature of dietetics. These subjects are, however, so new that hardly any popular expositions of them have yet appeared. The article above mentioned is a clear and succinct presentation of current scientific knowledge and ideas in regard to these topics.

Space is not available here to offer a résumé of Mr. Forbes' article. It may be briefly stated, however, that a few well-known diseases, including beriberi and scurvy, are now attributed to the absence from the diet of small but essential amounts of the substances known as "vitamines," of which three kinds are known; viz., (1) water-soluble vitamins, (2) fat-soluble vitamins, and (3) antiscorbutic vitamins. As to the chemistry of the vitamins it need only be said that these substances are entirely distinct from the proteins, fats, carbohydrates and mineral salts hitherto regarded as constituting an adequate diet for humanity.

Apart from the question of "deficiency diseases," the subject of the vitamins appears to be of immense practical importance in its bearing upon the general health and vigor of mankind. Modern methods of preparing and preserving food tend to reduce its vitamin content to a dangerous minimum, the result being that, even when the specific diseases above mentioned are not produced, the development of the body is hindered and the power of resistance to disease in general is seriously lowered.

Medical science is prolific in fads, which soon pass into the oblivion they deserve. Probably many people, both in and out of the medical profession, have been inclined to class the vitamins and their alleged effects among these ephemeral delusions. A very effective antidote to such skepticism is furnished by the remarkable story of the German ship *Kronprinz Wilhelm*, as related by Dr. William Rittenhouse in the *Medical Review of Reviews* (New York) for November and December, 1919. No laboratory experiment could have been better

arranged to demonstrate the new idea in dietetics than the case which he describes.

When this German commerce-raider came into the harbor of Newport News on the night of April 11, 1915, to be interned, 110 members of her crew were completely prostrated and some of them on the verge of death with a mysterious malady, while most of the remaining 390 were suffering in various degrees from physical disability.

In the milder cases the victims complained of weakness, anemia, shortness of breath, palpitation, pain in the nerves in various parts of the body, tenderness of the nerves under pressure, and swelling of the limbs below the knees. The more severely affected had, in addition, dilated pupils, swollen gums, cardiac dilatation, atrophy of muscles and paralysis. Slight scratches bled uncontrollably and refused to heal.

For 255 days the ship roamed the Atlantic, sinking numbers of merchant-ships of every kind and size, while, by virtue of her great speed, she frustrated all efforts to capture or sink her. She might have continued her career of destruction to the end of the war, had not a silent enemy from an unexpected quarter sown the seeds of death among her crew and sent her sinking away in the darkness to give up the struggle.

In all those eight and a half months, she did not enter any port, but kept herself well supplied with coal and provisions taken from her victims before she sent them to the bottom. Most of these ships were crammed with foodstuffs of every kind for European countries. So abundant was the booty that her crew of 500 had an allowance of three pounds of fresh beef or mutton per man per day, besides an abundance of ham, bacon, butter, condensed milk, canned vegetables and fruits, boiled and mashed potatoes, white bread, sweet biscuits, lard, coffee, and sugar. The crew were well fed, if being well fed means that they had all they could eat of the kind of food eaten regularly by a majority of the people of this country. They had plenty of fresh air and exercise.

At Newport News the ship was visited by many health officers and experts, who made various diagnoses of the strange disease. The mystery was not solved, however, by a medical man, but by a dietetic expert, Mr. Alfred W. McCann, of New York. He pronounced the malady to be an extreme acidosis, induced by a diet of acid-forming foods, lacking the vitamins and alkaline bases that are essential to health. He persuaded the ship's surgeon, Dr. Perenon, to put the invalids on a diet planned in accordance with this hypothesis. Immediate improvement followed, and it is said that all the men recovered.

The most significant fact in connection with this narrative is that, as Dr. Ritten-

house points out, the food upon which the crew lived and which nearly cost them their lives, was the same as that generally eaten by most people in this country, with the one exception that it contained no fresh fruits or vegetables.

The only reason why our population do not suffer in the same way is that they eat in addition a certain amount of fresh fruits and vegetables which partially counteract the effects of the acid-forming foods that form the bulk of their diet. But, although we do not see such wholesale evidence of acidosis among the people, nevertheless they do suffer from acidosis to an extent that is serious, and all the more serious

because it is seldom recognized as the cause of much rheumatism, neuralgia, neuritis, anemia and even tuberculosis. Most of the tissues of the body suffer when the calcium salts are dissolved out by a condition of acidosis. Muscles, nerves, ligaments, cartilages, all show a tendency to increased vascularity, accompanied by pain, tenderness, atrophy, and effusion into the joints.

The most important lesson to be drawn from this striking episode is this: *That the foods which we have been accustomed to regard as wholesome and nourishing may be, and at the present day are, so prepared as to become a menace to health instead of maintaining it at high efficiency.* The vitamins, bases, and colloids necessary to preserve health have been largely processed out of them.

CARIBBEAN PETROLEUM

THE vital importance of the control of petroleum resources in the Caribbean regions is clearly set forth in an article contributed to the *Oil News* (Chicago) by Professor Chester Lloyd Jones, of the University of Wisconsin, now commercial attaché of the American Embassy at Madrid.

After showing that our political responsibilities in the Caribbean countries are closely related to the development of natural resources in that region, he says:

At present there can be no doubt that the most important economic development of this sort which has occurred to the south of the United States is in oil resources. The most important among these thus far are those in Mexico, a country which in 1901 produced but 10,345 barrels, which began exports a decade later and which produced in 1917 55,292,770 barrels, a large share of which went to keep the fires burning in the ships of the allies in their struggle against Germany. In 1918 there were shipped from Mexican ports 53,919,863 barrels. From producing practically nothing at the beginning of the war, Mexico has risen to what is probably second place among potential oil producers, for the oil marketed is now limited not by the capacity of the wells but by transportation facilities.

Great as American concern in Mexican oil developments is because of the accessibility of the fields for American purchasers, the investments of American capital in the properties and because of the general economic interests which bind the two republics together it does not measure the importance of Caribbean petroleum for the republic. All around the Caribbean there are indications of undeveloped oil resources which point to the possibility of other fields which will some day help supply the world's demand for fuel. The extent of these and the conditions of their development cannot fail to be of great and continued interest to the United States.

Already there are three areas besides that in Mexico which are producing in the Caribbean region. Trinidad at its southeast corner has been producing since 1908 and delivered 1,599,455 bar-

rels in 1917. Another big increase is reported for 1918. The chief factor limiting production has not been the capacity of the wells but inability to get to the market.

In Venezuela an oil region is developing ground around Lake Maracaibo. Pipe lines from the wells have been laid to the lake where the refinery started operations August 18, 1918. Another refinery at Curacao is supplied from this region by tank barges. The production of the republic increased from 18,248 barrels in 1917 to 48,306 in 1918. A British company, the Bolivar Concessions, Ltd., has an oil concession in the republic covering between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 acres.

Explorations in Cuba up to 1917 did not result in oil in commercial quantities but in that year 19,167 barrels were marketed and by June, 1918, there were twenty-four companies listed as operating or organized to operate.

In other Caribbean regions oil development is still in the experimental stage but is being actively prosecuted. Extensions of the Mexican field are being sought. Oil lands are reported to have been found in Durango and Sinaloa. American companies are reported to be exploring concessions in Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama and several companies have already discovered oil in small quantities in Colombian fields. The interior of the latter country is said to give exceptional promise as a future oil region. Exploration is also actively under way in British Guiana.

Oil, therefore, in the view of Professor Jones, "ceases to be an economic consideration only and becomes an element of large national policy for the United States." To him it seems almost axiomatic that the United States, in order to insure itself against the possibility of this most important resource even within its own sphere of greatest interest being held by unfriendly hands, should seek to assure cordial relations with the Caribbean countries where the petroleum deposits lie, and encourage the development of such resources by Americans.

TEACHERS' SALARIES

A SUPPLEMENT to the January bulletin of the National Education Association summarizes the report of the N. E. A. Commission on Teachers' Salaries and Salary Schedules. The bulletin states that Dr. E. S. Evenden spent eight months in studying and organizing the material for this report and in writing the conclusions which give point and purpose to its contents. The report demands that teachers insist upon adequate pay in order that the work of education may meet its present-day obligations. But it does not admit that it is any longer necessary to wage campaigns for increased salaries solely upon the basis of sentiment or of justice to an oppressed class. It is urged that the case be presented on its merits, as a matter of vital interest to the community.

The following paragraphs suggest the argument presented by the report:

To-day we face an emergency—educational and social—which is not only going to put the democracy we fought to win, save, and perpetuate, on trial, but which in many ways is going to test the power to endure of even civilization itself. It will not be solved by statesmen, politicians, financiers, labor leaders, nor agitators. It will not be solved by the present generation of citizens, who will be able only to make temporary settlements which will serve as experiments. The real solution will not, and cannot, come until some of these experiments are made and evaluated by a people trained to think in the light of new ideals of service and social values.

The responsibility, then, for the solution of the many problems of reconstruction rests with the teachers of the next decade. Never was such a responsibility placed upon any class in any society, and how unprepared they are to undertake it has been repeatedly shown during the last four years. If this emergency is to be met and civilization enabled not only to endure but to progress, it cannot be done by immature, unprepared, and underpaid teachers. These conditions will be removed when a united teaching profession can bring an interested informed public to demand the highest degree of educational efficiency, and as the essential to that efficiency, to provide for every teacher a living and a saving wage.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE EMERGENCY

1. The present educational emergency is traceable in practically all of its aspects to the insufficient salaries paid to teachers throughout the country.

2. The cost of living has more than doubled in the last three years, while the increases in teachers' salaries for the United States in the same time has been about 12 per cent. As a consequence, nearly half the teachers of the country are compelled to spend more than their salaries.

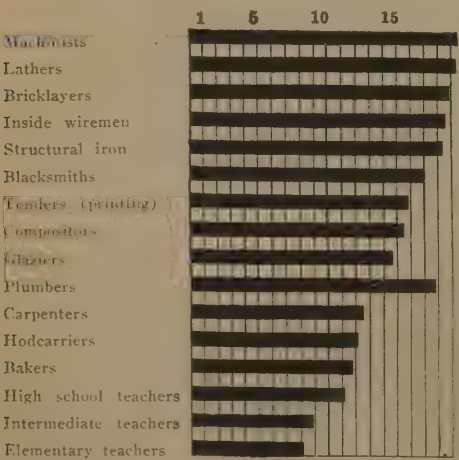
3. Teachers, as well as other salaried workers, have not had their salaries increased in anything like the same degree that other workers have. Consequently, teachers are constantly being forced to a lower standard of living and a resulting lower standard of efficiency, because they cannot meet the higher demands for rent, food, clothing, books, etc.

4. From various studies of budgets for many occupations in relation to the cost of living, it is estimated that a minimal salary of \$1200 should be established for the entire country, and paid on the basis of twelve months. Too many teachers are living below the margin of efficiency. Hundreds of them returned their questionnaires annotated with remarks such as: "I work in a drug store during the summer," "I do house work for my room and board," "I take in sewing to meet expenses," "My summer expenses are paid by my family," "I can't save enough money to go to summer school."

5. Teachers are paid much less than the members of other professions—ministry, law, medicine, engineering, etc. The median salaries are not only larger, but the range of salaries is very much greater, thus offering more promise to the capable, the hard-working, and the ambitious individual in the professions. This is lacking in teaching.

6. Teachers are paid much less than a great many of the unskilled laborers whose preparation is very much shorter, and whose expenses for "professional upkeep" are very much less. Existing salaries paid to teachers can be said to almost place a penalty upon adequate preparation, since there is no opportunity for an adequate return upon the investment of time and money necessary to the securing of that preparation.

7. A teacher's work is most effectively done when she is in good health, free from worry, able



COMPARISON OF TEACHERS' SALARIES IN FIVE MID-
DLE WESTERN STATES WITH THE UNION SCALE OF
WAGES FOR CERTAIN OCCUPATIONS
(Salary in hundreds of dollars)

to participate in the community activities, and when she has the social respect of the community. These things make her a leader, a moulder of citizens, a creator of ideals, and yet practically all these elements of success are denied a majority of teachers by the insufficient salaries paid.

8. New York City, which pays relatively high salaries when compared with other cities, in reality pays its teachers no better than the workers in many of the unskilled occupations.

9. The study of the salaries of the 2015 draft registrants shows that there is in other lines of work an increase in salary in direct relation to an increase in age, and also in relation to the increase in the amount of schooling received.

10. The additional salary received per year of increased age is much less than the additional salary received per added year of schooling.

11. Occupations which demand additional preparation, with the exception of teaching, received higher median salaries than those where education beyond the elementary schools is not essential.

On the subject of the unsatisfactory stand-

ards now obtaining in the profession of teaching, it is stated that of the 600,000 public school teachers in the United States it has been estimated that 200,000 have had less than four years' training beyond the eighth grade, that 300,000 have had no special professional preparation for the work of teaching, that 150,000 are not beyond the age of twenty-one, and that 65,000 are teaching on permits, not being able to meet the minimum requirements made by county superintendents. It is further stated that 143,000 teachers dropped out of the profession in 1919.

Of the 20,000,000 children of the United States 10,000,000 are being taught by teachers who have had no special preparation for their work. Before standards can be improved, salaries must be increased and placed at least on a living basis.

MR. HOOVER ON THE WORLD'S ECONOMIC SITUATION

AMERICA is especially interested at this time in Mr. Herbert Hoover's views concerning the rehabilitation of Europe. These are briefly set forth in a memorandum prepared for the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Mr. Hoover would sum up the economic difficulties of Europe immediately following the peace in the single phrase, "demoralized productivity." He finds in the records of the European unemployment bureaus that 15,000,000 families are receiving unemployment allowances in one form or another and are in the main being paid by a constant inflation of the currency. It appears that Europe's population is at least 100,000,000 greater than can be supported without imports. It must live by the manufacture and distribution of exports. Not only is there a great shortage in imports of raw materials but the production of European raw materials is far below normal. Europe is to-day importing vast quantities of certain commodities which she formerly produced for herself and can produce again. Mr. Hoover is convinced that production in Europe to-day is far below even the level at the time of the signing of the armistice, and unless there shall be an unparalleled rate of import it is now far below what is necessary for the maintenance of life and health.

Whatever the causes of this decrease of

productivity, and in the main they are not far to seek, there emerges the essential fact that unless productivity can be rapidly increased, "there can be nothing but political, moral, and economic chaos, finally interpreting itself in loss of life on a scale hitherto undreamed."

Each country of Europe must realize the actual situation and must base its statesmanship on such a realization. Save as a temporary expedient, Europe cannot rely on receiving a stream of commodities on credit from the western hemisphere. The European populations must work out their own economic salvation.

As to the question of temporary assistance from the western hemisphere, Mr. Hoover regards this as a service that America must approach in a high sense of human duty and sympathy. America should insist, however, that aid "will not be forthcoming to any country that does not resolutely set in order its internal, financial, and political situations, that does not devote itself to the increase of productivity, that does not curtail consumption of luxuries and the expenditure upon armament, and that does not cease hostilities and treat its neighbors fairly."

In an article which he contributes to the February number of the *Sunset Magazine* (San Francisco) Mr. Hoover makes clear

his belief in the importance of child welfare as one of the foundations of democracy. He says:

I believe the attitude of a nation toward child welfare will soon become the test of its civilization. If we are to have a healthy people and a healthy government, we must start with healthy children. If we are to have an advancing civilization, if we are to have a united social state, if we are to have an equality of opportunity in the United States, we must have universal education. If we wish real Americanization we must add the flux of our common schools to our vaunted melt-

ing-pot. All this is the very root of our national ideal—the ideal that everyone shall have an equal opportunity to attain that position to which abilities and character entitle him.

The economic problems which Mr. Hoover had to face individually in early life are outlined in Mr. Welliver's article on page 255. The intimate story of his boyhood and school and college days is related with great vividness by his friend and associate, Prof. Vernon Kellogg, in *Everybody's Magazine* for February and March.

THE BRITISH ADMIRALTY REQUESTED TO "EXPLAIN"

A GOOD illustration of the freedom enjoyed by British military and naval publications in the criticism of their government's policies and activities is to be found in the contribution of "A Simple Sailor" to the January number of the *United Service Magazine* (London), entitled, "Will the Admiralty Please Explain?" The writer, who may or may not be an officer of the British Navy, but whose strictures are at least considered by the editor of this dignified journal to be important enough to print, does not hesitate to say that certain facts in the history of the war "raise doubts in the minds of the very simplest of Britons, touching the intelligence and competency of our naval administrators during the years immediately preceding the war; aye, and during the war itself."

These impressions are formulated by "A Simple Sailor" as follows:

1. On the outbreak of war, and for long afterwards, there was not a single harbor or anchorage within the zone of probable operations: namely, on the east coast of the United Kingdom, in the Orkneys or Shetland Isles, or anywhere on the Irish coast, where our fleets could lie in security from submarine attack.

2. Although the presence of the powerful German battleship *Goeben* and her consort in the Mediterranean was well known to the Allied Powers, and a considerable force of French and British warships was assembled in that sea, for the purpose of dealing with the enemy, the German ships were never brought to action, and eventually managed to reach Constantinople, with disastrous consequences to the Allied cause.

3. Shortly after the declaration of war, three 12,000-ton British cruisers, while "jauntily and leisurely promenading the vicinity of the hostile coast, unaccompanied by their destroyers"—to quote the words of Admiral-of-the-Fleet Lord Fisher—were successively torpedoed in broad

daylight and sunk, with great loss of life, by a single hostile submarine.

4. A squadron of battleships, which had put to sea from Portland—on no service of importance—without its protective screen of destroyers, was attacked in the Channel by enemy submarines during bright moonlight, with the loss of one battleship and many valuable lives; while a second vessel, though struck by a torpedo, escaped destruction owing to its failure to explode.

5. The naval attack on the Dardanelles forts was so ill-conceived that it failed; the failure being chiefly owing to lack of military coöperation, in the form of an adequate landing-party. Further serious naval losses were incurred during the operation by drifting mines.

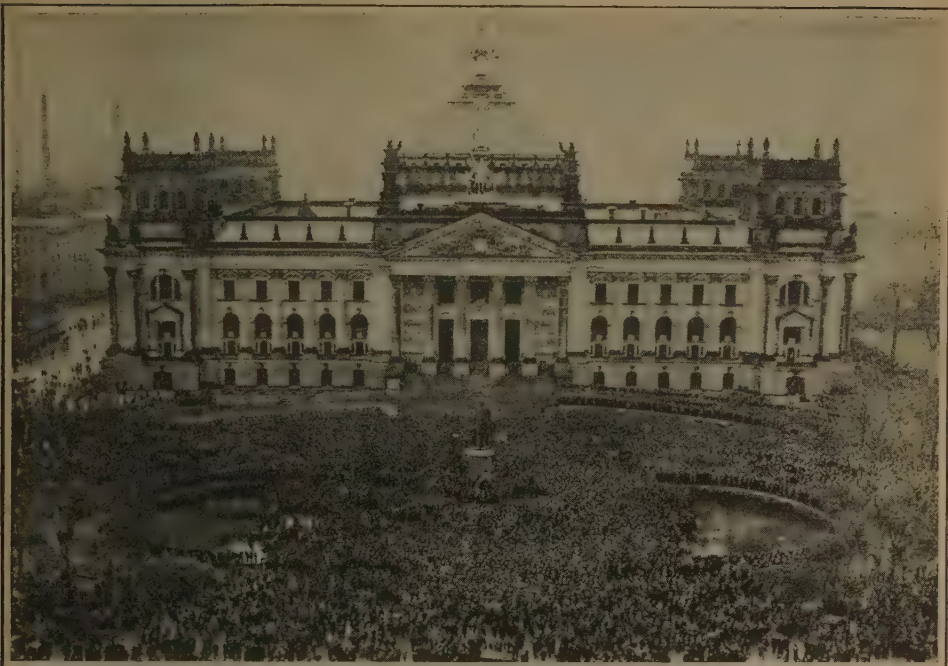
6. During the prolonged operations in these waters, the Allied naval forces, in default of protected anchorages, were subjected to frequent demoralizing scares, and suffered further losses from enemy submarines.

7. A most unwelcome surprise awaited our battle-cruisers off the Falkland Isles, where, at the commencement of the action, the 8-inch guns of the enemy's armored cruisers were found to be effective up to 16,500 yards, the extreme range of the 12-inch guns of our battle-cruisers; thus defeating the intention of paying back Von Spee in his own coin, by fighting the action outside the extreme range of his guns. It was thus he fought our ships off Coronel.

8. The German methods of range-finding and fire-control are admitted, by general consent, to have been superior to our own. Moreover, during the Battle of Jutland Bank, the German shells were observed to burst *after* penetration; whereas those fired from British ships burst on striking—*before* penetration; thus placing our gunners at great disadvantage.

9. The "Dover Patrol," on whose efficiency and watchfulness our communications with the Army in France entirely depended, was, according to the statement of an officer holding a high command during the war, "in the main, an improvised force," organized and built up during the war.

Paragraphs 7 and 8, quoted above, partially confirm certain statements in the Von Tirpitz Memoirs, recently published.



A MOB DEMONSTRATION IN FRONT OF THE GERMAN REICHSTAG BUILDING DURING THE RECENT RIOTS TO PROTEST AGAINST THE WORKMEN'S COUNCIL MEASURE

GERMAN CONDITIONS, AS DESCRIBED BY A GERMAN

IN the *Correspondant* (Paris) for January 10 the leading article is of very striking and debatable character. Except a brief introduction and epilogue, it is an evidently genuine and faithfully rendered sketch, by a German, of the present conditions in his own country. The Anonymous is quite clearly a loyal South German, detesting alike the Berlin of the Hohenzollerns and of the present régime. Indeed his bitterest regret is that the Allies did not dissolve the empire into its local units, or at least thrust Prussia out altogether, at the crucial moment just after complete victory, when any measure was within their power.

The writer confesses that no man, even in Germany, has any adequate view of general present conditions, much less of the future. Besides his local limitations, his bitter hatreds color all he says. Yet many of his words are both illuminating and convincing. No special student of the tremendous Central Europe Sphinx problem should fail to weigh every word. The general coloring is

that of black despair. Only a few scattering excerpts are possible here.

All the Allies' illusions as to the continuous inner prosperity of Germany, the accumulated stocks of goods that were to flood an impoverished Europe the moment peace came, were baseless. The land is without means, courage, policy, or hope of any commercial revival. Even internal trade relations are of the simplest, in absolute necessities. The utter hatred of the Germans by all mankind is at last fully understood, chiefly since the Armistice ended, and in dreary, despairing fashion is reciprocated. Indeed, it is at last so bred into the whole stolid, submissive mass of the folk that a century cannot eradicate it: "not one but a hundred hatreds." The cardinal error of the Allies has been that "Berlin, the home heretofore of militarism and now of anarchy, is still also the center of government over the folk it has led into the abyss! There the new conflagration will start." For there is no peaceful or stable *modus vivendi* between

Germany and its neighbors in sight. At present the folk are repeatedly goaded by inability to resent even the grossest insults from the pettiest nations.

The German race is not a political people. Obedience to a strong government is an inbred instinct; and now the imperial rule "with a good police force" is removed. Hence listless idleness, lawless indulgence, and brutal indulgence are the rule. Hordes of rough, filthy and ragged youths, and as many shameless girls, crowd the once orderly city streets, too young to have shared in the war; doing nothing; living no one knows on what—the despair, instead of the hope, of the future. The mainspring is removed; the whole organism is paralyzed and in process of swift dissolution. The family, the moral sense itself, is vanishing—and at this very point the writer remarks that he speaks especially for the South!

There is the most heartless speculation, unbounded adulteration of foods, threatening not only epidemics but the general undermining of body and constitution. The race is visibly degenerating. The froth of luxury and seeming plenty seen by foreign travelers in certain cities is but the swift squandering of quickly-won—usually ill-won—gains. As a matter of fact, meat, eggs, milk products, are absolutely unknown except as the luxuries of the richest few.

There can be no hope of the stability of a government which arose in a day, and with no mandate from the people, and has dis-

played all the faults, with none of the splendor, of the imperial régime. The nearest future is as impenetrable a mystery to the German himself as to the foreigner. The latter is wholly in error if he draws any general conclusions from the relative tranquillity and contentment he seems to see in the occupied fringe of the Western Front.

Those who had pride and belief in the empire live now retired and silenced, but not persecuted, brooding over the mementos of vanished power and confident hope. There is no real current toward a revival of the monarchy, least of all to the return of the Kaiser himself, who must bear, deservedly or not, the chief responsibility for utter failure and degradation to the lowest place among nations. There is little left but a swaying, seething, rulerless mass of blind, hopeless discontent. The closing words are:

I consider the German situation altogether perilous and full of uncertainty. I do not believe in any rapid revival. In its disastrous fall the nation has lost all its qualities, and acquired only new defects.

With all allowances for personal, national, or temporary embitterment, this sketch is one to fill with pity all who have loved the Germany of Schiller, or even known the Berlin of Bismarck's and the First William's old age—and to double the anxieties, which the dissolution of all social ties in Russia has already raised, as to the prospects of peace, good-will, and prosperity for mankind generally.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIETS

A TIMELY and significant article on Soviet Russia, in which the writer descants on the spirit of the people and the psychology of the Bolshevik leaders, appears in *La Revue de Paris*, from the pen of Max Hirschler. Based upon personal observation, and still more upon documentary evidence, his remarks are well worth careful attention. We give below some of the striking passages of the writer's rather elaborate study:

It is natural that any successful revolution should seek to spread its influence the world over. Such was the case with the French Revolution. The Russian Bolsheviks have not escaped the general rule; they put their Messiahship forward as one of the chief bases of their foreign policy. But in Russia this Messiahship did not, as in France, spring up

suddenly; it was smoldering there a long time. The Russian intellectual, reactionary or revolutionary, thought all along that his country was destined to be a grand example to the whole world. Until recently it was only the reactionary Panslavism that attracted the attention of the foreigner. What outsiders were entirely unaware of was that the mortal enemies of autocratic Panslavism, the revolutionaries, claimed like virtues for the Russians but with a different aim.

Scarcely had Czarism fallen when the traditional Messiahship carried away the critical Marxist thinkers. A peculiar pride is mingled with this faith, which appears in its plenitude to-day in the Bolshevik Messiahship.

With slight differences, the Russian So-

cialists, as a whole, shared the hopes of Lenin. Social revolution alone would end the World War the just way by establishing enduring peace under a Socialist system, outside of a world revolution no salvation—a simple solution which ignores the complex problems raised by the war. The Petrograd Soviet of the first period, though hostile to Bolshevism, in its appeal of May 1, 1917, claimed that the Russian Revolution was the first cry of indignation against the crime of international imperialism. In a word, the first and second periods of the Revolution differ only in tactics.

Since the official establishment of Soviet rule in Russia the foreign Bolshevik policy has ceaselessly aimed at a world-revolution. If before the *coup d'état* of November, 1917, the Bolsheviks regarded it as a sort of security against reaction, it is now the instinct of self-preservation which causes them to cling to that supreme illusion. Lenin, according to his own avowal, has made a social "experiment" with Russia. He can not retain power unless other countries follow suit.

BOLSHEVIST MILITARISM

Bolshevism has never been pacifist. The Red Guard has been succeeded by the Red Army. And a new militarism is evolving in Russia, all the more dangerous in that it cloaks its designs under a humanitarian guise. Creature of a political stroke, of an act of violence, the Russian Soviet régime seeks to spread itself over the world by violence likewise. It has no other means and is, hence, a determined enemy of general disarmament and of the League of Nations. The new Bolshevik program, drawn up a year and a half after Lenin's accession, leaves no doubt on those points.

One may think this or that of the fighting power of the Red Army, but it cannot be denied that it forms an essential factor of the Leninist foreign policy. Should a general disarmament be decreed by the League of Nations, one country will not disarm—Soviet Russia. Moreover, the Red Army would not disband while Soviet rule continues; for the soldiers are the only people sure of being fed and clothed. The Bolshevik leaders calculate that when the soldiers can no longer live upon their country they will have little difficulty in launching them upon more fertile ones. Pretexts will not be wanting. It is always in the name of Socialism that the Bolsheviks act.

A Communist proletarian revolution alone

—says the new program—is capable of rescuing humanity from the *impasse* into which imperialist wars have plunged it. Thus the aim of the Soviet foreign policy is most clearly defined, and, of course, the revolution which they laud as a panacea for the whole world must follow the Sovietist model.

THE GERMANO-RUSSIAN ALLIANCE

As for the psychology of the Bolshevik leaders; they are a singular amalgam of Messianic frenzy, very Russian, and of desiccating German rationalism. Most of them have attended the German universities. All imbibed their Socialist doctrines from Marxist and other German economic works. They admire force alone; by that alone do they gauge the superiority or inferiority of a nation.

Whatever may be the diplomatic errors of the Entente at present, we must remember that it was betrayed by the Bolsheviks, not on account of differing social views but simply because of the humiliating submission of these ultra-revolutionists to German force. In truth, if we sum up the history of the Peace of Brest-Litovsk, we see that Lenin attempted an alliance with imperialist Germany.

And after the German revolt he declared: "The Russian proletariat is not satisfied merely to observe with attention the events in Germany. It purposes to offer all its resources to aid the German workingmen." Out-Heroding Herod, as usual, Trotsky on the same occasion remarked: "We may say with certainty that the German proletariat with its technical training, on one hand, and Russia with its natural wealth and its two hundred million souls, on the other, will form a mighty *bloc* against which the waves of imperialism will beat in vain."

Repeatedly Lenin's government has declared that it was ready to support the desires of German revenge; he exhorted Ebert's government to free itself from the engagements of the Versailles Treaty.

To be sure, the Soviet administration, warlike as it is, has too great an interest in obtaining a truce, which would enable it to recruit its forces, not to desire an official peace with the Allies. A peace with the Soviet government would be no peace; for the Bolsheviks declare that definitive peace can be had only by a world-wide civil war.

More than ever—the writer closes—would France run the risk of being isolated on the Rhine in face of a Germany allied with Soviet Russia.

BOLSHEVISM AND THE RUSSIAN COÖPERATIVES

IN the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Switzerland) Dr. G. Bekker writes at length, as an economist, on "Bolshevism and Coöperation." Though almost wholly omitting the personal elements and partisan motives from his analysis, the writer throws strong light on a problem on which American readers have doubtless often pondered: How the countless millions of the Russian people have sustained life at all during the frantic destruction and complete social upheaval of these last years.

Doubtless under some farseeing and capable individual guidance—of which this article, however, gives no glimpse—the small communes, and larger units also, had devised a workable type of coöperative organization, even under the Czars. They were, indeed, an absolute necessity in a country counting 15,000,000 "kustars"—men, alone or with their families, carrying on "little industries" under their own roof—comparable, *e. g.*, to an old-fashioned hand-spinner or weaver in England—and where three-fourths of the entire population are tilling small "autonomous" farms, in the most primitive and limited fashion. This instinctive movement seems destined to save the physical life of the race, to defeat and outlive Bolshevism, and make possible the national revival of the dimly seen future.

"Bolshevism, in its weakness, can produce only external changes in the social constitution of Russia. In its work there has in it abundance of fire, and above all of tears, blood, and even filth, but Russian social life, in the deep channels, runs steadily on its way. . . . Economically, all their measures turn out to be merely formal, and even to be smitten with a curse." In the country districts, where the Government's deadening hand hardly reaches, "coöperative stores and offices are opened everywhere, coöperative work-shops and factories rise up, even coöperative boats and trains begin to run where all others have stopped." So "Russia resists those Bolshevik measures which would be destructive to the whole social body." At the moment this seems almost the only saving social force that has survived the hurricanes of the world war, of partisan strife and the fatal successes of the Bolsheviks. It includes a hundred million people, in tens of thousands of local societies.

Its unnamed leaders were warm partisans of Kerensky. They protested boldly against "the usurpation of power by adventurers and criminals." But such measures as the confiscation of all the land for the peasantry won away many of their natural following. They have bowed rather than submitted; and Bolshevism itself has found them, as well as their machinery, indispensable to the very life of the race. The leaders of the Reds frankly concede that they find coöperation "must be utilized for a time as a means to eventual complete socialization."

It is a notable fact that while aiming a death-blow at capitalism, at all private industry for profit, after having "nationalized" or let us say ruthlessly confiscated, every other bank, they have still left one shining exception, the Popular Coöperative Bank of Moscow. This institution was organized under the monarchy only seven years ago, with a capital of but one million rubles. It finances the distribution of agricultural products, as well as purchase of farm implements and machinery, seeds, etc. In 1917 it did a total business of *six billions*.

Naturally, the Bolsheviks from the beginning had an instinctive craving to seize and dictate the action of such a mighty engine. Under such difficulties, the actual decree of "nationalization" was delayed until December, 1918. But even that decree leaves the old administration of the bank in full control of its policy, even of all changes in personnel. Its stockholders are made creditors of the bank to the full value of their shares. All its many branches are preserved, with the right to open still others as needed.

Of course even the immediate future is most uncertain. The contrast between this action and the treatment of all other banks, and of private enterprises generally, is so startling that it seems hardly likely to remain permanently. On the other hand, the government itself is urging, practically compelling, the entrance of the whole population into similar coöperative unions of consumers—is, indeed, eliminating all private and independent trade.

They (the Bolshevik leaders) talk much of the socialization of coöperation. They say they are availing themselves of the latter simply to attain their own goal, viz.: the full establishment of a social state in Russia. But, in reality, these are

empty words. With or without the Bolsheviks coöperation is having its own development, ideally responsive as it is to the social, economic, and other needs of the Russian people, as well as to the social conditions created by centuries of Czarism, and, above all, in these last years of war and revolution.

Under the Czars, notably in Stolypin's day, the government, unable to combat this movement, though it is essentially and fundamentally hostile to autocracy, adopted toward it a policy not unlike the present one of the Bolsheviks. They, too, claimed that they were merely using it to strengthen and consolidate the imperial power. But, in truth, coöperation went its own way, serving the people's interests only, combating their oppressors, and it made a grand contribution to the awakening of the political consciousness of the nation and to the downfall of Czarism.

The Bolsheviks' present desires are quite sim-

ilar. Unable to resist coöperation, they make a feint of using it to their own ends. But it is a force so tremendous, a river so broad and sweeping, that it can be used only by following its current: and so that is what they are forced to do. 'Tis not the Bolsheviks who are guiding coöperation, but coöperation is forcing the Bolsheviks to adapt themselves to her.

Doubtless some such view of the present conditions, and of the near future in the affairs of Russia may explain the sudden and contradictory changes in the attitude of the League toward her. Beyond the rise and fall of the Bolshevikic reign of terror may, perhaps, be descried a real national unification, on a basis of economic necessity. Do the Coöperatives hold the key?

REMOVING THE MINES FROM THE NORTH SEA

IN the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for May, 1919, was published an abstract of an article by Capt. Reginald Belknap, U.S.N., in the *National Geographic Magazine*, describing our Navy's stupendous feat of closing the North Sea against German submarines by means of a huge mine barrage extending from Norway to Scotland. A fitting sequel to this story appears in the *National Geographic* of February, 1920. Lieutenant-Commander Noel Davis presents a vivid narrative of what the editor calls "an even more remarkable achievement"; viz., the removal of the same barrier of mines. As in the case of the previous undertaking, the British Navy coöperated; but far the largest share of the work fell to American sailors. The writer of the article was one of the American officers engaged in this work, which was carried out under the direction of Rear-Admiral Joseph Strauss, U.S.N. The problem is thus stated:

Concentrated in the North Sea Barrage were more than 70,000 mines—more than had been laid during the entire war in all the other waterways combined—and of these slightly better than 80 per cent. had been laid by the United States Navy

during the six months preceding the Armistice. Now, with the arrival of peace, we had accepted the responsibility of removing every mine that we had laid.

Think what it meant. Here was a death trap containing more than 21,000,000 pounds of TNT and extending over an area of approximately 6000 square miles! This mighty belt of destruction had plucked from Germany her only hope of victory, because the crews of her submarines, after losing their comrades, who tried in vain to cross it, mutinied and refused to risk their lives in what appeared a certain death.

Sweeping mines, for by such name is the process of removing them called, is not a particularly



A MINE SWEEPED UP FROM THE OCEAN DEPTHS



A DRAWING BY LIEUTENANT-COMMANDER DAVIS SHOWING HOW THE SWEEPING OF MINES UNDER THE SURFACE OF THE WATER IS ACCOMPLISHED

(There were usually five parallel lines of mines in each of the groups laid by the U. S. Mine Force. Each line was swept as shown above. The leading pair of sweepers tried to touch only the antennae of the mines and thus explode as many as possible. The next pair of sweepers set their sweep deeper so as to saw the moorings of the remaining mines, and the last pair followed in their wake to catch any mines that might have been missed, and the sub-chaser astern of all the sweepers sank the mines cut adrift as they rose to the surface)

intricate art. It consists essentially in dragging a heavy wire between two vessels. In order to bury the wire to a sufficient depth beneath the surface to insure catching the mines, "kites" are attached to the sweep-wire just astern of each vessel. These kites fly down in the water in much the same manner that an ordinary kite flies up in the air.

When a mine is caught in the sweep-wire, it is dragged along until the slender wire which holds it to its anchor breaks, allowing the mine to rise to the surface, where it is destroyed. This is ordinarily done by puncturing it with rifle-shots, so that it sinks and becomes innocuous.

The American mines were, however, of a new type, presenting special difficulties in their removal. They would explode on contact with metal, and a long antenna stretching up above the mine vastly increased its radius of action. Even the sweep-wire was likely to detonate the mine, and the explosion of one often caused others to "counter-mine," perhaps in the immediate vicinity of a sweeper.

In the early stages of the undertaking it seemed to be impossible to use steel vessels in sweeping, and the preliminary experiments were made with small wooden sailing-smacks in which metal fittings had been sheathed with wood and all nail-heads in the hull driven in and plugged. Lastly, the vessels were given a heavy coating of tar.

A device proposed by Ensign (now Lieutenant) D. A. Nichols for preventing metal ships from exploding the mines on contact removed the most serious handicap to the success of the enterprise. The details of this "Electrical Protective Device" are not revealed, but it is said to have been as simple

as it was ingenious. The Navy possessed a large fleet of mine-sweepers, and these were rapidly equipped with the new device and sent overseas. On April 20, 1919, the first twelve of these vessels arrived at Inverness. More than twice this number were eventually employed, besides a score of newly built steam-trawlers, chartered from the British Admiralty, for use as marker boats to enable the sweepers to maintain their positions while maneuvering on the mine field, and, lastly, a small fleet of submarine-chasers, charged with the duty of following the sweepers and puncturing the mines with rifles and machine guns, as they appeared at the surface after being cut from their moorings.

The work was pressed at the highest speed, and the long summer days were utilized from dawn to dark. Sundays and holidays were ignored; severe storms were weathered; an ingenious method of marking the mine fields with buoys was adopted, along with other time-saving devices; and by the latter part of September the great task was brought to a long-awaited and triumphant conclusion.

At last our efforts were rewarded. That day of days came—the day which had at first seemed almost beyond attainment. And what a sight it was! The *Patuxent* had planted the last buoy, marking the goal of our ambition; and as the sweepers, pair by pair, steamed past it and slipped sweep for the last time, the exultation of the victorious conquest of an invisible enemy burst forth in whole-hearted cheers from every officer and man.

Whistles and sirens, too, were opened wide,

while a wireless operator with a humorous turn coupled a phonograph to the radio-telephone and regaled the fleet with the welcome strains of "Home, Sweet Home"!

During the last two weeks 864 square miles of the barrage had been reswep to make absolutely certain that the work had been thoroughly done. Where approximately 35,000 mines had been anchored a few months prior, not a single one could now be found, except in one small pocket which had been skipped and was marked by buoys to enable it to be cleared on this final operation.

The test sweep was conclusive that the work had been thorough. The sagacious judgment of the admiral in driving the force to the limit of physical endurance, coupled with the unparalleled loyalty of the officers and men, had enabled that gigantic task to be completed just as the violent winter storms were making further operations throughout the North Sea impossible.

The mighty wall of mines which had confined the enemy's submarines and barred the commerce of the seas for better than a year had been destroyed, and the Navy's obligation to humanity, to the freedom of the seas, had been fulfilled.

In spite of the Electric Protective Device, this great undertaking was fraught with incessant danger, owing especially to the extremely sensitive character of the mines. It frequently happened that a mine fouled a "kite" and was hauled close alongside a vessel with the latter. In many cases the mine exploded before it could be cleared. Accidents of this sort and others led to losses of both ships and men, and called forth many splendid deeds of heroism, which are described at some length in Commander Davis's article.

We are glad to transcribe his statement that

Nothing could have been more magnificent than the splendid manner in which the officers and men stood up under the terrific strain. With never a murmur, never a complaint, sometimes going for months without setting foot on shore, these officers and men toiled on day after day.

THE NUMBER AND FATE OF THE SUBMARINES

IN the aftermath of the war not the least interesting of the many developments has been the bringing to light from the realms of picturesque mystery of the full story and record of the construction, operation, and fate of the German submarines. Naturally during the war but little information in this field reached the general public (though much was acquired by the Naval Intelligence Division of the British Admiralty), while in Germany in particular the people knew comparatively little of this form of naval activity.

Recently the German Admiralty submitted to the *Untersuchungsausschuss*—the commission for investigating war responsibility—at Berlin considerable evidence of official character, which with the information possessed by the British Admiralty and from other sources enables a comprehensive view of the German submarine campaign, its method and results.

In a recent issue of the *Engineer* (London) there was published a summary of the German submarine construction and the destruction

by the Allies which is of general interest and presents concisely facts not widely appreciated:

At the outbreak of war Germany possessed only twenty-eight completed submarines. That figure has often been challenged, but it was undoubtedly correct, and there was no foundation for the rumors that a large number of additional boats had been built in secret. The truth was that the German naval authorities still hesitated to spend large sums of money on an untried weapon, and Grand Admiral von Tirpitz, who at that time was virtually the director of Germany's naval policy, had repeatedly expressed his skepticism as to the value of submarines.



THREE OF THE 122 GERMAN U-BOATS SURRENDERED IN NOVEMBER, 1918

On the other hand, the majority of these twenty-eight boats possessed excellent nautical qualities, with a large cruising endurance, and were generally more formidable than had been suspected. Under the command of such skilful and intrepid captains as Weddigen, von Hersing, Arnauld de la Perière, *et al.*, they caused us heavy losses, and the long voyages they made led to an exaggerated idea of their dimensions. In fact the submarine U-23, which went from Wilhelmshaven to the Dardanelles in the spring of 1915 and there sank the battleships *Majestic* and *Triumph*, displaced only 669 tons, and was thus smaller than our boats of the "E" class. The largest German submarine completed in 1914 was of 675 tons, and it was not until the third year of the war that the 1000-ton mark was reached.

The great majority of the German submarine fleet consisted of boats of quite moderate size, averaging 800 tons at most. . . . None of the boats ready in 1914 mounted guns. These first appeared in 1915. That year was memorable for the début of the submarine minelayer, several boats of that type having been built in six months. In 1916 came the first of the "mine cruisers," which carried, in addition to guns and tubes, a store of mines. The most remarkable boats of 1917 were the seven *Deutschlands*, originally built for carrying cargo.

When the United States joined the Allies Germany converted these boats into fighting craft, the reconstruction work being performed in the Germania yard at Kiel. In 1917 also was launched the U-139, a very large boat of 1930 tons, mounting a pair of 5.9 in. guns and carrying a complement of eighty-three. . . . During the final year of the war the output of submarines comprised a variety of types, and a month or two before the armistice a new and huge program of submarine construction had been drawn up by Admiral Scheer, who succeeded Admiral von Capelle in September, 1918. No fewer than 437 submarines were being built or on order at the date of the armistice.

An analysis of the German submarine

construction statistics gives the following comprehensive survey of building activity during the war:

	Number	Aggregate Displacement Tons
Boats completed in 1914...	31	16,822
Boats added in 1915.....	62	26,418
Boats added in 1916.....	95	47,390
Boats added in 1917.....	103	65,528
Boats added in 1918.....	81	52,888
Totals	372	209,046

These 372 mounted between them 401 guns, viz., thirty-three 5.9 in., one hundred and ninety-two 4.1 in., one hundred and sixty-six 3.4 in., and ten 5 cm., or 4-pounders, together with 1492 torpedo tubes. They carried 2314 mines and their complements numbered 11,673 officers and men. The number of submarines possessed by Germany—allowing for losses—at the end of each war year was as follows:

	Boats Built	Losses	Establishment on
End of 1914...	31	5	Jan. 1, 1915 26
" " 1915...	93	25	Jan. 1, 1916 68
" " 1916...	188	50	Jan. 1, 1917 138
" " 1917...	291	122	Jan. 1, 1918 169
" " 1918...	372	202	Nov. 11, 1918 170
(Nov.)			

In view of these figures, the British Admiralty was clearly justified in declaring that the submarine menace was "checked" or "held" towards the close of 1917. After that date we were sinking the U boats rather more quickly than they could be built, and the steady improvement in our counter-offensive was displayed by the sudden increase of U-boat casualties in 1918.

A HINDU DEFENSE OF PRESIDENT WILSON

FROM far-off India a native writer comes forward to pay tribute to Woodrow Wilson, whom he calls "the greatest statesman of modern times." The failure of the President which some short-sighted persons see is only apparent and temporary, and a day will come when his principles will be put into force. So writes D. A. Dhruva, in the *Gujarat College Magazine* of Ahmedabad, India.

It is true, he says, that the treaty is not in entire conformity with the "fourteen points"; but we are reminded that President Wilson was not monarch of all he surveyed

at Paris. "He had to convince some of the European statesmen, and if he failed in that he had no alternative but to yield and compromise."

But for the President, the treaty would have been quite different. He opposed the annexation of the Rhine frontier and the Saar Valley by France, he opposed the annexation of the German colonies, he opposed the trial of the ex-Kaiser, he opposed the annexation of Fiume by Italy, he opposed intervention in Russia, and many other things of which we are not aware. He pulled the rope to its utmost capacity, but on some points he had to yield against a phalanx of opposition. It is a far better peace than it would have been without the President's participation.

As for the League of Nations, President Wilson was its "chief architect and exponent"; and "whether the League turns out to be a success or a failure, it is a noble experiment."

Apart from his work at the Peace Conference, Mr. Dhruva tells us, President Wilson has performed a great service to humanity:

He has broadened men's horizons, and he has infused the spirit of liberty and freedom in the minds of the young generation which cannot be crushed by any government of the world. His speeches are direct and incisive and full of moral

fervor and idealism. His meaning is clear as crystal to all mankind. . . .

He has succeeded in instilling the minds of the young generation with the ideas of liberalism, freedom, and justice as applied to national life, which cannot be rooted out by any sovereign of the world.

Mr. Lloyd George is a great statesman; so, too, is M. Clemenceau. Gladstone and Bismarck also are recalled by this Hindu writer. But in the verdict of the future, "according to my humble opinion, President Wilson will rank with the greatest statesmen of the world."

PERU, BOLIVIA, AND CHILE

IN this era of territorial restitution and readjustment, it is but natural that Peruvians should seek to present the case of their country, and that of their ally Bolivia, in their common opposition to Chile, under the most favorable light possible. An attempt to realize this is made by Señor Emilio del Solar in the Cuban review, *Cuba Contemporánea*.

The writer is a warm advocate of the alliance between Peru and Bolivia. He declares that a careful perusal of its articles clearly proves its fundamentally defensive character, and also the spirit of justice that animates it. Arbitration by a third power is proclaimed in preference to any violent solution of difficulties, and it is established that the pact shall have for its object to guarantee the independence, the sovereignty, and the territorial integrity of the contracting parties. They are empowered to solicit the adhesion of one or more of the American states to the agreement, and, finally, in order not to bind the parties unjustly, it is provided that either of them shall have the right to decide whether the offense sustained by the other is one recognized by the terms of the treaty. The writer considers that it is therefore altogether unreasonable to say that the alliance is dictated by aggressive tendencies; it is purely and simply a defensive alliance.

Señor Del Solar states that the first attempt made by Chile to enlarge her domain at the expense of Bolivia dates back to 1842, the year in which the guano deposits were discovered in the desert of Atacama. In that year the Chilean Congress passed a law with the following provision: "The guano



PRESIDENT LEGUIA OF PERU

deposits existing on the coasts of the Province of Coquimbo, on the shore of Atacama, and in the neighboring isles and islets, shall be considered to be national property."

Naturally, Bolivia could not view with indifference the assertion of this supposed right which Chile arrogated to herself, namely, the right to claim, by act of legislature, territory which did not belong to her, and the Bolivian Government protested against the Chilean pretension. Vainly, however, for from this time forth Chile initiated a policy of absorption against Bolivia—a policy supported by a series of violent acts, and one that proved eminently successful for Chile, as is shown by the treaty of August 10, 1866, regulating the bound-

aries between that country and Bolivia, and by the concessions the latter country subsequently made to Chile.

A tangible proof corroborating the imperialistic tendencies of Chile, is the order sent to Europe in 1871 for the building of two ironclads, warships much more powerful than those of the Peruvian navy. Of course, this measure aroused suspicion in Bolivia and Peru, both countries being alarmed by the conduct of Chile. This was the motive for the defensive alliance solicited by Bolivia in 1872. Peru feared an attack upon her territorial integrity, since the continual invasions of Bolivian territory rich in mineral substances, constituted an ever-present menace for Peru, as the nitrates of the Peruvian province of Tarapacá were superior in quality to those of Antofagasta. It seemed altogether logical that the avidity of Chile would be still further aroused by the prospect of securing a much richer zone than

that of which she had already possessed herself.

The writer believes that an impartial study of the questions touching Peru's war with Chile must bring the conviction that Chile was incited thereto by mercenary motives, while such motives were quite lacking in the case of Peru. As to the severance of diplomatic relations between the two countries, the fault lies with Chile. In the present instance the causes are the brutal methods adopted by Chile in the territories torn from Peru in the war of 1879, and Chile's failure to comply with the agreements entered into concerning the holding of a plebiscite to determine the future destinies of the provinces of Tacna and Arica, which were only provisionally ceded by Peru. In conclusion, Señor Del Solar asks whether Chile still persists in declaring that "victory is the supreme law of nations."

INTERIOR NAVIGATION IN FRANCE

THE urgent need, the tremendous economic importance for France, of increasing her waterway facilities is forcibly presented by Jules Moch—engineer in the French naval service—in *La Revue Mondiale* (Paris).

He says:

The methodical organization of our waterways is more than ever a necessity for us. France is destined ere long to be first in the production of ores, thanks to the Lorraine basin, which will double our resources. Furthermore, coal from the Saar region will compensate in part for the destruction of the coal mines of the North. These commodities are most in need of river transportation. Heavy and not perishable, their transport by water is infinitely more economical than by any other means; a little barge of 400 tons, towed, if need be, by two horses, takes the place of forty cars.

Now the ores have to go to the coal; that is a strict economic law; the great furnaces are set up near the coal mines. The ore, therefore, has in the first instance to be transported, often a great distance, before being transformed into iron or steel, after which the beams, the sheet-iron, the iron moldings are sent to the places where they are wanted, which may be very far from the steel works.

Development of the canals would thus lower considerably the price of iron and hence of manufactured articles. Moreover, iron being cheaper, France would doubtless wish to create a merchant marine worthy of

the country—an added factor in reducing the cost of living.

The canal problem is, therefore, of the utmost importance. It forms the basis of that "economic organization" which ought to replace haphazard measures.

The question presents itself in three aspects: To satisfy the actual needs the directors ought, first, to pursue a uniform plan; secondly, take a broad view of things; thirdly, exercise continuity of effort. The first demands that national interest alone should be the guiding policy. The country needs canals, and should have them even though some local industries may suffer. Uniformity of plan requires a uniformity of types so as to permit the barges to traverse all the waterways.

Uniformity is not sufficient. One must have a wide outlook. The creation of canals induces that of new industries. The canals should, therefore, be broad and deep so as to allow an enlargement of tenders.

The government promises a policy of generous scope. To sum up its project in brief:

(1) The navigability of the Seine from Paris to the sea will be improved by various devices. The bed of the river will be deepened to allow barges of 2400 tonnage to ascend to Paris. (2) The Northern Canal, begun before the war, will be completed. (3) The Rhone Canal to the Rhine is on the point of being enlarged. Upper

Alsace will thus be joined to the rest of France and be able to export at low rates potash of which she has boundless stores. (4) The canals of the South will be modernized. (5) The course of the Loire will be improved.

This program certainly takes generous account of the economic needs of France. Can it be actually realized? The writer is frankly skeptical as to its prospects.

Engineers, who are not dreamers, think it necessary to construct networks of canals of a uniform type, allowing the passage of great barges, also of a uniform type. One of the networks would unite Bordeaux and Saint-Nazaire with Lyons, Lyons with the Rhine, with Geneva and Marseilles. Lyons would thus become a great interior port, securing the transit of merchandise from America and Africa to Central Europe.

A second system, which deserves special attention, is that of the Rhine, a channel a hundred meters wide would allow the passage of barges drawing $2\frac{1}{2}$ meters of water.

These projects are not chimerical. We may be sure that Lyons, Paris, and Strasbourg are destined to become three of the greatest French and European ports.

The engineers who laud these schemes do not count upon parliamentary credits alone for their realization. They believe it essential to educate the public, to make an earnest appeal to local initiative.

The first of these projects to be realized will undoubtedly be that of Paris to the sea. It is needless to stress its advantages. Paris has a population of about five millions; railways branch out from it on all sides; the Seine, the Marne, the Oise, and various canals converge there, affording transport by water towards every region. The river navigation of Paris, which has attained 15,000,000 tons, has long exceeded the maritime traffic of our greatest ports.

It would, therefore, be most advantageous that ocean vessels, not only barges, should be able to ascend to the capital, thus saving transshipment. The whole course of the Seine would become a vast port; new factories on its shores would be in direct receipt of fuel and raw materials. Many projects with this or similar ends in view have long been discussed, one dating back to 1702 by Vauban, but thus far with no practical result. No economic objection should prevail, adds the writer, with those not blinded by petty interests.

The idea is, at any rate, making headway. Two schemes for its realization are being discussed. One is a canal from Dieppe to Paris. The advantage of this plan would be to place Paris 160 kilometers (100 miles) from the sea and unite the city, through the Oise, to all the northern region. The opponents of this project, and they are numerous, urge that the Seine is in actual existence and only needs improvement.

THE TRACTION CRISIS IN NEW YORK

WITHIN the limits of the city of New York there are considerably more than a thousand miles of track—in surface, elevated, and subway systems—over which rapid-transit service is provided for a uniform nickel fare twenty-four hours in the day. Operating costs have risen, but the “regulated” fare has remained stationary. All the transit companies are in a critical condition, and two are in the hands of receivers. Some lines and routes have been abandoned.

For more than a year the companies have been arguing for an increased fare. The net result of this agitation seems to be nothing more than a clearer understanding of the difficulties in the way of a solution.

The city government holds the key to the situation through contracts made with the companies before the war raised operating

costs; and the present city government favors municipal ownership. One of many obstacles in the way of municipal ownership is necessity for approval by the State legislature, controlled by a party not in sympathy with the idea. The regulatory official in city transit matters is the Public Service Commissioner, appointed by the Governor, at odds with the Mayor, and powerless to authorize an increased fare.

Besides the executive branch of the city government and the legislative branch of the State government, we have in this present controversy the judicial branch of the Federal Government, represented through receivers appointed by United States District Courts—thus drawing upon all the six principal varieties of authority existing in this democratic republic.

With the purpose of contributing to a

definition of the issues raised, the Director of the Bureau of Municipal Research in New York City, Dr. Charles A. Beard, has made a thorough study of the problem. He presents his facts and conclusions in an article which forms the entire issue of the Bureau's periodical *Municipal Research*.

It is not necessary to mention here how with the growth of the metropolis there developed several great combinations of traction systems—networks of "consolidations, mergers, reorganizations and leases which even an accomplished historian could scarcely unravel."

One of the factors in the present situation is the deep-seated distrust of traction companies that exists among a large portion of the public. They must now make out a genuine case, and the burden of proof is on them.

There is, however, one angle of this which is often overlooked by critics. Regardless of the large blocks of securities held within the system and representing duplications, it is nevertheless a fact that in each of these reorganizations and consolidations a large amount of stocks and bonds representing actual expenditures of money on property passed into the hands of legitimate investors.

Dr. Beard takes up three possible ways out of the traction crisis in New York—fare increase or some other form of financial relief, municipal ownership, and a constructive settlement of the whole problem on fundamental principles after thorough study.

As to fare increase: Approximately 500 towns and cities, with one-third the population of the whole country, are paying increased fares. In Boston within a single year the fare was raised from five to seven, to eight, and finally to ten cents. Such was

the decrease in passenger traffic that only the ten-cent fare promised to meet bare financial requirements. But in New York the situation is complex. A fare which would produce sufficient revenue for one system would starve another or bring unduly large profits to a third. Different fares for similar service are unthinkable. Even a ten-cent fare, with its effect on numbers carried, might not enable shorter surface lines to pay their way.

The factors with regard to municipal ownership and operation, Dr. Beard sets forth in detail. But he does not see how, "by any scheme of reckoning known to man," that method would settle the fare or revenue question. Nor does he see where the city could get the purchase money:

The city cannot coin money. It cannot produce wealth. It cannot issue bonds save under certain very definite legal restrictions. It certainly cannot sell bonds either to the banking houses or the public unless it has something substantial to offer in the way of a guarantee of interest and principal. . . . The city cannot finance its municipal ownership program in the face of their opinion that the financing is not on a sound basis. No reasonable man expects the present holders of traction securities to surrender equities even in bankrupt concerns for securities which do not appeal to their judgment.

Dr. Beard finds one thing certain: The magnitude of the problem, the amount of money involved, the labor questions drawn into account, the relation of the whole enterprise to the convenience and business interests of the community, all combine in calling for the most searching inquiry by competent and trustworthy specialists in traction matters, whose good faith none of the parties to the controversy will question.

POISONOUS GASES FROM AUTOMOBILES

RUNNING an automobile engine indoors is fraught with danger, as the public has learned through the frequent reports in the newspapers of cases in which persons have succumbed to poisonous exhaust gases while working over their cars in closed garages. It is, however, less generally realized that the same source of danger has become a serious problem on a much larger scale; viz., in connection with the construction and use of tunnels, subways and other confined places through which automobiles are to pass.

A discussion of the latter subject, by Mr. V. M. Manning, director of the U. S. Bureau of Mines, is found among the many interesting articles with which the new *Scientific American Monthly* (N. Y.), the successor to the weekly *Scientific American Supplement*, auspiciously embarks upon its career with the number for January of this year. (In passing, it may be stated that the new journal, which comprises a substantial budget of serious but not too recondite scientific information and carries no advertisements, appears destined to fill creditably a conspicu-

ous gap in American periodical literature.)

Mr. Manning tells us that the traffic congestion in our larger cities, due to motor trucks and automobiles, is becoming so great that subways or double-decked streets will soon be required to relieve the situation; indeed, Chicago is now double-decking Michigan Boulevard along the lake front in the downtown district. The upper street level is to be used by passenger cars and the lower level by heavy trucks. The danger of poisoning from the automobile exhaust gases in the confined lower level is serious, probably more so than generally realized.

However, a much more dangerous condition may arise in long street and vehicular tunnels which must depend entirely on artificial ventilation for the removal of deleterious gases. Tunnels of this character are now under consideration in a number of different places in the United States, and the Bureau of Mines has received several requests for information on the physiological effect of automobile exhaust gases and on the amount of deleterious gases that are emitted from automobiles and trucks under various conditions of use. Such information is required by engineers who are charged with designing the ventilating equipment for tunnels. Engineers are agreed that present information is inadequate and unless reliable data are provided by further investigations the public will suffer either acute physical discomfort and illness from breathing polluted atmospheres due to insufficient ventilation, or the public purse will have to bear the fixed charges of excessive overventilation.

Tunnels are being considered in many parts of the United States. The largest one, for which immediate information is wanted, is the proposed vehicular tunnel between New York and New Jersey under the Hudson River. This tunnel will be 9000 feet long and will have an estimated maximum number of 2000 automobiles and trucks per hour passing through it during rush periods. The amount of poisonous gas given off by this long line of machines is almost beyond conception; certainly it cannot be guessed at. That this fact is fully appreciated by the New York State Bridge and Tunnel Commission and the New Jersey Interstate Bridge and Tunnel Commission is shown in a letter from the chairman of the two commissions to the Secretary of the Interior asking the Bureau of Mines to conduct investigations on automobile exhaust gases with respect to tunnel ventilation.

The most important poison present in automobile exhaust gases is carbon monoxide, though, as stated in the course of Mr. Manning's article, other dangerous vapors may also be present.

Carbon monoxide has no color, taste, or smell. It has nothing to do with the cloud of smoke that pours out of the exhaust pipe of a car once in a while. There may be, and probably is, carbon monoxide in the smoke, but it isn't monoxide that you see.

Carbon monoxide is very poisonous. The presence of one part of the gas in 500 parts of air will cause a person to collapse within an hour, while larger amounts will shorten this time.

In order to see how soon the air in a garage might be affected by the running of an engine, samples of the air were collected while a 30-horse-power engine was operating. It was found that in less than fifteen minutes a dangerous amount of gas had accumulated around the car.

It follows that an engine should never be run in a closed garage. Dangerous amounts of poisonous gas will be present in the air before there is time to do much repair work.

It is not much pleasure to work over a car on a cold winter day with the garage doors wide open, for no matter how much of a heating system there may be the building will soon get pretty chilly. It is possible to fix up a simple arrangement that will get around the discomfort of working practically out of doors, and at the same time be perfectly safe. A short length of hose, one end of which is slipped over the exhaust pipe while the other end reaches out doors, will do the trick provided it is not necessary to open the cut out while the engine is running.

If you feel a dull, depressing sort of a headache with a faint spell or two after working over a car you have probably got too much carbon monoxide. Not enough to be really dangerous but a warning. If you feel very faint a doctor should be called in at once as after one has actually collapsed recovery is difficult.

The experiments made by the Bureau of Mines with mine locomotives run by gasoline engines, as reported in Bulletin 74, probably furnish the best data now available for use in safeguarding persons in street tunnels. The amount of carbon monoxide produced by the smaller mine locomotives may be comparable to that produced by trucks, though this is not certain. Further information is urgently needed. Mr. Manning says:

In order to render tunnels safe for those using them sufficient air must be introduced into the tunnel to so dilute the exhaust gases that the percentage of carbon monoxide is reduced to a point where it becomes harmless. After sufficient experiments have been made to determine how much carbon monoxide is given off by various automobiles and trucks, the next question that arises is the maximum allowable per cent. of carbon monoxide that will do no harm. Is it 0.1 per cent. or 0.01 per cent. or somewhere between these limits? Physiological authorities differ in their opinion over this range. This divergence appears to be due to a lack of sufficient experiments. Dr. Haldane, the noted English authority, recommended 0.01 per cent. carbon monoxide as the safe limit for the atmosphere in the Metropolitan Tunnel in England. Other authorities think that the concentration may be increased to nearly 0.1 per cent. for short periods of time.

Another very important phase of this problem is the effect of carbon monoxide and exhaust gases on women, children, and persons in delicate health. Individuals that are anemic or affected with heart disease are undoubtedly affected by smaller percentages of deleterious gases.

EFFECTS OF SNOW ON WINTER WHEAT

AN old agricultural tradition to which science has only recently devoted critical attention is that a good covering of snow during the winter is favorable to the yield of winter wheat. Dissent from this prevalent idea was expressed four years ago at the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress by Prof. J. Warren Smith, the leading agricultural meteorologist of the U. S. Weather Bureau. Professor Smith has applied to this and other agricultural problems the mathematical process of correlation, now so fruitfully employed in many branches of science for the purpose of replacing vague opinions and impressions by numerical facts. His investigations in Ohio, reported at the Congress above mentioned, appeared to prove that in general the success of the wheat crop was not definitely affected one way or the other by the presence or absence of a blanket of snow; while bare ground with freezing and thawing weather during the month of January seemed to be beneficial.

This subject, which is of great economic interest as bearing upon the problem of forecasting the wheat crop some months in advance, is taken up again in the current *Monthly Weather Review* (Washington, D. C.) by Professor Smith, and also by Mr. C. J. Root, in charge of the Weather Bureau station at Springfield, Ill.

Professor Smith points out that there are two questions involved; viz., (1) the effect of winter snowfall, and (2) the effects of the snow-cover, or length of time the snow remains on the ground. He says:

A heavy fall of snow may melt quickly and leave the ground bare a good part of the month. On the other hand, a light total fall may remain on the ground over spells of unfavorable temperature conditions. Hence, the study of the effect of a covering of snow on wheat must be entirely separate from one on snowfall and wheat.

The general opinion is that winter grains should be covered by snow during cold weather and more especially when freezing and thawing conditions prevail. The results of studies in Ohio by the writer and by students taking the advanced course in agricultural meteorology at the Ohio State University show little to substantiate this opinion, at least during part of the winter. On the other hand, there is some evidence to indicate that wheat has a better prospect if it is not covered by snow during the month of January.

Data are, however, presented showing a favorable effect upon the crop of heavy snow-

fall in January. With regard to these apparently conflicting results Professor Smith says:

The explanation may be that a heavy snowfall in January melting quickly, as well as freezing and thawing weather while the ground is bare in this month, disintegrates the soil particles and settles the earth around the dormant roots and makes the plants better able to withstand later unfavorable conditions when they begin to develop.

Heaving is one of the most common causes of damage which usually occurs in the spring and is due to alternate freezing and thawing. It is possible, also, that a heavy snow-cover in January produces conditions favorable for smothering the grain, either from a very deep accumulation of snow, or, what is most common, the formation of an ice sheet from the partially melted snow.

Correlation between snowfall and the yield of wheat in certain Ohio counties for a period of 25 years indicates

that in northwestern Ohio a heavy snowfall in January is slightly favorable; has little or no influence on the final yield if it comes in January, but a decidedly adverse influence if in March. This unfavorable influence of March snowfall in Fulton County is verified by the showing for Wayne and Seneca counties, both in northern Ohio.

Mr. Root's paper deals with the wheat statistics collected in Illinois by the Bureau of Crop Estimates during the period from 1895 to date, and the data of temperature and snowfall (not duration of snow-cover) collected by the Weather Bureau at upwards of eighty stations in Illinois during the same period. His general conclusion is that

the winters of heavy snowfall have not as a rule been followed by large wheat yields.

The winter of the greatest snowfall, a cold winter, was followed by the poorest wheat yield but one. The winter of the least snowfall (1918-19), a mild winter, bid fair at the close of winter to be followed by a record wheat crop. In the early spring the crop was in a most excellent condition, but later disease and adverse weather conditions caused considerable deterioration.

The cold winters have heavy snowfall and the mild winters have light snowfall. This is due to the facts: (1) that during the mild winters much of the precipitation falls as rain; and (2) that a snow-cover tends to make the surface air colder.

Considering only the elements of total snowfall and mean temperature, it would appear that the winters of light snowfall are followed by good wheat yields, and the winters of heavy snowfall are followed by light yields. However, this may be due in part to the fact that the temperature is less severe in the winters of light snowfall.

THE NEW BOOKS

BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

"Marse Henry": an Autobiography. By Henry Watterson. George H. Doran Company. Vol. I. 315 pp. Ill. Vol. II. 314 pp. Ill.

Henry Watterson is the sole survivor of a little group of newspaper editors who fifty years ago held a place and exerted an influence in American politics out of all proportion to the circulations of their respective journals. American journalism of to-day knows no successors to such names as Greeley, Bennett, Dana, Raymond, Bowles, Medill, White, and Halstead of the sixties and seventies. Mr. Watterson alone remains to remind the present generation of the personal sway that this notable group once exercised. His partisanship in politics was so accentuated during his half-century of service as editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* that the public perhaps overlooked or failed to recognize other elements in his character quite as interesting and important. His extremely frank and engaging autobiography unconsciously reveals not a few of these attributes. The reader is repeatedly surprised by the narration of facts that show Mr. Watterson's intimate personal acquaintance with the leaders of opposing political faiths. At the same time his not infrequent differences with the chiefs of his own party are brought to light. We marvel at his versatility and the ease with which even from youth he associated himself with the commanding figures of his time. How many young Americans could say, for example, in 1866 that they had lunched with Huxley, Spencer, Mill, and Tyndall in London? Wherever he went Mr. Watterson made friends, and the list of eminent Americans who claimed his friendship is indeed a long one. In these volumes he does not seek to give an ordered history of his career, but prefers to tell the story in the form of a series of episodes, without slavish adherence to chronological sequence.

Adventures in Interviewing. By Isaac F. Marcossou. John Lane Company. 314 pp. Ill.

Among the great war figures whom Mr. Marcossou interviewed from time to time are Lloyd George, Haig, Northcliffe, Foch, and Clemenceau, Kerensky and Pershing. His American victims were naturally numerous; neither Woodrow Wilson nor Theodore Roosevelt had escaped him. But lest a wrong impression of the book should be conveyed by its title, it should be stated that much more than the casual impressions of an interviewer are embodied in the volume. There are interesting and informing chapters on George Horace Lorimer, of the *Saturday Evening Post*, the late Ambassador Walter H. Page, and "Some Literary Friendships," including James Lane Allen, Frank Norris, Mark Twain, and H. G. Wells. Mr. Marcossou seems to have been especially fortunate in his intimacies with writers.



HENRY WATTERSON

A Quaker Singer's Recollections. By David Bispham. Macmillan. 401 pp. Ill.

Few, perhaps, of the thousands who have listened with delight to the singing of the distinguished baritone, David Bispham, have associated him in any way with the Society of Friends, and probably fewer still have known how late in life he entered his profession. In his book of recollections he tells us that both his father and his mother came of old Quaker families, but his father had early left the Quaker body. David was in business life until he was twenty-eight, and when he began his preparation for concert and opera work the good Philadelphia Friends with whom he had been associated despaired of his coming to any good end.

Elizabeth Cary Agassiz. A Biography. By Lucy Allen Paton. Houghton Mifflin Company. 423 pp. Ill.

The widow of the famous scientist, Louis Agassiz, was herself a distinguished member of the well-known "Brahman caste" of New England. She was by fifteen years the junior of Agassiz and she survived him for more than a third of a century. In the latter part of her life she was identified with the so-called Society for the Col-

legiate Instruction of Women, the Harvard Annex, and its evolution into what is now Radcliffe College. This biography is naturally concerned largely with the Boston and Cambridge of Elizabeth Cary's girlhood and with the intimate history of the movements in the latter years of the nineteenth century that resulted in the founding of Radcliffe College. Expeditions that Mrs. Agassiz took with her husband to Brazil and other parts of South America are also described.

Horace Traubel: his Life and Work. Introduction by Horace Traubel. By David Karsner. Egmont Arens. 160 pp.

The late Horace Traubel was chiefly known to the world as the devoted friend and biographer of Walt Whitman, but he was also a central figure in a considerable group of poets and social reformers. The greater part of this appreciation and interpretation of Traubel was completed before his death last year. The four-page introduction, in fact, was supplied by Traubel himself in June, 1918.

Memories of Buffalo Bill. By His Wife, Louisa Frederici Cody. D. Appleton & Co. 325 pp.

Fifty years of pioneering, Indian fighting, and Wild West showing, as remembered and recorded by the widow of the late William F. Cody, one of the plainsmen of the sixties who lived on well into the twentieth century, and whose name and person were known to millions on both hemispheres.

W. B. Wilson, First Secretary of Labor in the United States, and the Department of Labor. By Roger W. Babson. Brentano's. 266 pp. Ill.

The present head of the Department of Labor at Washington has had the kind of life history that is often described as "typically American," but it happens that he was born and passed his childhood days in Scotland. He was taken from school at the age of eight and sent to the mines. As he grew up he worked as a common laborer, iron miner, locomotive fireman, lumber-jack, log-driver, farmer, and union organizer. He was sent to Congress from Pennsylvania for three terms, and when the Department of Labor was created

he became by President Wilson's appointment the first Secretary of Labor. All this and much more is told in the present volume by Roger W. Babson, the statistician, who was himself formerly chief of the Information Service of the Department of Labor. Mr. Babson's book describes and analyzes the machinery and policy of the Department.

Debs. By David Karsner. Boni and Liveright. 243 pp.

A sympathetic sketch of the Socialist leader who is now serving a ten-year sentence in Atlanta prison under the Espionage Act. In his personal life Mr. Debs has long enjoyed the affection of his neighbors at Terre Haute and a wide circle of friends throughout the country, many of whom have no sympathy with his social and economic views.

The Story of George Fox. By Rufus M. Jones. Macmillan. 169 pp.

A compact and well-written volume in the series of "Great Leaders' Lives." It is the story of a hero who for more than two hundred years has figured in histories and religious works, but whose personality has never been clearly outlined in popular literature. In this instance, at least, his biographer has succeeded in giving his subject a fair degree of definition.

The Story of My Life. By the Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Clarke, K. C. E. P. Dutton & Co. 439 pp.

The autobiography of an eminent Englishman who was for half a century in active practice at the bar and for twenty years of that period was a Member of Parliament.

The Disillusions of a Crown Princess. By Princess Catherine Radziwill. John Lane Company. 224 pp. Ill.

The story of the courtship and married life of Cecile, the former Crown Princess of Germany.

The Life and Works of Friedrich Hebbel. By T. M. Campbell. Boston: Richard G. Badger. 261 pp.

The first account in English of the life and works of the German dramatist, Hebbel (1813-1863). In this volume the author analyzes the various problems presented in Hebbel's plays.

HISTORY

The War With Mexico, 1846-1848. By Justin H. Smith. Macmillan. Vol I. 572 pp. Vol. II. 620 pp. Ill.

During the past ten years distinct progress has been made in rewriting the record of at least one episode in American history. It had been thought that the historians had long ago made up their verdict on the Mexican War. Most of them were agreed that this war was by no means a creditable passage in our national history, and that it was forced upon Mexico in the interest of the slaveholding autocracy of our Southern States. Critical

study of the documentary sources within recent years seems to have developed a very different view of the motives of the conflict. This revision of judgment was embodied in the elaborate history of our relations with Mexico by George L. Rives, published in 1913. It is confirmed and expanded in many particulars in the two-volume history of the war with Mexico by Dr. Justin H. Smith, formerly Dartmouth Professor of Modern History. It is significant that these historians, both of Northern birth, should be pioneers in the revision of opinions that have long held sway in New England.

The Plot Against Mexico. By L. J. deBekker. Alfred A. Knopf. 295 pp. Ill.

Believing that a small group of wealthy Americans has been trying to involve the United States in war with Mexico under pretext of intervention, the author of this book, who was formerly confidential assistant to the United States War Trade Board, endeavors to expose and defeat their plans. He devotes a portion of the book to a consideration of possible peaceful solutions of the Mexican problem, and several chapters are devoted to present-day conditions in Mexico, economic and political. The author includes in his volume an interview with President Carranza, together with brief sketches of prominent Mexicans of to-day.

A History of France. By William Stearns Davis. Houghton Mifflin Company. 642 pp. Ill.

To tell in a single volume of six hundred pages the story of France from the earliest times to the signing of the Versailles Treaty must indeed have been a tremendous task. The author has wisely restricted the purely military and diplomatic phases of his subject, thus leaving himself more freedom to transcribe the annals of the French people themselves, which, after all, is what most American readers wish chiefly to know. This book becomes at once the standard single-volume history of France in the English language.

The Italian Emigration of Our Times. By Robert F. Foerster. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 556 pp.

No one can pretend to understand the peculiar national problems of Italy as she emerges from the world war and faces reconstruction, who has not studied the great Italian migrations of recent times. Most of us know something about the Italians who have come to our own shores, but of the immigrants to Argentina, Brazil and North Africa, not to speak of those who have gone into Austria-Hungary, Switzerland and other European countries, we know almost nothing at all. Dr. Foerster supplies us with the first connected account of these several migrations.

The Cechs (Bohemians) in America. By Thomas Capek. Houghton Mifflin Company. 294 pp. Ill.

An informing study of the national, political, social, economic and religious life of the Bohemian settlers in America, written by one of their own number. This book shows that a surprisingly large contribution to journalism, music, literature and the learned professions has been made since 1848 by this element of our population.

Bolshevik Russia. By Etienne Antonelli. Alfred A. Knopf. 307 pp.

A dispassionate account of the actual workings of the Bolshevik Government. The author was military attaché at the French Embassy in Russia in 1917-18. He saw the downfall of Kerensky and before he had left Russia the Bolsheviks were fully established in power. Although not himself a believer in Bolshevism, he is capable of judging fairly the administrative aims of the Lenine-Trotsky régime. At any rate his contribution contains more fact and less hysteria than most current publications dealing with Russia.

The Cossacks. By W. P. Cresson. Brentano's. 239 pp. Ill.

An American writer's account of that Russian people who have declared their intention to establish "a federal republic like that of the United States." This is the first history in English of the Cossacks or "Free People" of Russia (to most Americans the term Cossack refers only to a branch of the old Russian cavalry service). Captain Cresson was formerly secretary of the American Embassy at Petrograd, and much travel in the Cossack country and intimate knowledge of the sources of Cossack history have equipped him for the task of interpreting this interesting people to his own countrymen.

Korea's Fight for Freedom. By F. A. McKenzie. Fleming H. Revell Co. 320 pp. Ill.

A detailed account of Japanese misgovernment in Korea, with special reference to the uprising of 1919 and its immediate causes.

WAR'S RECORDS

Ludendorff's Own Story. By Erich Von Ludendorff. Harper & Brothers. Vol I. 477 pp. Ill. Vol. II. 473 pp. Ill.

In these two volumes we have unfolded the panorama of the war as it was viewed from the German Grand Headquarters. It is as if our own General Grant had brought out his famous Memoirs in 1866, instead of waiting nearly twenty years. The newspaper publication of General Ludendorff's history of the war has served in a measure to take the edge off the more sensational revelations that he made, but in the book the material is all presented in connected and orderly form, accompanied by excellent maps. Altogether it is probably as complete a statement of the case for the German High Command as we of this generation are likely to get.

Father Duffy's Story. By Francis P. Duffy. George H. Doran. 381 pp. Ill.

The 165th Infantry, better known as the "Fighting 69th" of New York, numbered in its membership two men especially beloved by the whole regiment—Joyce Kilmer, the poet, who fell in action, and Father Francis P. Duffy, regimental chaplain. Kilmer was the appointed historian of the regiment, but after his death Father Duffy took over the task of completing the chronicle. Certainly a better substitute could not have been selected. Father Duffy's book from cover to cover is what the sub-title suggests—"a tale of humor and heroism, of life and death with the Fighting 69th." This heroic chaplain was awarded the Croix de Guerre by France and the Distinguished Service Medal by our own Government.

The Yankee in the British Zone. By Ewen C. MacVeagh and Lee D. Brown. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 418 pp. Ill.

A comparatively small part of the A. E. F. was in touch with the British army in France. The first intimate record of the relations between Tommy Atkins and the Yank in the British zone has been written by Captain MacVeagh and Lieutenant Brown. Besides being a narrative of Anglo-American relations, their book is a sort of psychological study of the average Britisher and the average American. There is a foreword by General Leonard Wood.

The Command Is, Forward. By Sergeant Alexander Woolcott. The Century Company. 304 pp. Ill.

Some of the best reporting that Americans have ever had an opportunity to read was that done for the *Stars and Stripes*, the A. E. F. newspaper, during the war, by Sergeant Woolcott, an experienced and brilliant New York journalist.

Complete files of the *Stars and Stripes* now sell for \$500, but the best of its stories and pictures are in this book. The drawings were done for the paper by C. Leroy Baldrige.

"Wade in, Sanitary!" By Richard Derby. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 260 pp. Ill.

A division surgeon's account of his experience in France. Incidentally the book points out some of the important medical lessons of the war, and it shows concretely just what the army surgeon had to contend with. It deals with matters of prime interest to every physician, but at the same time is popular in style and appeals to the general reader.

The Jew Pays. By M. E. Ravage. Alfred A. Knopf. 152 pp. Ill.

A remarkable statement of the effects of the war on the Jews of Eastern Europe, and of the part that Americans have played in the attempt to save six millions of people from hunger and extermination.

PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

The Economic Consequences of the Peace. By John Maynard Keynes. Harcourt, Brace and Howe. 298 pp.

A book that has already caused a sensation among the public men of Great Britain and is likely to be widely read and discussed in this country. The author's credentials are of the best. He was the representative of the British Treasury at the Peace Conference until June 7, and sat as deputy for the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the Supreme Economic Council. As editor of the *Economic Journal* he had before the war won an international reputation. In this book Mr. Keynes makes a searching analysis of the peace treaty in its economic aspects, and ably sustains the thesis that the demands made upon Germany in the way of reparation will impoverish the country and prevent her future industrial development. Up to this time these features of the treaty have received comparatively little attention in America. Here the discussion has largely centered on the League of Nations, but whatever may be our predilections the objections urged by Mr. Keynes demand serious consideration from everyone who looks to the League of Nations to work out the world problems left over from the war. If we admit the force of Mr. Keynes' contention that the treaty must be revised, there is all the more justification for a League.

The New Social Order. By Harry F. Ward. Macmillan. 384 pp.

The first half of this volume is theoretical, setting forth the principles of the new order from the standpoint of a teacher of Christian ethics. The latter half is devoted to a concrete summary of programs for the new order now already undertaken or proposed in various parts of the world, including the platforms of the British Labor Party, of the Russian Soviet Republic and of several movements in the United States with which we are all more or less familiar.

Democratic Ideals and Reality. By H. J. MacKinder. Henry Holt & Company. 266 pp. Ill.

This is a study in the politics of reconstruction from the pen of a British member of Parliament, who was former director of the London School of Economics and Finance. The distinctive feature of the book is its treatment of commercial and industrial geography as the trade basis of a lasting peace.

Liberalism in America. By Harold Stearns. Boni and Liveright. 234 pp.

The author of this work is convinced that the country is now in a reactionary and intolerant temper and that its greatest need is a revival of tolerance and rationalism. This is what he means by liberalism—not any specific creed either of politics or of economics.

Our America. By Waldo Frank. Boni and Liveright. 232 pp.

A striking interpretation of the American spirit, written originally for circulation in France. It is pictorial and concrete in method.

The Psychology of Nations. By G. E. Partridge. Macmillan. 333 pp.

Beginning with a study of the motives of war from the standpoint of national consciousness, the author proceeds to develop the factor of education in the rise and growth of nations.

Race and Nationality. By John Oakesmith. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 299 pp.

An inquiry into the origin and growth of patriotism by an English writer, who explains nationality as the common interests of a people developed in generations into a characteristic traditional culture. He rejects race as a basis of nationality.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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A SCENE IN SCHLESWIG ON OCCASION OF THE POPULAR TEST BETWEEN DANES AND GERMANS

(Gradually, in spite of strife and turmoil, European boundaries are finding permanent adjustment. More than half a century ago Prussia forcibly annexed the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein. Northern Schleswig was inhabited by Danes, and they have never been happy since their incorporation with Prussia. It was agreed at the Peace Conference that the people of Schleswig should have an opportunity to vote whether or not they should now be annexed to Denmark. Three strips of land were designated in which votes were to be taken on different dates. The Danes administered the first strip, which was to be held for about 100,000 ballots. The second strip was to be held for 100,000 ballots. The third strip was to be held for 100,000 ballots. The northernmost strip voted on February 10, casting about 100,000 ballots. The second strip voted on March 14, and went more strongly German than the first had gone Danish. This district had formerly been occupied by Danes, but it had become thoroughly Germanized.)

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*The "Pall" of
Nation-Wide
Prohibition*

Nation-wide prohibition has gone into effect with astonishing acquiescence; but it has naturally failed as yet to make all men uniformly contented and cheerful. If the people of the United States had been more generally in favor of prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks, it is obvious enough that we might have had a "dry" country long ago. Practically every State in the Union has for a long time past had laws under which the liquor traffic could have been reduced to the point of extinction if local majorities had so desired. In Northern and Western States, under different plans of local option, rural communities and thousands of villages and small cities had long ago abolished retail liquor selling. Southern States, by the county option system, had become dry throughout most of their areas. From their experience under local-option laws a number of the States had advanced to the trial of State-wide prohibition—some by amending

their constitutions, and others by statutes—all of them upon the basis of popular referendum. Maine had led the way with State-wide prohibition as early as 1851; Kansas had acted in 1879; and Iowa had voted for prohibition in 1882. In States or cities not ready to abolish the liquor traffic, all sorts of regulations had been adopted, including in some cases very high license fees. Even where the liquor business remained lawful the saloon system was in extreme disfavor because its moral and political affiliations were so generally objectionable. It is a delusion to think that the country as a whole regrets the culminating victory of the "drys," and wishes to return to the previous status.

*War Brought
the Dry
Victory*

The drink evil was subject to attack from a number of different standpoints. It was assailed from the standpoint of national economy, as diverting a considerable fraction of the wages paid to labor from wise and commendable uses to a wasteful and harmful use. It was assailed from the standpoint of individual and social morals, as tending to undermine personal health and to degrade communities. It was criticized as promoting lawbreaking and political corruption. Yet the liquor business, beginning with the manufacture and extending to the retail distribution, was so large and powerful an interest—especially when a number of subsidiary industries were included in the aggregate—that nation-wide prohibition seemed an impossibility at least for the present generation. That drinking habits and customs might be further modified, and that the worst evils of the drink traffic might gradually be abated, were about as far as the expectations and hopes of conservative people had extended until two or three years ago. A few large cities like Seattle had made a highly favorable report



FROM NOW ON!

From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

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upon their experience in abolishing the saloon under the State prohibition system; but the existence of liquor in neighboring States, and the possibility of obtaining it for private use though not for sale, afforded a safety-valve, so to speak, as to the unreconciled minority. Doubtless we should have gone along making local and State experiments with drink regulation and gradually tending towards some new standards and modified customs, but for the War.

*Arguments of
the War
Period*

Now that relaxation from the war strain is so general, it is difficult for many people to force their memories and imaginations to recall even for a few minutes the emotional stress that dominated public sentiment in 1917 and 1918. Food had to be produced and saved for our Allies in Europe. Therefore no corn or cereals should be wasted in making whiskey and beer. The draft law took millions of young boys from the safety and shelter of their quiet home neighborhoods. Therefore the sale of intoxicants must be banished from the vicinity of hundreds of encampments and rallying places. We had been told of marvelous transformations in Russia by reason of a ukase of the Czar that magically abolished the besotting use of vodka. This and other reports from Europe pointing to the badness of alcohol in munition-making centers, and the usefulness of drink restriction, played profoundly upon the minds of Americans and led to the almost unchallenged acceptance throughout this country of wartime prohibition under sanction of Congress and by order of the President. It was this atmosphere of intense war feeling, due to the spectacle of young Americans entering the army and navy by the hundreds of thousands, that made possible the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment through Congress by the requisite two-thirds majority in 1917, followed by its remarkably rapid acceptance in more than the requisite three-fourths of the forty-eight States.

*No Interval
of
Indulgence*

The failure of the Senate to ratify the Peace Treaty unexpectedly extended the period of temporary prohibition under the President's wartime order. Thus the brief interval that had been relied upon, to occur between the ending of the wartime prohibition and the beginning of permanent prohibition under the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution,

did not offer itself. A vast quantity of whiskey, not to mention other drinks, was in storage and would have been distributed to private purchasers as against the dry days to come, but for the failure of Congress and the President to coöperate in declaring that the demobilization was at an end and the dry order rescinded. The prohibitionists as a rule were opposed to granting this interval of indulgence that the wets were seeking; but doubtless it would have been a more lawful and orderly proceeding if the wartime embargo had been lifted when the conditions which produced it had come to an end. If the expected interval for adjustment had been allowed, it is quite possible that the régime of permanent prohibition under the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act, which began on January 16, 1920, would have been accorded a more undisturbed opportunity to demonstrate its practical usefulness.

*Belated
Opposition*

Although no public movement could well have been more widely advertised and discussed than the triumphant progress of the Eighteenth Amendment, many Americans of responsible standing (chiefly in the Eastern States) have acted during the past few weeks like so many Rip Van Winkles. They have awakened out of lethargy, have discovered the fact of our new prohibitory régime, are excessively indignant, and have been writing letters to the newspapers. Among these exasperated people are not many of the business men whose capital was largely embarked in distilling and brewing, or in the wholesale liquor trade. These men had, of course, expected a brief period for "liquidation." But they had for several years keenly appreciated the fact that the good-will value of their enterprises was rapidly vanishing, and that they must find new uses for their real estate and machinery. Let us do justice to them as citizens of a law-abiding country. They have not wasted their efforts in making futile demands for compensation. They have known that they were engaged in an extra-hazardous business, and have understood how to write off fictitious values and accumulate large depreciation funds. Not all of them were fully prepared to go out of the distilling or brewing business, but to a very great extent they had made wise business plans in view of the inevitable transition. It is not these practical men who are now discussing "personal liberty."

*Scrapping
a Vast
Industry*

Scores of thousands of retail drink shops have within a few months quietly changed their character. Fortunately for their owners, prohibition has come at a time when premises are exceedingly scarce in almost all our towns and cities by reason of the cessation of building activities through the war period. It has been easy to find profitable uses for store-rooms, and the demand for residential quarters was never so intense. Thus we have witnessed a rapid shifting of activities from the business of making and distributing alcoholic drinks to other businesses that deserves a careful and thorough study from the economic point of view. The immediate loss to those whose capital was engaged is doubtless considerable in the aggregate; but it is probably not very large when compared with the amount of capital actually invested. "Good-will," of course, is a kind of value that is hard to reckon with in these calculations. Thus some famous brewing corporations are able to carry a large amount of commercially valuable good-will into the making of non-intoxicating beverages, and other articles carrying names that have local or national repute.

*Capital Deserts
the Outlawed
Traffic*

There have been so many newspaper reports of a continued sale of drinks in violation of law through one device or another that it is necessary to keep in mind the larger facts in order to arrive at just conclusions. The making and sale of liquors had been a great commercial industry, supported by banks, with legal enforcement of contracts, and with its issues of stocks and bonds enjoying full standing. When, however, the United

States stops by law the manufacture and sale of drinks, ending the shipment and export of such commodities and prohibiting the import of enterprises that the law courts, the banks and the stock exchanges cease to recognize. There remains only an outlawed, clandestine traffic that can at most amount to a small percentage of the former business. It is true that there are a good many former breweries now making non-intoxicating "near beers" and other "soft" drinks; and these might quickly enough go back to the old formulas if the Volstead Act could be broken down or modified. But with all due allowance, it would seem justifiable to declare that the great commercialized liquor interest has surrendered to the forces of law and government, and has turned its attention to enterprises that are not under the ban.

*Liquor
Forces
"Demobilized"*

Furthermore, there are thousands of men, including many that have lost money, who freely confess their satisfaction in being out of a business that came short of public esteem. They admit that it is better for their families, socially and otherwise, to have the liquor business done away with. It has been the experience in prohibition States that, whereas the organized liquor business is politically powerful while in active operation, there is little political power left when the business has been outlawed, capital withdrawn from it, and personal effort diverted to other lines of trade. The politicians, therefore, who are now taking so conspicuous a part in the movement to break down prohibition, should remember that the once well-organized liquor interest, which could not avail to stop the progress of the Eighteenth Amendment, is now so largely demobilized that it cannot be counted upon to renew the battle with much vigor or spirit.

*Good
Effects of
Prohibition*

Visitors from abroad who have recently viewed the industrial conditions now existing in the United States are as a rule profoundly impressed by the results of prohibition as already manifested. In some of our cities we have very large elements of foreign-born population accustomed to the use of alcoholic drinks, especially beer. It is easy to theorize about the hardships to which these people are subjected in obliging them to forego the percentage of alcohol in their wines and beers to which they had been accustomed. As a



"THE UNDESIRABLES"—THE LATEST AMERICAN DEPORTEES

From the *Westminster Gazette* (London)

matter of obvious fact, however, the great majority of these people are adapting themselves to the situation. Those who cannot get along without the habitual use of alcoholic stimulants are few and far between. Disinterested testimony is mainly to the effect that almost any group of people connected with a given industry at a given point are decidedly better off under prohibition than they were before. They and their families have more and better food; they are putting more money in the savings banks; and there is a visible improvement in the average of labor efficiency. When these elements of improvement—reported as evident in particular factories or industrial communities—are considered in the aggregate for the whole country, they constitute an economic argument of impressive weight. The argument for social progress through personal liberty will always make its appeal to many minds. Prohibition is doubtless a very drastic invasion of private liberty, in view of long prevalent habits and customs. Whether or not the great experiment will be accepted as a final policy will depend upon the extent to which the liquor business and drinking habits are regarded by a decided majority of our people as being essentially harmful.

*What Are
"Intoxicating
Liquors"?*

It was not surprising that various phases of the new situation should be tested in the courts. The national amendment prohibits "intoxicating liquors" but the meaning of this phrase is not definite. The enforcement of the amendment is left to concurrent legislation by Congress and the States. The Volstead act adopted by Congress in order to create a system under which to enforce the prohibitory régime defines intoxicating beverages as those containing more than one-half of one per cent. of alcohol. Individual States are undertaking to make definitions of

their own in order to have the question passed upon by the courts. Thus the legislature of the State of New Jersey last month, under the leadership of Governor Edwards (who was elected last November as a Democratic candidate on a wet platform), passed a bill defining intoxicating beverages as those containing more than 3.50 per cent. of alcohol. There was pending in the New York legislature last month a bill which fixed the percentage of alcohol in beer somewhat in accord with the New Jersey statute, while fixing the alcoholic limit in wines at ten per cent. The movements of this kind in different States relate only to so-called light wines and beers and in no case have to do with whiskeys or other strong distilled liquors. The motive for haste in New Jersey was to bring the question as promptly as possible into the federal courts.

*The Amendment
Under
Judicial Test*

Meanwhile another phase had already found its way to argument before the Supreme Court at Washington. The State of Rhode Island, acting officially through its Attorney-General, had raised certain questions regarding the validity of the Eighteenth Amendment itself. These questions had to do both with the intrinsic character of the amendment and with technical issues relating to its exact form and to the methods of its adoption. It is more generally held that the amending of a constitution, whether that of the United States itself or of one of the States, must follow with precision the exact course prescribed for making such a change or addition. The Governor and Attorney-General of Rhode Island invited other States to join in attacking the amendment before the Supreme Court, but the invitation was accepted only by Massachusetts and Kentucky. Over against this challenge was the action of the Governor of the State of Maine, who

ARTICLE XVIII (1) *After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.*

(2) *The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.*

(3) *This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by Congress.*

(Readers may find it convenient to refer to the text of the Eighteenth Amendment as given above. The official announcement of its adoption by thirty-six States was made by Secretary Lansing on Jan. 29, 1919. It went into effect on Jan. 16, 1920.)

invited the authorities of other States to join in filing a brief with the Supreme Court defending the prohibition amendment. A group of more than twenty States, under the leadership of the Governor of Maine, united to support the Department of Justice at Washington in defending the statute. Certain private interests affected by the amendment and the Volstead Act retained the Hon. Elihu Root, who was permitted by the Supreme Court to file a brief and join the authorities of Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Kentucky in challenging the amendment.

The Fundamental Question

As customary when sovereign States appear in the federal courts, the case was expedited and the Supreme Court at Washington heard arguments in the early days of March, concluding on the 10th. The nature and relative importance of the points raised in this legal battle can better be stated when the Supreme Court renders its decision. The questions involved are so far-reaching and of such wide concern that the court will undoubtedly try to hand down its decision within a few weeks, perhaps as early as May 1. The arguments against the amendment were of a twofold nature. Mr. Rice, the Attorney-General of Rhode Island, developed the novel view that the regulation of the liquor traffic could not be made a federal function even by the lawful method of amending the Constitution through the ratification of a proposed amendment by the legislatures of the States. The somewhat obvious answer to this contention is that more than forty State legislatures did not take that view, but ratified the proposed amendment. It is a political, not a judicial question. It was argued by Mr. Rice that, in adopting the Tenth Amendment, it was not intended by Americans who voted 130 years ago that certain functions should be assumed by the central authority. The pertinent question, however, is not what was intended in 1790, but what the people intended who have acted affirmatively in voting upon the Eighteenth Amendment.

The Chance of Technical Defects

In short, the Constitution expressly provides a method by which just such changes as that produced by the Eighteenth Amendment may be brought about. The Hon. Charles E. Hughes, who was for a number of years a distinguished member of the Supreme Court, filed a brief supporting the Eighteenth



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GOV. EDWARD I. EDWARDS OF NEW JERSEY
(Signing the 3.5 per cent. beer bill on March 2)

Amendment on behalf of twenty-four States. It is always a matter for judicial review whether or not the required procedure has been followed; that is to say, whether in this particular case the Eighteenth Amendment was actually approved by the required two-thirds majorities in Congress (the Senate having acted in August, and the House in December, 1917); and whether the requisite number of States had executed their ratifications in a legal manner. It is a fact of undisputed ordinary knowledge that the two houses of Congress passed the amendment and that more than the required number of States ratified it. It is, however, possible that some technical flaws might be found somewhere in the course of the proceedings.

A Curious Precedent

Whether or not such technical flaws if discovered should nullify the amendment (and also of course the Volstead Act) is for the Supreme Court to decide. In 1882 the Supreme Court of Iowa nullified a prohibition amendment after it had been adopted and gone into effect, on the ground that a certain record had been omitted by a journal clerk in one of the branches of the legislature. There was no

question as to the passage of the amendment through two successive legislatures and its adoption by decisive vote of the people. But the full record of action by one house had not been made as directed in the clause of the constitution which set forth the procedure to be followed. There was great indignation against the Supreme Court of Iowa at that time on the part of the prohibition leaders. But the court was performing its duty in accordance with its best judgment and intelligence, and it felt itself compelled to treat as mandatory every detail of the process required for making constitutional changes.

*How
to Fight
Prohibition*

There was a considerable movement in the New York legislature at Albany last month on behalf of a State referendum this year on the prohibition question. It was pointed out, however, by Speaker Sweet that such a vote at this time would be futile, if not absurd. The most it could do would be to show whether or not a majority of the people of the State of New York were glad or sorry that national prohibition had been adopted. Speaking politically, there is only one thing for the "wets" to undertake. They have a perfect right to elect as many members of both houses of Congress as they can who entertain their views. When they can muster the requisite two-thirds vote, they can pass through Congress a Twentieth Amendment, rescinding the Eighteenth; and when this Twentieth article has been duly ratified by the legislatures of as many as thirty-six States, they will have restored the control of the liquor business for ordinary purposes to the jurisdiction of the forty-eight States. Recent experience has shown that where people are very much in earnest it does not take a long time to amend the Constitution. Instead of its requiring seven years to secure the ratifications of thirty-six States for the Eighteenth Amendment, it required only a few months.

*It Will Be a
Fight Against
New Odds*

Whenever, therefore, the country is ready to renounce the experiment, there is just one way to proceed, and that way is being pursued by the people in various parts of the country who are proposing to nominate Governor Edwards of New Jersey as a Democratic candidate for the presidency on a wet platform. These people know perfectly that prohibition has been adopted through a political

victory of the drys, and that it can only be done away with through a political victory of the wets. The public should remember, however, that the American movement to outlaw the liquor business is of long standing, and the drys are likely to be better organized for the fight than the wets. A new equilibrium will soon have been established, and many of the forces formerly working for the liquor traffic will now support, passively at least, the changed situation to which they have become adjusted. So the wets will have to make their fight against new odds and with forlorn hopes.

*Not a Safe
Political
Issue*

Many prominent politicians in both parties have been needlessly disturbed by the clamorous activity of the wets during the past few weeks. As a matter of fact, the metropolitan newspapers have so emphasized details pertaining to the transition period—the dismantling of the saloons, and the illicit traffic in surplus stock—as to convey a false impression to many minds. Democrats will do well to understand that the prohibition forces supporting William J. Bryan are very much stronger as a political factor than the liquor forces supporting Governor Edwards. The South is almost solid for prohibition, and the San Francisco Convention will not be stampeded by New Jersey and Kentucky on



© 1920, New York Tribune, Inc.

WILLIAM J. BRYAN, AS "LITTLE HANS," STOPPING THE HOLE IN THE DIKE



© Clinedinst.

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT LAST MONTH DECIDED A LONG PENDING SUIT UNDER THE SHERMAN ACT IN FAVOR OF THE UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION, AND ALSO DECIDED THAT RAILWAY VALUATIONS SHOULD PROCEED UPON THE PRINCIPLE OF PRESENT APPRAISALS RATHER THAN ORIGINAL COST. THE COURT HAS NOW BEFORE IT THE TEST CASES AFFECTING THE PROHIBITION AMENDMENT

(Front row, left to right: Justice Day, Justice McKenna, Chief Justice White, Justice Holmes, Justice Van Devanter, Back row, left to right: Justice Brandeis, Justice Pitney, Justice McReynolds, and Justice Clark)

the liquor question. As for the Republicans, it would seem reasonable to say that the great majority wish to give national prohibition a deliberate trial in perfect good faith. Neither party will do well to stake its fate this year upon challenging the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act.

favor of giving prohibition a fair trial during the coming four years. As for the battle of percentages, it is evident that this must be fought out in the courts. The amendment refers to "intoxicating liquors" "for beverage purposes." It would seem to be the plain intent of the amendment that Congress rather than the separate States should define intoxicating liquors, inasmuch as the whole object of the amendment is to produce a condition of uniformity. It is for the federal courts, however, to decide in a test case what constitutes intoxicating liquor. A prompt decision of this question will be highly desirable. In common understanding, the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted in general accord with the prohibition laws of many States which had fixed a very small percentage of alcohol in their definitions. Thus the Volstead Act was not regarded as out of line with recognized standards.

It is to be remembered that many States have given the franchise to women. Moreover, the action of the West Virginia legislature in ratifying the suffrage Amendment last month, after a hard fight under dramatic circumstances, made it probable that this Nineteenth Amendment would be adopted in time for this year's election of Congress and presidential electors. Thirty-three States had previously ratified, West Virginia making the thirty-fourth; and it was expected that at least two other States would act promptly, and thus secure the success of the amendment. That the votes of women could be very extensively marshalled in support and defense of national prohibition is hardly to be doubted. We will venture the guess that both great party conventions will declare in

Women Now
Welcomed
In Politics

The opposition to the suffrage amendment had become purely local in character, most people accepting its adoption as a foregone conclusion. Woman suffrage, like prohibition, had

Women
Are for
Prohibition

come forward rapidly upon great waves of wartime sentiment. When the prejudices of the British Parliament yielded and women were given the franchise in time for the last general elections it was morally certain that American opposition would quickly melt away. This was conclusively shown in the State of New York when State-wide suffrage won its victory in November, 1917. Women had made great effort and sacrifice in the war period. It was felt that politics in the new era that lay ahead of us must be more concerned than ever before with problems about which women had convictions. Many political leaders who had not opposed the advance of suffrage by State action, but who did not favor the national amendment, changed their positions. The leaders of both great parties are preparing to make special appeals for the votes of women and are favoring the immediate adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment.

*Millions Will
Certainly Vote
This Year*

The suffrage leaders have been anxiously and earnestly piloting their amendment upon its triumphant progress among the commonwealths. They have persuaded many Governors to call legislatures into special session for insuring early ratification. They have shown excellent capacity for the management of a great political movement. There seems no prospect of the formation on any large scale of a separate women's party to act independently of the Republican and Democratic organizations, either in the contests of the present year or those to follow. It is generally expected that the women of the South will show Democratic affiliations in about the same proportion that men have shown them. Eleven Western States, namely, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Kansas, Arizona, Oregon, Montana, and Nevada, had already enfranchised women in a period from 1869 to 1914, so that the women of these eleven States took part in the election of four years ago. Even if the Nineteenth Amendment should not have been adopted this year, these eleven States, and also New York, Michigan, Oklahoma, and South Dakota, would exercise equal suffrage next November. With the amendment carried, it will be a public matter of great historical importance that some twenty million women will be entitled to act with a like number of men in making choices this year that are certain to have a deep influence at home and abroad. It is

likely that not less than fifteen million women will actually go to the polls and cast their ballots for Congressmen and presidential electors.

*Women
as Party
Members*

There will be a considerable number of women sitting as delegates or alternates in both great conventions in June. The game of party politics, as men are accustomed to play it, has complications that women at large do not wholly appreciate. The feminine mind is more direct, and is prone to drive at the essential thing. In the realms of life over which they are accustomed to exercise control, women are more conventional than men. In public affairs, on the other hand, men are more the victims of tradition and conventionality than are women. Men are more likely to seek party victory in the political game, while women voters will want to know what it is all about, and what the victory is to accomplish. Women probably will show a more discriminating interest than their masculine relatives in the personality of candidates. They will also make a drive for the essentials of platforms, and will not be very tolerant of evasive platitudes. Undoubtedly the preliminary efforts of party committees already show a tendency to recognize the seriousness of purpose and the mental honesty of great numbers of women voters who are too conscientious to vote party tickets blindly. There will be an immense number of women voters who are wholly unqualified, and who will be ready



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THE SUFFRAGE CLIMBERS NEARING THE TOP
From the *American* (New York)



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THE LEADERS OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY PLANNING FINAL RATIFICATIONS AT THEIR WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS

(From left to right: Mrs. Lawrence Lewis of Philadelphia, Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, Miss Anita Pollitzer, Miss Alice Paul, chairman, Mrs. Florence Brewer Boeckel, and Miss Mabel Vernon [standing])

to cast their ballots as advised by their men-folk, or as requested by political friends who have something to gain. But it has always been true that a large proportion of men voters are not well qualified to act upon their own initiative. The main difference lies in the fact that men are more disciplined for politics, and that they move more calculably along the grooves of party organization. These factors of uncertainty are puzzling the regular politicians, and encouraging the amateurs.

*Policy for
Women
Voters*

What policies will find the women voters most responsive?

Many of them will try to understand something of the relationship of government to the cost of living, and will support candidates and policies that promise to help restore the normal relationship between income and outgo. It may not be very easy to explain the connection between public thrift and private welfare, but the political parties will have to do their best with that question. Women do not like war, and are not instinctively militaristic; but they can be shown that if peace-loving countries like the United States had been better prepared to denounce and oppose militarism six years ago, or even four years ago, countless lives and incalculable resources would have been saved.

Thus it will be necessary to try to persuade the new women voters to look facts in the face as regards our military and naval policies. While the war was at its height there seemed to be general agreement in this country that after the war there must be a good understanding among the nations that were contending for freedom and justice, and that the principle of force must yield in future to the principle of justice as applied through an association of governments of free peoples. It will not be good politics for either great party to turn away from this noble ideal, either in cynicism or in distrust and impatience. If we were willing to cooperate so extensively in war effort, why should we refuse to cooperate in peace effort? Certainly some millions of women voters will show an interest in this question, if, indeed, as now seems fairly certain, the questions of the peace treaty and the League of Nations will be projected into the campaign.

*The Renewed
Treaty
Debate*

For about half a year it has been steadily growing clearer to the average American citizen that our ratifying the peace treaty ought not to hinge upon the precise phraseology, either of the document in general or of our own reservations. The so-called Covenant of the League of Nations is not like a statute, nor



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MRS. GEORGE BASS OF CHICAGO
(Member of Democratic National Committee)



MRS. JOHN G. SOUTH OF KENTUCKY
(Chairman, Women's Division, Republican Committee)

is it like the constitution of a federal government. It merely provides the tentative framework for an association of governments for certain great and desirable purposes. Much more important than the phraseology which describes this framework must be the spirit of the men who are to control the new mechanism. The delay at Washington was further protracted last month by the President's passionate denunciation of the Senate majority's reservation to Article X. A number of substitutes for this reservation had been drawn, by Republican Senators and also by Democratic. Every one of these substitutes merely says in effect that, when any case arises calling for united action to protect some member of the League, the nature and extent of the action of the United States will have to be determined at the time by Congress. This would have been true, presumably, with or without the reservation.

*Article X in
a Practical
Case*

We see no reason to object to the Lodge reservation, and most of the proposed substitutes for it convey the same general meaning. Since we should in any case be the interpreters of our own reservation, it becomes increasingly difficult to follow the President's arguments. Article X will remain in the treaty. The reservation merely affects our own procedure. Mr. Lodge and the Republican majority are willing to ratify the treaty including Article X. They do not repudiate, on behalf of this country, an attitude of interest in ques-

tions that will arise under this particular article. If the treaty is ratified as proposed, our representatives will be present in the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations. Let us suppose that the League had been in existence early in 1914, under the terms of the covenant as now drawn up. The ultimatum to Serbia would instantly have come before the League. Austria would not have been allowed to open hostilities without giving opportunity for the terms of the ultimatum to be considered. Doubtless the Americans in the League organization would have made instant report to the President, who in turn would have laid the situation before Congress. It is wholly probable that Congress would have acted promptly—not to project this country into a war, but to help save Europe from a struggle into which the neutral nations like the United States might afterwards be drawn.

*No Power
in Words
Alone*

Even without the Lodge reservation, the American delegates sitting in the League of Nations would not have been authorized to give direct orders to the army and navy of the United States. Neither would the President have been empowered to take war measures, without the support of Congress acting in the particular case. Without going through the formalities of adopting reservations, the countries that have already accepted the League of Nations are in no different position. There is no conceivable way by which,

in a given case in the future, the British forces can act in response to Article X except as the Parliament then in existence provides the ways and means and supports the project. The article is mere words, except as living men give it willing support in practical applications.

*Mr. Wilson's
Latest
Attitude*

The Senate would have adopted the reservations last month, and ratified the treaty by common

action of the great majority of Republicans and Democrats alike, but for the opposition of President Wilson. On March 8 the President made a pronouncement which took the form of an extended letter to Senator Hitchcock on this question of Article X. He declared that Article X was the very essence of the whole League of Nations scheme, and that the Lodge reservation cut the heart out of the article. He avowed that he could not look the returned soldiers in the face if he consented to the reservation. The rhetorical manner of his letter was admirable, and it gave agreeable evidence of that return of health and vigor which everyone desires for the President. But the letter did not in any way try to prove or explain the precise point that it was supposed to elucidate. Since the President chose to stake everything upon this fight with the Senate Republicans, the Democrats were put in an embarrassing position. Not one of them seemed to be able to make the President's position clear. Mr. Wilson was content to assert that this reservation "nullified" the treaty, and there to leave it, unexplained.

*Now
Quite Un-
compromising*

We had been informed several months ago that the President would accept Senator Hitchcock's substitute for this Lodge reservation; but his latest mood seems to be that of opposition to all reservations no matter how "mild." The assurance given by the British and French governments that the Lodge resolutions are not objectionable and do not in their opinion "nullify" the treaty would seem to have affected President Wilson in a manner exactly opposite to that which they intended. The Senate, meanwhile, having taken up the treaty for reconsideration, had found the requisite two-thirds majority for several of the amendments, and it was commonly understood that the whole series would have been adopted with some modifications, so that the final responsibility would have rested with the President alone. But

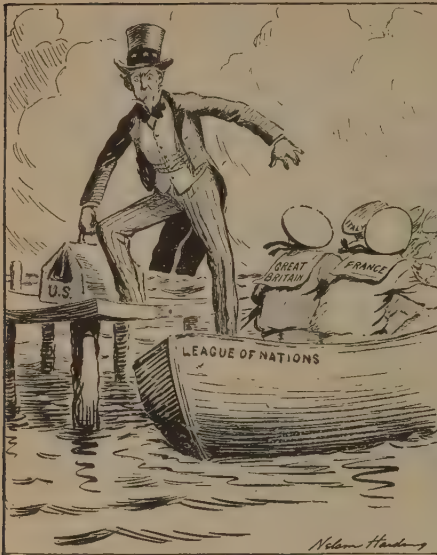
his aggressive interposition gave pause to his Senate supporters. Seemingly the President had gone back to his original proposition that the treaty must be ratified precisely as he brought it from Paris. This, however, was manifestly impossible. Even if Senators of both parties had acted unanimously in adopting the treaty with reservations, the President could refuse to "deposit ratification." The deadlock seemed to be unbreakable.

*The "Solemn
Referendum"
Still Desired*

Several months ago Mr. Wilson had demanded what he called a "solemn referendum" on the treaty, as an issue in the next presidential election. Apparently, then, the Hitchcock letter meant that the President had given up all thought of action on the treaty until after the election next November. Thus a political issue was created of such a nature that the Democrats must support the President or commit party suicide. We have believed most earnestly that the treaty ought to be ratified. Several of the amendments needed modification. Most of the others seemed to be implied in the treaty itself. We have regretted the deadlock because the situation at Washington has not been in any manner a reflex of the attitude of the country as a whole. That an overwhelming majority of those who have considered the question desired ratification and were ready to accept the reservations, has been evident to careful observers.

*In Criticism
of the
Allies*

President Wilson's letter was not only disappointing to Americans who wished to see the treaty ratified, but it was painful to many of our friends abroad because of its disparaging allusions to our recent European Allies. It must be remembered that all of these countries have ratified the treaty as written, including Article X. The President explains that Article X had represented renunciations made by Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy of "the old pretensions of political conquest and territorial aggrandizement." He then proceeds upon the surprising assumption that the Lodge reservation has already revived all these suppressed ambitions; and he seems to intimate that all four of the countries named have now set forth upon dangerous courses. It is evident that this letter was prepared for international consumption, and its effect abroad has been so marked that it is desirable at



this point to quote from it the following paragraph:

It must not be forgotten, Senator, that this article constitutes a renunciation of wrong ambition on the part of powerful nations with whom we were associated in the war. It is by no means certain that without this article any such renunciation will take place. Militaristic ambitions and imperialistic policies are by no means dead, even in the counsels of the nations whom we most trust, and with whom we most desire to be associated in the task of peace. Throughout the sessions of the Conference of Paris it was evident that a militaristic party, under the most influential leadership, was seeking to gain ascendancy in the counsels of France. They were defeated then, but are in control now. The chief arguments advanced in Paris in support of the Italian claims on the Adriatic were strategic arguments—that is to say, military arguments, which had at their back the thought of naval supremacy in that sea. For my own part, I am as intolerant of imperialistic designs on the part of other nations as I was of such designs on the part of Germany.

Why France Must be "Militaristic"

*Why France
Must be
"Militaristic"*

Since, however, all these nations have accepted Article X and are actually setting forth upon the experiment of operating the League of Nations, the President's line of reasoning is not easy to follow. The Parisian politicians and newspapers were so incensed by Mr. Wilson's accusations that their retorts were unduly rude, although they had ground for resentment. France is not maintaining her great army as a matter of national indul-

*Control
of Foreign
Affairs*

There are large fields of ordinary domestic administration in which the heads of departments function without much interference from the White House. Even so exceptional an executive head as President Roosevelt could not keep track of every detail of government work; and no other recent President has equalled Roosevelt in conversance with details of public business. But when we enter the field of foreign relationships it is perhaps true that no previous President has assumed so exclusively personal a rôle as Mr. Wilson. It is held by many observers that this exercise by the President of the functions of the Secretary of State has weakened the department of foreign affairs in a period when it should have great strength and high prestige. It is commonly remarked by intelligent men that we need the ablest and strongest Secretary of State that can be found, and that the safe conduct of our foreign affairs requires close accord between the President and the Secretary, with full Cabinet support, and with Senate leaders of both parties brought into frequent consultation. In times like these, the conduct of the nation's foreign affairs cannot be safely made a matter of purely personal direction, nor a bone of contention between parties in presidential elections.

*Secretary
Lansing's
Retirement*

A lack of accord led to the retirement of Secretary Lansing in the middle of February. It appeared that the nominal head of the State Department had been out of touch with the President for a long time. During the earlier months of the President's long illness, the so-called Cabinet had met at intervals for the discussion of necessary public business. Everyone had been aware of it, and had regarded these meetings as useful if not indispensable. Mr. Lansing's responsibility for them had not been greater than that of his colleagues who attended them. The President, however, in harsh notes to Mr. Lansing, criticized the calling of these cabinet meetings, and ascribed blame in a manner which was tantamount to a curt dismissal from office. Secretary Lane, who was about to retire of his own volition, publicly declared that he considered himself quite as responsible as Mr. Lansing for the cabinet meetings. Under the parliamentary forms of government which President Wilson has always preferred, it was obvious that all the members of the cabinet would have gone out



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HON. BAINBRIDGE COLBY OF NEW YORK, NOMINATED BY PRESIDENT WILSON ON FEBRUARY 25 TO SUCCEED MR. LANSING AS SECRETARY OF STATE

(Mr. Colby is a New York lawyer distinguished for his ability as a public speaker, and highly esteemed for his sincerity of character. He had recently served under the Wilson administration on the Shipping Board. In politics he had been a Republican, then a Roosevelt Progressive, and in 1916 he refused to support Hughes and gave his adherence to the Wilson ticket. There was delay in the Senate over his confirmation, but approval was confidently expected by his friends. The appointment was received with surprise in all quarters, the country having expected the appointment of the Acting Secretary, Mr. Polk)

with Mr. Lansing. But as a matter of fact we have no real cabinet in this country, and everybody knew that the criticized cabinet meetings were wholly incidental and of only casual importance. The other secretaries remained at their posts because their work was not under criticism by the chief executive.

*Wilson's View
of the
Cabinet*

It was not on account of the cabinet meetings, but because of other things, that Mr. Lansing was retired—all of which Mr. Wilson made quite plain in his letter of February 11. Mr. Lansing was asked to withdraw and afford the President "an opportunity to select some one whose mind would more willingly go along with" Mr. Wilson's. It would be quite useless to review Mr. Lansing's conscientious public career in order to discover specific differences between him and the

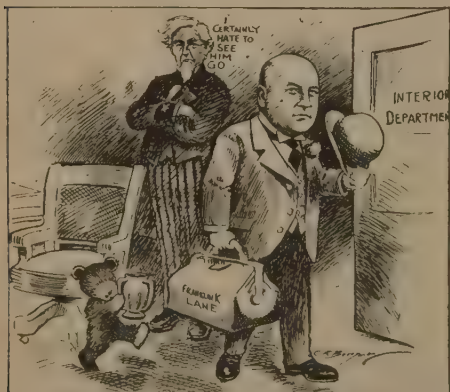
President. To a considerable extent the difficulty was temperamental. Chiefly, however, it was all due to President Wilson's idea of our executive system. He does not conceive of policy or statesmanship as pertaining to the Department of State, but only of technical skill and efficiency in carrying out the plans and policies of the President and in helping to give practical effect to the President's statesmanship. Our remarks imply no criticism either of the President or of Mr. Lansing. The episode illustrates the amazing flexibility of our form of government in its actual working, due to the personal equation. Under any form of government, personal influence and natural power of leadership produce variations. But no other well-established government has an office which may be so magnified or so diminished in accordance with the qualities of the incumbent as our presidency.

The Cabinet at Washington has no existence or authority, except as the President chooses to take counsel with the heads of the departments, and call them by this collective name. It has been the prevailing custom for Presidents to play up the heads of departments, somewhat after the fashion of a European cabinet. When John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and James G. Blaine were secretaries of state, they were not under the discipline of the milder and weaker men who lived in the White House. Many citizens have been asking of late whether there is any practicable way by which a real

cabinet may be brought into legal existence, without destroying what may be of value in the President's authority. During the war period Mr. Wilson used the heads of new boards and commissions, rather than the permanent heads of departments, for purposes analogous to those of a cabinet. But all this of course was temporary and informal. These questions lie in the public mind rather as affecting the future than the present. Are Presidents to be dictators?

What Type of Man for President?

One trend of thought and feeling in the country is evidently in favor of finding for our next President a personal ruler. There may of course be a very marked difference between a man of arbitrary temper and one of decisive mind and strong personality. Mr. Roosevelt, for example, paid the utmost deference to his department heads as a real cabinet; consulted them constantly about general policies, domestic and foreign; and sought the strongest men he could find, regarding them as colleagues rather than as subordinates. Mr. Roosevelt was a leader, but when in office he almost always acted upon a basis of collective judgment, either that of his party or that of recognized experts. Mr. Wilson has worked in more detachment. He has assumed the rulership as well as the leadership of his party. But he has relied upon the essential qualities of American public opinion as likely in the long run to support an uncompromising President who follows the dictates of high principles with steadfast courage. Senator Kenyon proposes that presidential nominees should select and publicly announce the cabinet officers they mean to appoint, at some date previous to the election. The idea is novel, and it will not be adopted. But the proposal calls attention to the peculiar position of the cabinet in our system. Those who do not prefer for the next President a personal ruler are divided into two classes. First are those who want a business executive who will run the country as Judge Gary runs the United States Steel Corporation. Congress would frame its own legislation, but the executive would carry on public business efficiently. The other class would prefer a President of intelligence and poise, and capable of surrounding himself with men of capacity and party standing working in agreeable accord with Congress—the kind of President typified by Mr. McKinley.



SECRETARY FRANKLIN K. LANE

From the *Sunday Star* (Washington, D. C.)
[Secretary Lane's retirement from the Interior Department evoked expressions of good will on all sides. We present in this number an interview with Mr. Lane obtained especially for our readers. His birth in Canada alone prevents his being urged as a presidential candidate]



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HON. FRANK HITCHCOCK
OF NEW YORKHON. NORMAN J. GOULD
OF NEW YORKSENATOR MOSES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRECOL. WILLIAM C. PROCTER
OF OHIO

FOUR ORGANIZING LEADERS AND DIRECTORS OF THE LEONARD WOOD LEAGUE

*Candidates
and
Tendencies*

As we enter the period of presidential primaries, party activities increase and the voters begin to take part in the discussion about candidates. President Wilson's attitude was continuing to restrain the activities of Democratic party leaders, but the plain voters were beginning to express their preferences. Secretary Palmer and Mr. McAdoo were recognized as Democratic candidates, as were Champ Clark, Governor Cox and several Senators. The Hoover movement in the Democratic camp had been followed by some indications of a Hoover movement on the Republican side. Mr. Hoover's own expressions had located him as a receptive but not an active candidate, and as a "progressive independent" who was as far removed from "Republican reactionaries" as from "Democratic radicals." These utterances seemed to please Mr. Hoover's friends and followers, but did not tend to smooth the way either to Chicago or to San Francisco. It is evident that nothing but a stubborn deadlock could give Hoover the Republican nomination; while it also seems likely that Mr. Bryan and the Democratic two-thirds rule could block the Hoover movement at San Francisco.

*Leonard Wood
Makes Real
Progress*

Meanwhile the candidacy of General Leonard Wood has seemingly been making progress that will have been accentuated by the early Republican primaries. Thus the New

Hampshire Republicans on March 9 gave as strong a support to General Wood as had been expected. In New York the "Leonard Wood League" is not entering the primaries to choose its own delegates to the convention; but it claims large support in New York and Illinois, and it proposes to contest Ohio with the supporters of Senator Harding. We are publishing in this number an article upon the development of General Wood as a candidate, and the methods employed, this article being written at our request by the Hon. Norman J. Gould, who is directing from New York City the eastern activities of the Wood League. Colonel William C. Procter of Cincinnati is at the head of the national Wood movement, and last month Mr. Frank Hitchcock joined Colonel Procter to give the benefit of his experience and prestige in winning delegates and handling conventions.

*Other
Republican
Leaders*

In strength of organization the movement for Governor Lowden of Illinois is second to that of General Wood, although the candidacy of Senator Hiram Johnson of California has secured a large following which seems to be taking organized shape. A number of names of possible candidates are mentioned, but behind most of them there is no attempt at extensive organization. We made note last month of the candidacy of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, of New York, and we are publishing in this number an article which

quotes from his recent significant utterances upon public questions. Dr. Butler was the principal author of the platform unanimously adopted by the Republican State Convention of New York on February 20. Mr. Elihu Root made an address before that convention which will stand as one of the foremost Republican statements of the present year. Mr. Root declined to accept designation as one of the delegates at large to the Chicago convention. This declination was due to the important fact that he has accepted an invitation from the European governments to go abroad as one of the eminent jurists who will recommend to the League of Nations a working plan for the international court of judicature that is to be erected as a result of the establishment of the League.

*Former
Cleavages
Forgotten*

The old sectional breach between leading politicians of the Roosevelt forces and those who surrounded Mr. Taft would seem to have disappeared. Most of the former Roosevelt men of the East seem to be supporting General Wood, while many of those in the West are for Hiram Johnson, and some of them for Poindexter. Several members of Mr. Taft's cabinet are openly supporting Leonard Wood. In the Middle West these old distinctions seem to be little recognized, Republicans supporting one candidate or another according to their predilections, whether Wood, Lowden, Harding, or some other favorite son. Ohio will be strongly contested. Kansas would go sweepingly for Governor Henry Allen if he were a candidate instead of being a Vice President of the Leonard Wood League. Governor Allen last month spent some days in the East, where he addressed the legislatures of Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey. He added hosts of new friends to his old admirers who have long recognized in him one of the most sensible as well as virile and courageous of our public men. His Industrial Relations Court, about which we published an article in the REVIEW last month, has begun business most auspiciously, and the whole country is now studying its principles and awaiting its practical results.

*The Treaty
and the
Campaign*

The platform views of the different candidates have attracted renewed attention by reason of the increasing likelihood that foreign policies will be projected into the campaign. With the exception perhaps of Senator Hiram Johnson, all of the leading Republican can-

didates are clearly in favor of the treaty and the League of Nations, with reservations. President Wilson has apparently sought to bring about a political situation which would array those in favor of the Treaty and the League on the Democratic side, and put the Republicans in the position of having defeated the Treaty and of being hostile to an efficient international organization for maintaining peace. The President's party, however, has not helped much to produce any such division of sentiment. The President's attempted leadership, not only in American foreign policy but in the settlement of European and world affairs, has been almost as fully detached from relationship to the Democratic party as from the advice and support of Republican leaders.

*Mr. Wilson
Dictating to
Europe*

At the time of the armistice the President's prestige was high at home and abroad; and it would have been possible to have employed such methods, in negotiating the treaty and in dealing with European governments, as to have secured for our foreign policies the general support of public opinion here at home, regardless of parties. It had become clear, however, last month that the President was working in such isolation as to cause anxiety in Democratic as well as Republican camps. Thus, in the absence of the United States from the Supreme Council, the Adriatic question had been reopened in a manner that



BEAUTY AND THE BEASTS
From the Newspaper Enterprise Association
(Cleveland, Ohio)

did not accord with arrangements in which Mr. Wilson had previously taken part. In February the President broke silence by dispatching to Europe notes on the Adriatic question of such challenging attack upon the new proposals as to produce no little excitement and confusion, especially in Italy. President Wilson's denunciations were irritating, although his arguments had some value. He threatened to withdraw the treaty from the Senate and to take no further part in European reconstruction, whether military, financial or political, unless his views about Fiume and the Dalmatian coast should be respected.

*Fiume
and Its
Bearings*

It may indeed prove to be the case that the Wilson notes will have helped to compel Italy and Yugoslavia to work out a solution for themselves. Nothing could be more feasible than a friendly mutual agreement, but for inflamed passions and ambitions on both sides. Both Italy and Yugoslavia made great sacrifices in the war, and both have secured great gains in the territorial adjustments worked out at the Paris Conference. The differences of detail pertaining to Fiume, the Dalmatian coast and islands, and spheres of influence in Albania, ought to be adjusted by the governments immediately concerned. Perhaps Mr. Wilson's tenacity and his eloquent warnings will have helped to precipitate a final compromise; but he would accomplish vastly more for Europe and the world if he

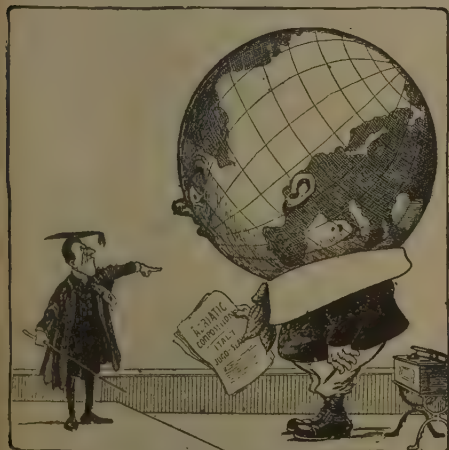


KEEPING THE OLD NAME
From the *World* (New York)

would but permit the treaty to be ratified, accepting the Senate's work, and recognizing the fact that such acceptance on his part would win for him an overwhelming approval on the part of thousands of men and women whose judgments carry weight throughout this country. It would be a calamity to inject our foreign policies into a presidential campaign as the chief bone of partisan contention.

*France
Must Keep
on Guard*

Unquestionably the failure of the United States to ratify the treaty promptly, and to take a confident part in the setting up of the League of Nations, has added to the difficulties and perplexities of Europe. There would in any case have been great turmoil due to the exhaustion of the war, so that it would be grotesquely unfair to hold America chiefly responsible for conditions abroad. Even with the treaty ratified, and the separate pact pledging support to France adopted, it is plain enough that safety would have required France to keep up a large army for some time to come. Thus the best answer to President Wilson's critical allusions to French militaristic policies was given a few days later by the revolution in Germany and the reassertion of the Prussian Junkers. General Foch must keep his armies in being, until there is less menace in Germany and Russia. The sensational seizure of government control by the Berlin militarists on March 13 prompted General Foch to move additional French divisions to the Rhine frontier.



THE LITTLE PEDAGOG

"Your Adriatic lesson is not satisfactory to me! Go back and study it at once or take the consequences!"
From the *Daily Star* (Montreal, Canada)



CLEVELAND H. DODGE DR. JAMES L. BARTON
(The two foremost leaders of the great American work for relief in the Near East, especially among Armenians)

*Turkey
and Our
Opportunity*

The long delay in making essential decisions about Turkey has been unfortunate in the extreme.

If the United States had been prepared to give helpful advice fully a year ago, much suffering might have been averted. It was quite as essential that the old Turkish rule should have been swept away, as that the militaristic rule of Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs should be struck down. Delay and hesitation have given the Turks their opportunity for asserting themselves again, and the second thought of the British and French governments has been more timorous than resolute. It is partly the fault of America that a new order of things throughout the Turkish Empire was not promptly established after the armistice. Things being as they are, it is necessary to proceed along the line of realities rather than to chase after fugitive hopes and ideals. The insolence of the Turks had gone so far last month, with massacres of Armenians and general defiance of British, French, and other Allied agencies, that there was some revival of demand for real solutions as against bad compromises.

*Constantinople
and
Armenia*

It is at least certain that no Turkish government will have anything further to say about the freedom of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. If the Sultan is allowed a nominal authority in Constantinople by reason of his relationship to the Mohammedan world, he will be under restraint. But Constantinople should be internationalized under a non-Turkish government, to the headship of which an experienced American might well be appointed. Such a government should exercise at least temporary authority over the reconstruction of the Turkish part of Asia Minor. It is now the general American view that there should be created a large, rather than a restricted, independent Armenia. Once recognized and given moderate financial support, Armenia could stand alone. A man like General Harbord, with a few hundred American volunteer officers who could be secured to an unlimited extent, would be able on short notice to organize an effective military constabulary, using native material altogether except for the higher officers. The United States Government could readily send a few shiploads of rifles, machine guns, ammunition and other requisite material as a gift or a loan to the new Armenian Republic. Practical friendliness of this kind would not be very burdensome or costly, nor would it involve the United States in war. It would give the final crowning to a great work of charity that Americans have carried on at the hands of the Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, now known as the Near East Relief. This committee last month made an appeal for funds, and secured many millions of dollars with which to continue its pressing work of feeding the hungry and relieving the sick, especially the children.

*Britain's
Authority in
Near East*

In view of actual conditions in the Orient, nothing could have been more ill-timed or reckless than criticisms that have recently been circulated in the United States regarding the activities of Great Britain along the pathway to India. The withdrawal of British support of justice and progress in Egypt would be a calamity too serious for contemplation. No country can exercise the functions of guardianship and tutelage in another country without making some mistakes; but men who see the whole situation wisely are not attacking the British régime in Egypt. There has been criticism, to which

we have referred in recent numbers, of the circumstances under which the new treaty between Great Britain and Persia was negotiated. But here again, to Arabs and Persians the coming of the British means a higher degree of security and a larger measure of justice for native populations than could otherwise have been possible under existing conditions. American opinion should not be warped and twisted by irresponsible mischief-makers in times like these. The arrival of the British at Bagdad in the war period brought relief that the natives welcomed with boundless gratitude; and the British influence is destined to remain in Mesopotamia, as far better than any practicable alternative. All well-informed persons know how beneficial the presence of the British has been in Palestine since their expulsion of the Turks.

Futile Criticism of British Policy

We shall not enter upon a discussion here of questions relating to India, except to remark that capable and responsible native leaders have been cooperating with the British authorities, during and since the war period, in measures that add to the dignity of the Indian peoples without endangering their domestic peace and their steady, even if slow, economic and social progress. It is not merely offensive, but it is quite ridiculous for Americans to imagine that they could deal with the problems of Empire in India more intelligently or more conscientiously than the people of Great Britain are endeavoring to deal with them. Fortunately, not many Americans are bothering themselves with these futilities of criticism. British responsibility has been greatly extended as a result of the war. But the choice lay between an extension of British order and justice, and a relapse into chaos. When the world can find some better way to administer backward or barbarous regions, doubtless our British friends will be glad to aid in supporting an improved system.

Naval Accord Necessary

Meanwhile we ought to be glad that the British fleets are patrolling the oceans, and that—however much disturbance there may be upon the continent of Europe and throughout Asia Minor—there will be entire safety for the merchant vessels of all nations. With statesmanship and common sense in control of governments, we should count upon as genuine cooperation between the American and



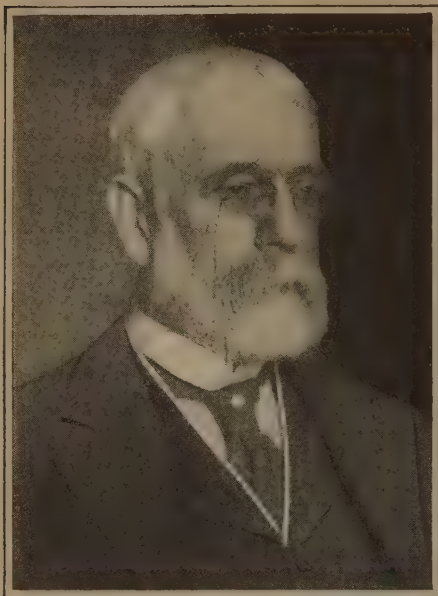
RT. HON. SIR AUCKLAND CAMPBELL GEDDES, NEWLY APPOINTED BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

(Sir Auckland, who is still a young man, having been born in 1879, was a distinguished Professor of Anatomy in Edinburgh, Dublin, and Canada before the war. He and his brother, Sir Eric Geddes, have filled a number of the most important posts in the war period. His wife is an American.)

British navies henceforth as we all praised so highly in 1917 and 1918. Mr. Simonds, in his very frank discussion of European policy in the present number of the REVIEW, points out some divergencies between British and French aims. The United States should help to keep these great powers working in harmony. America can afford to deal generously with these promoters and guarantors of modern civilization, the people of Great Britain and the people of France.

Canada's Noble Record

Our closest neighbor and most intimate associate in the family of nations is the Dominion of Canada. No object of American policy should be more prominent than that of cooperation between the two halves of the North American Continent. We have pleasure in publishing in this number a remarkable statement by Mr. McGillicuddy of the *Toronto Star* showing the great achievements of Canadian legislation since the end of the war. No other country can make so good a relative showing in the reconstruction.



MR. ROBERT UNDERWOOD JOHNSON OF NEW YORK
(New American Ambassador to Italy) •

period as Canada. This has been due, Mr. McGillicuddy believes, to the continuance of Coalition government as against the frictions and deadlocks of the ordinary party system. The Coalition leaders, under the guidance of Sir Robert Borden, have laid out a bold program, and have had the courage to write it on the statute books. Our long-time friend and correspondent, Sir Patrick McGrath, who is now President of the Newfoundland Senate, writes for this number an article on the nationalization of Canadian railroads that will be read with particular interest in the United States at this moment. Without any desire to weaken the bonds of association between Canada and Great Britain, all broad-minded Americans should welcome Canada as a member of the League of Nations, should advocate permanent Canadian representation at Washington, and should join in asking Canada to take a seat at the council table of the Pan-American Union. Meanwhile, the expected arrival of Sir Auckland Geddes as British Ambassador at Washington will make for agreeable relations, inasmuch as he has not only been a remarkably effective member of the British War Ministry, but has also connections of a personal and family kind with Canada and with the United States. He is an eminent

physician, and had tentatively accepted the principalship of McGill University at Montreal. It is to be hoped and expected that he will achieve at Washington as marked a success as is credited to the Hon. John W. Davis, the tactful and eloquent American Ambassador at London.

*Political
Reaction in
Germany*

Reference will be found in Mr. Simonds' article (see page 385) to the political *coup d'état* of March 13 at Berlin. Germany was not in the mood for a civil war, and the militarist attack upon the Ebert-Noske government was met by the call of a general strike. This movement of working men was beyond the control of the new Chancellor, von Kapp, and of General Baron von Luttwitz, who was the new militarist Defense Minister in place of Noske. After a day or two it was announced that President Ebert would be left in office, that a new Reichstag would soon be elected, and that an "Imperial President" would be chosen in the near future by popular vote. It was by no means certain, however, that these compromises would be accepted and lived up to as a program for the coming months. That the reactionary forces are endeavoring to secure control in Germany, and that they are planning to establish economic relations with Russia, is now well understood.

*Diplomatic
Changes*

After a long and useful service as American Ambassador at Rome, Mr. Thomas Nelson Page has retired, and several weeks ago President Wilson appointed Mr. Robert Underwood Johnson, of New York, to succeed him. Mr. Johnson was formerly editor of the *Century Magazine*, and has always shown a sympathetic interest in Italy and the Italian people. Following the resignation of Dr. Reinsch as Ambassador to China, President Wilson last month nominated Mr. Charles R. Crane, of Chicago and New York. This post had been tendered to Mr. Crane by President Wilson a number of years ago, but at that time Mr. Crane's business affairs prevented his acceptance. He has long been a recognized authority upon conditions in Russia, China, and Japan, and was selected by Mr. Taft in 1909 for the Chinese post, the appointment being promptly ratified. He resigned, however, because of some disagreement with Secretary Knox. Mr. Crane's reappointment is praiseworthy.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From February 13 to March 15, 1920)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

February 13.—In the Senate, Mr. Hitchcock (Dem., Neb.) offers alternative compromise reservations on Article X of the Peace Treaty, claiming that forty Senators will support the one the Republicans accept; the proposal is later rejected.

February 18.—The House Appropriations Committee reports the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bill, carrying \$104,120,000.

February 20.—In the House, the Military Affairs Committee votes 11 to 9 in favor of postponing universal-military-training legislation.

February 21.—The House adopts the conference report on the Cummins-Esch railroad bill, by vote of 250 to 150, over the protests of labor and farmers.

February 23.—The Senate, by vote of 47 to 17, adopts the conference report on the railroad-reorganization bill.

February 25.—In the House, Mr. Igoe (Dem., Mo.) moves to repeal the Volstead prohibition enforcement law, but is defeated 80 to 39.

February 26.—The Senate adopts the Lodge "mandate" reservation to the Peace Treaty, by vote of 68 to 4.

March 3.—The Senate adopts two of the Lodge reservations, the one relating to domestic questions and that referring to the Monroe Doctrine.

March 4.—The Senate, by vote of 48 to 21, adopts an amended Lodge reservation on Shantung; the Walsh reservation on American representation is also adopted, 55 to 14.

In the House, Mr. Tinkham (Rep., Mass.) offers a resolution to investigate the fixing of sugar prices; adopted, 162 to 142. . . . Mr. Eagan's (Dem., N. J.) motion to repeal the Volstead Act is defeated.

March 5.—The Senate adopts the Lodge reservation on the Reparations Commission, voting 41 to 22 after refusing a substitute.

March 7.—In the Senate, Mr. Hitchcock makes public a letter from President Wilson, which declares that the proposed reservations are "nullifications."

March 9.—The Senate adopts the Lenroot reservation (modified by Mr. Lodge), the purpose of which is to give the United States equality of voting power in the League of Nations.

March 12.—In the Senate, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) offers a new compromise reservation on Article X.

The House provides for Construction Corps under the Army bill, separate from Quartermaster Department.

March 15.—In the Senate, the Republican members (with one exception) and sixteen Democrats adopt the famous Lodge reservation on Article X—which President Wilson declared cut the heart out of the League of Nations covenant.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

February 13.—Robert Lansing resigns the office of Secretary of State, following correspondence with President Wilson, who charges him with usurping executive power by calling Cabinet meetings during the President's illness.

The fifty-first annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association opens at Chicago, with demand upon State Governors for prompt ratification of the federal woman-suffrage amendment.

February 14.—Missouri Democrats elect Capt. J. L. Milligan to Congress from the Third District, on a platform endorsing League of Nations.

February 17.—The federal woman suffrage amendment is rejected by both branches of the Maryland legislature.

February 18.—The Mississippi legislature rejects the federal woman-suffrage amendment.

February 19.—The Republican party announces that it will not accept campaign contributions of more than \$1,000.

The American Legion demands legislation offering ex-soldiers the option of "land settlement, home aid, vocational training, or an adjustment of compensation."

Grosvenor B. Clarkson submits his resignation as Director of Council for National Defense.

The sale of former German ships by the Shipping-Board is halted by a temporary injunction of the District of Columbia Supreme Court, in a taxpayer's action.

February 21.—First Census returns show 10.3 per cent. increase in population of Cincinnati (now 401,158) and 32.1 per cent. in Washington, D. C. (now 437,414), as compared with 1910.

February 28.—President Wilson signs the railroad reorganization bill.

The Oklahoma legislature completes ratification of the federal woman-suffrage amendment; three more State ratifications are required to complete the thirty-six.

March 1.—American railroads are turned back by the Government to private operation, under the railroad reorganization bill.

United States Supreme Court [Brandeis and McReynolds not sitting] decides 4 to 3 not to dissolve the United States Steel Corporation. . . . The income tax law of New York is held to discriminate against non-residents; in the Oklahoma case it is held that a State may tax the income of non-residents, if derived from property within the taxing State.

March 2.—Governor Edwards of New Jersey signs the new beer bill, permitting manufacture and sale of 3.5 per cent. beer when the war is officially over.

Governor Hart of Washington calls a special session of the legislature to consider federal woman-suffrage amendment and other questions.

March 3.—The West Virginia House votes 47 to 40 for federal woman-suffrage amendment ratification.

March 4.—New Jersey files a suit in the federal Supreme Court to declare null and void the Eighteenth [prohibition] Amendment, on constitutional grounds.

March 6.—The Delaware legislature is called in special session by Governor Townsend, to consider ratification of federal woman suffrage amendment.

The Philippine Assembly in both houses defeats prohibition and woman suffrage bills; lease titles are granted to 17 Japanese corporations.

March 8.—The United States Supreme Court decides that stock dividends are not taxable as income; the loss to the Government is estimated at \$100,000,000.

March 9.—Prohibition nullification arguments are completed in the Rhode Island and Massachusetts cases before the Supreme Court. . . . The New Jersey motion for a temporary injunction against prohibition enforcement, in a suit before the U. S. District Court, is denied.

In the New Hampshire Presidential preference primaries the Republicans endorse delegates pledged to Leonard Wood and the Democrats endorse those favoring Herbert Hoover.

March 10.—Secretary Houston announces his policy of postponing Allied loan interest payments for three years, with no further issue of foreign loans or domestic bonds.

West Virginia Senate ratifies the federal woman-suffrage amendment, 16 to 13, under dramatic circumstances.

March 11.—An Indianapolis federal grand jury indicts 125 coal operators and miners for conspiracy.

The Coal Commission submits two reports, the majority favoring 25 per cent. wage increase with no change in hours or working conditions, allowing net additional increase of 11 per cent.

March 13.—Seven I. W. W.'s are convicted of murder for killing war veterans at Centralia; three are acquitted, one insane.

Col W. B. Greeley is appointed Chief Forester, succeeding Henry S. Graves.

March 15.—The Minnesota Republican primary results in expressed preference for Leonard Wood.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

February 7.—Social Revolutionists at Irkutsk, Siberia, kill Admiral Alexander B. Kolchak, former head of the All-Russia Government.

February 14.—Japanese suffrage debate in the Lower House reaches a climax with riotous demonstrations; the President intervenes.

February 17.—The French Senate begins the trial of Joseph Caillaux, former Premier, before its High Court, for treason.

Italy reestablishes rationing under food cards owing to high exchange rate, poor transport, and scarcity of supplies.

February 18.—Paul Deschanel takes office as tenth President of France, succeeding Raymond Poincaré.

February 19.—In China, Foreign Minister Lou Tseng-Tsiang and Vice Foreign Minister Chen-Lu resign in protest against the conservative poli-

icy of the Anfu party in Peking for direct negotiations with Japan over Shantung.

Bolshevist forces occupy Archangel, unopposed.

February 21.—The Hungarian Assembly names Admiral Horthy as Regent.

The Spanish Ministry resigns, following failure to secure passage of appropriations and increased railroad rates, but Manuel Allende Salazar retains the post of Prime Minister.

February 23.—Murmansk is taken by the Bolsheviks, thus consolidating all northern Russia for the Soviets.

February 24.—Mathias Erzberger resigns as Minister of Finance in Germany after sensational testimony in his libel suit against Dr. Karl Helfferich.

February 25.—Herbert H. Asquith (Liberal) is elected to the British House of Commons from Paisley, with 14,736 votes; Labor polling 11,902 and Coalition-Unionists only 3,795.

The Irish Home Rule bill is presented to Commons in its formal first reading.

February 26.—Premier Lloyd George defends Turkish treaty terms before the House of Commons.

February 27.—A French railroad strike ties up three of the five Paris lines and results in a call for a general railway strike; the Premier issues an order calling the strikers into the army.

British Government makes public the new Irish Home Rule bill, providing autonomous government under a dual parliament.

February 28.—Fiume is blockaded by Italy; the city starves, and troops desert D'Annunzio. The Greek Chamber ratifies the German, Austrian, and Bulgarian peace treaties.

The Japanese Diet is dissolved by the Emperor because of serious disagreement between the Cabinet and the majority parties regarding manhood suffrage extension; a new election must be held in five months (see page 420).

March 1.—The French railway strike ends; the adjustment provides no pay for time on strike, no penalties for disobeying return order, and a review of all other punishments.

French Socialists, at the national congress in Strasbourg, defeat 2 to 1 a motion to ally that body with Soviet Russia.

March 2.—Schleswig-Holstein proclaims independence from Prussia and its establishment as a separate state.

Chinese Premier Chin Yun P'eng resigns office, because of the military party's insistence on negotiations over Shantung with Japan.

March 5.—Portugal closes its frontiers because of serious disorders resulting from railway and postal strikes.

March 6.—Portuguese cabinet resigns; Antonio Silva heads a new cabinet.

March 7.—A Chinese provincial league is formed by Fukien, Kiangsu, Chihli, Honan, Szechwan, Hupeh, Shantung and Kiangsi, to oust both North and South governments and restore peace by uniting against militarists.

March 10.—Ulster votes to accept the Home Rule bill.

Bolshevik troops on Polish front are reported in mutiny.

March 11.—The Syrian Congress at Damascus proclaims national independence under Prince Feisal, son of King of Hedjaz.

Lord Curzon explains to House of Lords that Turkish treaty troubles arise from delay in ratification by the United States. . . . France officially protests President Wilson's charge of militarism.

British labor votes 3,370,000 to 1,050,000 for political rather than direct action, rejecting the miners' program for nationalization.

March 13.—A counter-revolution in Germany, by militarists, directed against the revolutionary republican government of President Ebert, gains control of Berlin; Wolfgang Kapp proclaims himself Chancellor, and Ebert leaves the capital.

March 15.—The revolutionary movement in Germany is reported to be losing ground, and even to have opened negotiations with President Ebert, who has reestablished his government at Stuttgart.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

February 13.—The Council of the League of Nations admits Switzerland as an original member [with neutrality reservations] of the League; a Sarre Valley Commission is appointed.

February 14.—The Allied Supreme Council forwards a note to Holland, admitting her right to keep the ex-Kaiser but asking that he be interned.

February 15.—President Wilson notifies European nations that if the Adriatic settlement of December 9 is not adhered to he may recall the treaty of Versailles and the Franco-British alliance from the United States Senate and withdraw from European adjustments.

February 16.—The Allies accept the German proposal that war culprits be tried at Leipzig, reserving the right to decide by the results her good faith, and to collect and publish in Germany the charges against each defendant.

February 18.—The Supreme Council replies to President Wilson's note on the Adriatic, taking a conciliatory attitude.

February 23.—President Wilson replies to the Allied Adriatic note; Hungary files treaty proposals, demanding plebiscites in regions to be ceded to Austria and Rumania, and protesting against the economic terms.

February 24.—The Supreme Council decides not to recognize Soviet Russia until Bolshevik outrages cease; but the Allies would resume trade, and they counsel peace to border states, although offering them every possible support if attacked by the "Reds."

Charles R. Crane is selected for appointment as American Minister to China.



FOR THE RELIEF OF SERBIAN CHILDREN

(Readers will remember Mr. Doherty's article on "Serbia's Vital Problems" in the March REVIEW. A movement is under way to furnish practical relief to Serbia by caring for homeless and under-nourished children. The Serbian Child Welfare Association has formed a National Birthday Committee, with headquarters in New York, and has formulated a plan which aims to secure the adoption or care of one Serbian child every hour of the day. It is estimated that half a million need assistance, of whom 150,000 are fatherless and 50,000 are orphans. In the scheme of relief there are children's committees and also godmothers' committees to arrange and supervise birthday parties. The plan was originated by Mrs. Oliver Harriman.)

February 26.—Soviet Russia proposes peace terms to the great powers, promising establishment of democratic principles, the calling of a Constituent Assembly, restoration of 60 per cent. of foreign debt liability, etc.

February 27.—The American State Department is reported as considering the Soviet peace proposal as pure propaganda undeserving of recognition or reply.

French troops at Marash retreat in heavy skirmishing in the vilayet of Aleppo, Syria; 20,000 Armenians are reported massacred.

March 1.—Washington replies to Salvador's request for an interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, citing President Wilson's speech of January 6, 1916, before the Pan-American Scientific Congress.

Sir Auckland Geddes is appointed British Ambassador to the United States.

March 2.—Allied diplomats agree to permit Germany to float a loan, the securities of which will be exempted from reparation claims.

March 3.—The Turkish treaty terms are completed, and Hungarian proposals are taken up for consideration.

March 4.—President Wilson sends final comment to Allied Premiers on Adriatic dispute, refusing withdrawal of the plan of December 9.

March 5.—France consents to Allied plan for German economic rehabilitation, withholding consent to priority of German loan and substitution of neutrals for Reparations Commission, and

seeking freedom of action for anti-Soviet buffer states.

The Dutch Government promises to keep close guard on the former German Kaiser but reiterates its opposition to extradition.

March 7.—The Bolsheviks start an offensive against Poles on both sides of Pripet Marshes, but are defeated.

March 8.—A British fleet is sent to Constantinople to back a demand that Turks cease Armenian persecutions.

March 9.—Italo-Yugoslav negotiations fail, the Italians refusing to give up Valona and the Yugoslavs refusing to give up Scutari. . . . The Allies ask President Wilson for American views on Turkish treaty.

March 10.—The Allies decide to use force against Turkey and send troops to occupy Constantinople.

March 14.—Lower Schleswig, second zone to vote under the Peace Treaty, expresses overwhelming preference for continued German control rather than Danish.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

February 14.—Alien "Red" deportation cases at Ellis Island are reduced from 515 to about 100, some 300 being released on bail.

February 19.—The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that wages during the past year have risen from 25 to 125 per cent. in eleven leading industries, with a ratio of from 4 to 50 per cent. increase in volume of employment.

Grand Trunk Railway shareholders vote to turn the entire system over to the Canadian Government.

February 25.—The first women members of the American College of Physicians are admitted in recognition of studies in child feeding and blood diseases; they are Dr. Anna Weld and Prof. Leila Andrews.

February 27.—An airplane flight by Major R. W. Schroeder at McCook Field, Dayton, results in establishing a new world's record for altitude, 36,020 feet; the pilot falls five miles, but rights his machine at 2000 feet and makes a safe landing.

February 28.—Mexican bandits kill an American storekeeper at Montana Camp, near Ruby, Arizona.

German potash production reaches 550,000 tons for January.

March 3.—President Wilson takes his first motor ride since his illness.

March 4.—Heavy blizzards sweep the entire West, from the Rocky Mountains to the Mississippi and South as far as Dallas, Texas.

March 5.—Blizzards and a cold wave cause heavy damage along the Atlantic seaboard.

Ten railroad officials are appointed to confer with union officials on new wage scales.

March 6.—Chicago express clerks strike, and the companies place an embargo on all but necessary traffic.

The head of the Anti-Saloon League in New York is reported as denouncing Catholic activities to thwart prohibition.

March 12.—New York transit lines withdraw petitions for increased fares, on advice of the Federal court.

Thirty-six thousand New York school children are sent home during the first week of March because of shortage of teachers and facilities.

March 13.—Coastwise longshoremen in New York strike for trans-Atlantic dock worker wage scale; 6000 men go out.

OBITUARY

February 16.—Edward Davis Jones, founder of *Wall Street Journal*, 65. . . . Adelia Belle Beard, author and illustrator.

February 17.—Rev. Jas. H. Pettee, D.D., for forty years a Congregational missionary to Japan, 68.

February 18.—Joseph M. Flannery, known as the world's largest radium producer, 53. . . . Gen. William E. Mickle, for many years Adjutant-General of the United Confederate Veterans, 74. . . . William Blanford, inventor, 82.

February 19.—Rev. Dr. Jacob Fry, of Philadelphia, senior Lutheran minister, 86. . . . Harriet E. Sessions, of Mount Holyoke College, 87.

February 20.—Rear-Admiral Robert E. Peary, U.S.N., retired, discoverer of the North Pole, 64.

February 23.—Dr. Jose M. Ferrer, authority on pneumonia, 63.

February 24.—Franklin Murphy, former Governor of New Jersey, 74.

February 25.—James Gayley, formerly vice-president of the United States Steel Corporation, and distinguished as an inventor, 65. . . . John C. Olmstead, the Boston landscape architect, 68.

February 26.—Anna Alice Chapin, novelist and author, 40.

February 27.—William Sherman Jennings, former Governor of Florida, 57. . . . Orlando W. Norcross, of Worcester, Mass., noted as construction engineer, 81.

February 28.—Charles A. Talcott, ex-Congressman from Utica, N. Y., 63.

March 1.—John H. Bankhead, senior United States Senator from Alabama and last Confederate veteran in the Senate, 77. . . . William A. Stone, ex-Governor of Pennsylvania, 74. . . . Philip H. Dugro, justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, 65. . . . Dr. Charles Gordon Hewitt, the Canadian entomologist, 35.

March 3.—Major-Gen. William P. Duvall, U.S.A., retired, 73. . . . Prof. Willard T. Barbour, of the Yale law school, 35. . . . John J. O'Shea, Catholic author and editor, 79. . . . Sir Thomas A. Stuart, a distinguished Australian physician and scientist, 64.

March 4.—George D. Smith, the widely known book collector, 50. . . . Louis J. Duveen, art connoisseur, 45.

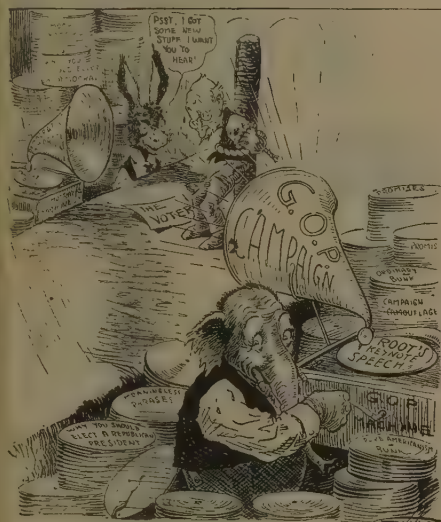
March 5.—Rt. Rev. William Forbes Adams, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Easton, 87. . . . Warren B. Hooker, formerly justice of the New York Supreme Court, 63.

March 8.—Gen. S. P. Jocelyn, U.S.A., retired, veteran of Civil and Indian Wars, 77.

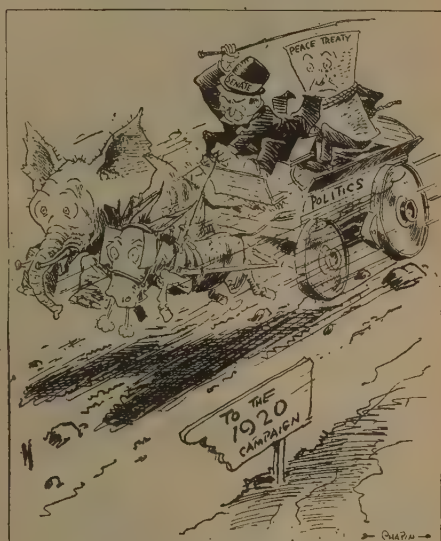
March 14.—Justice Eugene A. Philbin, of the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court, 63.

March 15.—Judge Loranus E. Hitchcock, of the Massachusetts Superior Court. . . . George Louis Beer, historian and author, 47.

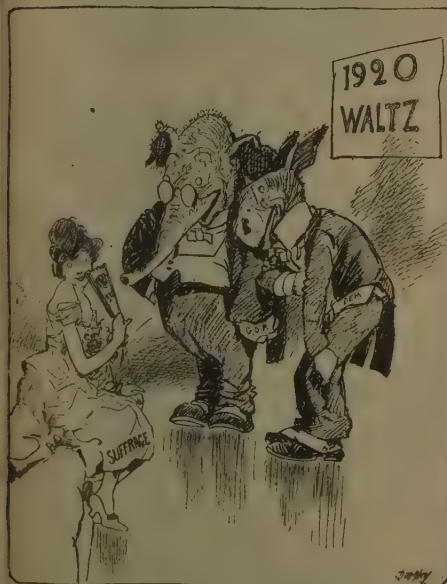
DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLITICS IN CARTOONS



THE CAMPAIGN BARRAGE IS ON
From the *Evening Sun* (Baltimore, Md.)



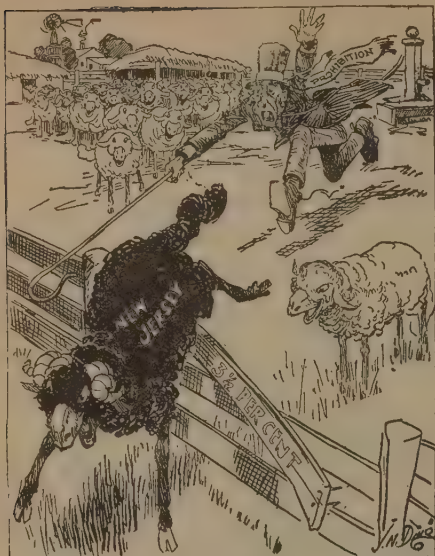
"HELL BENT" FOR ELECTION
From the *Star* (St. Louis, Mo.)



THE BELLE OF THE BALL
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio)

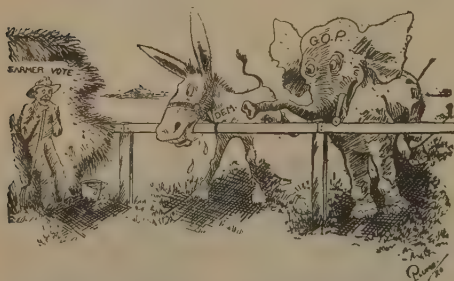


CONFLICTING SPIRITS
(Will the Democratic spirit, or the Republican spirit,
establish control?)
From the *Bulletin* (San Francisco, Cal.)



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THE BLACK SHEEP
From the Tribune (New York)



THEY'RE GOOD AND HUNGRY THIS TIME
From the Daily Drovers Journal (Chicago)



THE LAST FEW BUTTONS ARE ALWAYS THE HARDEST
From the Star (St. Louis)



MACBETH UP TO DATE
"Infirm of purpose! Give me the daggers!"
From the Sun (Baltimore, Md.)



MR. GOMPERS AS POLITICAL RINGMASTER
From the Oregonian (Portland, Ore.)



OH-H-H!!
From the Spokesman Review (Spokane, Wash.)



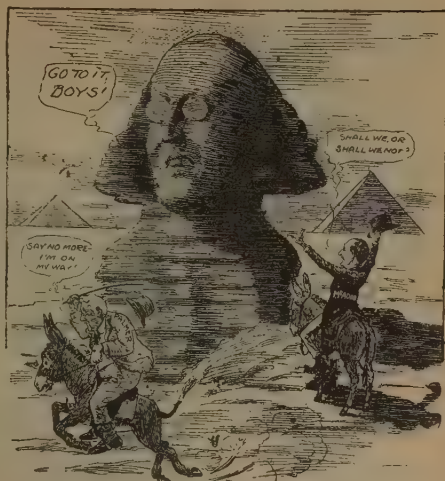
WOOD TO THE REPUBLICAN ELEPHANT: "TENSUN!"
From the *World* (New York)



THE DEMOCRATIC DONKEY AND THE PROHIBITION
GHOST—From the *News* (Chicago, Ill.)



WOOD AND JOHNSON (IN UNISON): "STAY 'WAY
FROM THAT TREE; I SAW IT FIRST!"
From the *Daily News* (Dayton, Ohio)



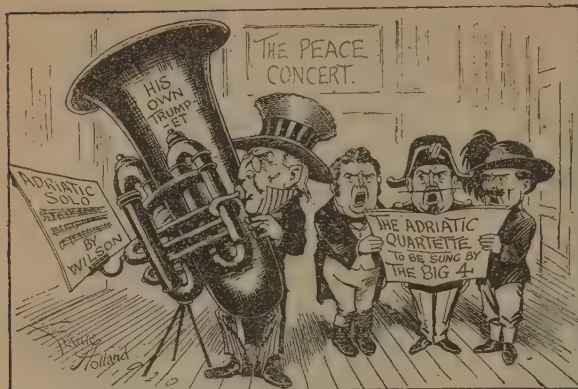
THEY HEAR THE VOICE OF THE SPHINX (WILSON).
(The third-term riddle has been answered, and the race
is on, with Mr. Palmer and Mr. McAdoo first to start)
From the *Sun* (Baltimore, Md.)



JUST WHEN MR. PALMER IS TRYING TO MAKE AN
IMPRESSION—From the *World* (Tulsa, Okla.)



HOOVER AT THE BAT, OR THE MISTAKE OF A NOVICE
From the *News* (Detroit, Mich.)



SPOILING THE "PIECE"

It's very annoying when four men have met,
To give at a concert a vocal quartet,
And one brings a trumpet and steps to the front
And starts "on his own" quite a different stunt.

From Reynolds' Newspaper (London)



"WAIT A MINUTE!"

(The surprising reappearance of
President Wilson)

From the Star (London)



ITALIA: "DEFEND ME FROM MY FRIENDS!"

From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)



AFTER-WAR INJUSTICE

(America, France, and Britain eat much, but Italy fasts)

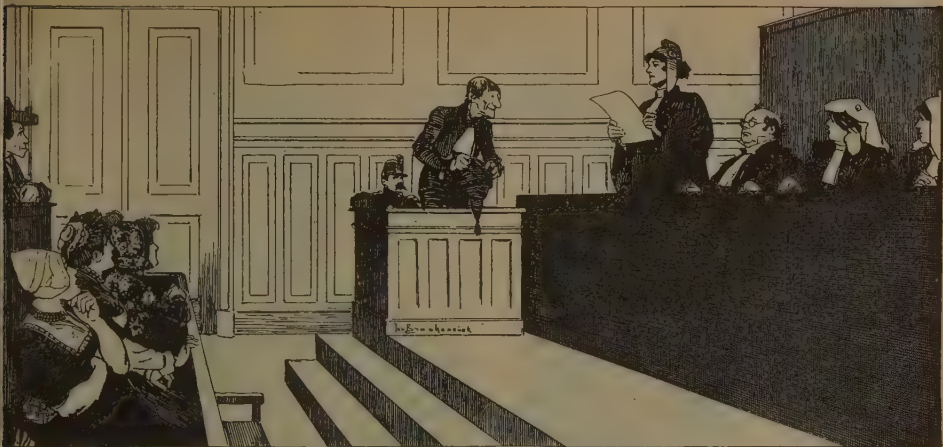
From *L'Asino* (Rome)



WILSPHINX AND CLEMENCEAU

"If you [Clemenceau] came to Egypt that I might reveal the Treaty riddle, you have taken a useless journey."

From *Le Rire* (Paris)



THE DEMAND FOR WAR CRIMINALS

GERMAN MICHEL (to Court): "I thank you for this demand. You have now so clearly overdone things that I am certain of the sympathy of the public in the gallery."—From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



SOMEBODY AT WORK!

From *Meggendorfer Blätter* (Munich, Germany)



"IT'S ALL BUNK, THIS HEADWORK THEY TALK SO MUCH ABOUT. I'D LIKE TO SEE THE MAN WHO COULD DO OUR JOB WITH HIS HEAD!"

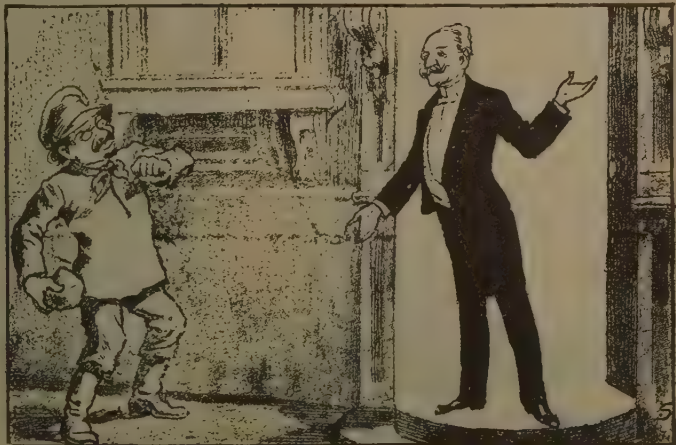
From *Jugend* (Munich, Germany)



THE WAR CRIMINALS

MARIANNE: "Give me that!"

FRITZ: "Would it not be better for you to take it yourself?"—From *Nolenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



ENTENTE NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOVIET RUSSIA

PRESIDENT DESCHANEL (to Trotsky): "Why throw stones through the window? Why not come into the house and talk?"—From *Kikeriki* (Vienna, Austria)



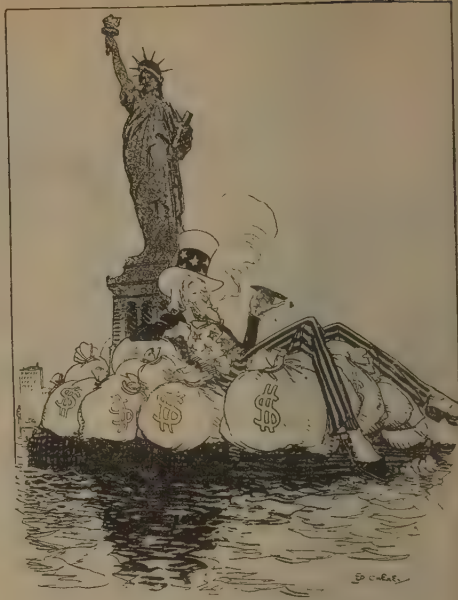
ANOTHER "RESERVATION"

STARVING EUROPE: "God help me!"

AMERICA: "Very sad case. But I'm afraid she ain't trying."

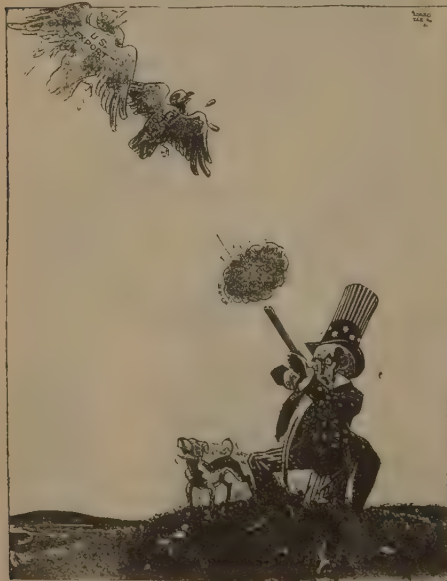
"Relief would be found in the resumption of industrial life and activity and the imposition of adequate taxation. The American people should not be called upon to finance the requirements of Europe in so far as they result from failure to take these necessary steps."—Mr. Carter Glass]

From *Punch* (London)



"SPLENDID ISOLATION!"

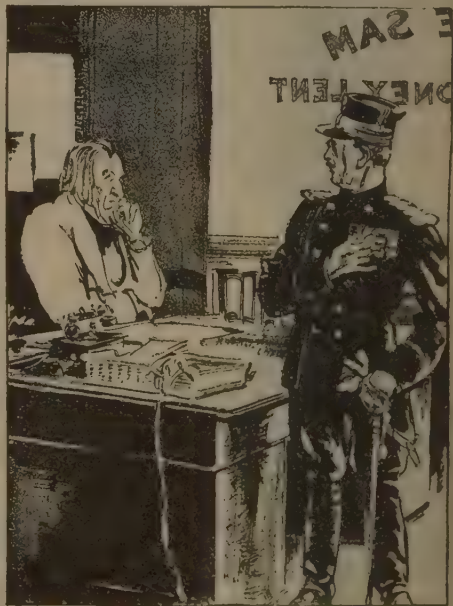
From the *Passing Show* (London)



KILLING TWO BIRDS WITH ONE SHOT

[With the fall in value of the English pound sterling came also a drop in U. S. exports]

From the *World* (London)



INSOLVENT EUROPE

THE KING OF THE BELGIANS (to "Uncle Sam"): "My people cannot live on glory. What will you lend me on my war medals?"

From *Opinion* (London)

PROGRESS OF GENERAL WOOD'S CAMPAIGN

BY HON. NORMAN J. GOULD

(Representative in Congress from the Thirty-sixth New York District; Manager of the Eastern Headquarters, Leonard Wood Campaign Committee)

MAJ.-GEN. LEONARD WOOD is beyond question the outstanding candidate for the nomination at the Republican convention at Chicago on June 8. Without any disparagement of the other candidates, this statement may be made without qualification or reservation. While each of them undoubtedly has some strength in "favorite son area," General Wood is the only one among them who looms clear and strong as a commanding national figure. The reasons for this are not difficult to define, for whereas the three other prominent candidates have had considerable experience in their native States, General Wood has been a man of national and international renown since the days of the Geronimo campaign on the Mexican border, when Wood won the Congressional Medal of Honor.

General Wood's campaign has made such progress during the past several months that his managers have claimed and still continue to claim that when the convention is called to order he will have 300 delegates pledged to him. There will be 984 votes in the convention; 493 being necessary to a choice. If, as his managers confidently expect, General Wood receives 300 votes on the first ballot, he will need to capture but 183 more to obtain the nomination. The history of Republican Conventions shows that after one or two ballots on which delegates cast complimentary votes for favorite sons, they swing over to the leading candidate, and in this case the leader undoubtedly will be General Wood. His nomination on the third ballot would not be surprising. At all events, the delegates pledging themselves to General Wood are committing themselves to "stick to Wood as long as his name remains before the convention."

Managers of political campaigns are just as prolific with claims as they are lacking in specific details in their statements. In the case of General Wood's supporters, how-

ever, details are given. The 300 delegates were allocated by Senator George H. Moses, manager of the campaign in the South, before any primaries had been held. Results of the primaries serve to convince Wood supporters that Senator Moses' claim will be fulfilled.

More than three months before convention day, Senator Moses said: "New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and New England will furnish 100 delegates to Wood; the South Atlantic States will furnish fifty; the interior South and Southwestern States will supply fifty, and the other 100 will come from the Middle West and Northwest."

Reports received from Wood supporters in various parts of the country since Senator Moses made his statement tend to indicate that the claim of 300 delegates on the first ballot was conservative rather than liberal.

This claim, which has never been offset by counter claims, came at a psychological moment, and when it was ostensibly least expected. It was followed by a series of developments which apparently proved as much of a bombshell in the camps of General Wood's rivals. Just before Senator Moses gave out his statement, rival aspirants were quoted as saying the Wood boom had reached its zenith, was on the verge of bursting, and would never live to see the June day sun.

The other developments which came about the same time included the announcement that General Wood would contest with "favorite sons" in the preferential primaries in their respective States, and the decision of Frank H. Hitchcock, former Postmaster General and manager of the Taft and Hughes campaigns, to participate actively in General Wood's campaign. Overtures were made to Mr. Hitchcock to affiliate himself with the management of the campaign of other candidates, but he joined the Wood forces because he believed General Wood

the strongest candidate both from a party and a national standpoint.

Instead of bursting, the Wood "boom" is growing stronger and stronger each day. There is nothing sensational about its progress; it is steady and healthy, not spasmodic and hectic as so many presidential booms have been in the past. It is developing perfectly normally and satisfactorily and will reach its crest when the convention meets.

Origin and Growth of the Leonard Wood League

The Wood campaign managers are able to keep in touch with the progress of the "boom" because of the organization supporting his candidacy. Since considerable has been said about this organization by General Wood's fellow aspirants, it might not be amiss to refer to the way in which it came into being, who started it, why it was started, and how it functions.

As the father of "the Plattsburg idea," General Wood commanded the esteem and respect of a great number of earnest, patriotic, forward-looking men in this country. By his association with them he endeared himself to them and won their love and admiration. The Plattsburg Association, composed of men who had taken the course there under General Wood, began considering him in connection with the presidency about the same time that the Rough Riders, men who served with Wood in Cuba, were discussing it, shortly after Colonel Roosevelt's death.

From this small, informal beginning the "Wood for President" movement spread to the Training Camps' Association. This organization, having a membership of considerable size, really started the ball rolling. Its members, actuated by admiration and love of General Wood, resolved to further the "Wood for President" movement and work to promote a spirit among the people throughout the country which would create a demand for General Wood as chief executive of the nation to lead it through the perilous and trying days that lay ahead of it.

The work of these young men was entirely voluntary. The movement was not political; the workers representing both of the big national parties. The money necessary to meet the modest expenses of the movement at that time was supplied from the pockets of the young men. Those who could not give money volunteered their serv-

ices as clerks, stenographers, mail-handlers, and in other capacities.

In the hands of these sincere admirers of General Wood the movement spread and gained such headway throughout the country that the Leonard Wood League was formed as a national organization.

To-day the Leonard Wood League has active branches in thirty-five States, and numbers its members in tens of thousands. It is composed of men and women in all walks of life, who voluntarily assumed the task of thoroughly crystallizing the Wood sentiment and coordinating the work of the scattered Wood organizations throughout the country. Each man and woman, upon affiliating himself or herself with the League, began writing to friends with a view of enlarging the membership. All the members set about to persuade prospective delegates to the Chicago Convention that General Wood is an administrator of remarkable attainments and achievements and in every way preëminently qualified to serve as President during the trying reconstruction period. His marvelous work as administrator and executive in Cuba and the Philippines was brought to public attention by the League members as well as his understanding of foreign affairs, which enabled him to warn America even before 1914 of her danger.

Realizing that the interest Col. William Procter, of Ohio, had shown in the welfare of the country had made him a notable national figure, officials of the League invited him to affiliate himself with the "Wood for President" movement. His interest was secured and he became associated with the project.

Development of the Campaign Committee

As the movement developed and the underlying basic interest of the people spread to even remote parts of the country, it became necessary to form a campaign committee to direct the definite aim to crystallize the movement so as to bear upon delegates who would select the Republican nominee at Chicago. As a result of the gigantic proportions assumed by the movement caused by the Leonard Wood League, the campaign committee naturally developed, and Colonel Procter, at the earnest request of a multitude of Wood supporters, consented to become national chairman and active director. Colonel Procter immediately left his business and other interests and entered wholeheartedly into the campaign because of his

conviction that General Wood stands pre-eminent among those mentioned in connection with the nomination.

The Leonard Wood League and the Leonard Wood Campaign Committee have sought by fair means—the use of books dealing with Wood's career, pamphlets telling in detail of his achievements as an administrator and man of broad vision, personal letters, magazine, periodical, and newspaper articles—to awaken the people of the nation to the fact that there is an American of his high type available for service in the White House, and that he should be commandeered as our leader.

General Wood's Personal Appeal

Because of the fact that he pays strict attention to his army duties as Commander of the Central Department, General Wood, perhaps, has not been as personally active in advocacy of his candidacy as some of his rivals. However, he has visited a number of States and found time to make some of the addresses for which his admirers clamored. In every place he has spoken he has created the most favorable impression. In fact, as General Wood put it, "I have been not only most highly gratified, but surprised."

On the platform and off it he appears as a man who is proud of the country in which he was born and keenly zealous of its welfare and its citizens. He is a forceful and vigorous speaker—there is considerable of the old Roosevelt fighting spirit in his trenchant utterances and deliberate delivery—and makes an impressive figure before an audience. In no city where he has spoken has the local committee on arrangements been able to obtain a hall which would accommodate all who wished to hear him. In Detroit, Michigan, a short time ago more than 2000 men and women were unable to get into the auditorium where he spoke.

When he visited Buffalo recently one of his supporters informed him that he was being referred to by the managers of rival candidates as "the man in uniform."

Upon hearing this General Wood replied: "I have no apologies for the American uniform. If I had it would be an insult to the memory of every American soldier who died in France or in our previous wars."

General Wood appeals to the crowds as a man modest and extremely democratic. He numbers among his friends workingmen and women, as well as men of high rank in the



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GEN. LEONARD WOOD

(From a snapshot recently taken in New York)

professions, business and banking. He is able and willing to meet any citizen of the United States and lend an eager ear and quick sympathy to any suggestion, even from the most humble, that gives promise of improving conditions in this country and making it a happier and a better place in which to live. Any American in whose heart burns the fire of patriotism and love of country will find Leonard Wood meeting him more than half way in a common bond of sympathy and understanding.

Notwithstanding his high rank and distinguished career, General Wood is most approachable and genial. He possesses that rare quality among great men—to make others at home and at ease. An interesting incident illustrative of this trait in his character was witnessed at New Haven, Conn., recently when General Wood arrived there after being on a train twenty-four hours and was in quest of breakfast. Entering the railroad station restaurant General Wood saw all the seats occupied. Three ex-service men, in uniform, immediately arose and offered him their seats. General Wood accepted one of them. One discharged soldier gave him half a grapefruit, another his order of ham and eggs, and the third found a pot of hot tea for him. General Wood immediately

got on easy terms with the ex-service men and their chat was mutually interesting. It was the first time the enlisted men had ever eaten a meal with a Major General, but there was nothing in General Wood's manner to impress them with the presumable gap between them.

General Wood's human sympathies are such as to have impressed themselves not only upon his fellow Americans but upon the natives of Cuba and the Philippines as well. Many Cubans have written letters to their friends in the United States expressing the hope that General Wood will be nominated and elected so that Americans may have the benefit of his large-hearted, generous nature and mind which were devoted to the interest of Cuba, where for several years, in a civilian capacity and without the use of any military force whatsoever, he led and directed the rebuilders of the island's destinies.

How He Meets the Day's Issues

General Wood's friends and admirers have devoted most of their time to bringing his personality and past achievements to public attention. Quite naturally there is a demand to know what General Wood stands for and a desire to know what governmental policies he thinks the American people ought to adopt as the chief points in the nation's program for the next four years. General Wood, from the first of his speeches, has made his position with regard to practically every issue unmistakably plain and has advanced some new policies which he believes the nation should adopt. One well-known writer who has interviewed all the prospective candidates for president on both tickets recently said, "General Wood is the only one of the whole lot who stepped forward and met the issues fairly and squarely. The others evaded, side-stepped or talked all around the big problems of the day."

General Wood's platform is best expressed in his own words, recently spoken:

We must stand for one language, one flag and one loyalty, an undivided loyalty to the United States of America. We must stand for law and order, for the rights of the property of the rich as well as the poor; for an unintimidated judiciary uninfluenced by political influence. We must oppose all class legislation, stand against any autocracy of wealth or autocracy of labor. We must strive to give both labor and capital an absolutely square deal. If each will be honest with the other, relatively few labor difficulties will arise. We want to establish conditions under which every thrifty, industrious man and woman can earn a comfortable living; be able

to put something aside for a stormy day; be able to marry, to have a family, and to give their children a reasonable opportunity. These conditions should be attainable by all who are willing to strive.

On the problems of reconstruction, General Wood says:

We are through with the war, so far as actual fighting is concerned, but we have many problems before us—problems of readjustment. Their solution will not present any serious difficulty, if we take them up in the same spirit of coöperation with which we took hold of the war.

General Wood believes in development of merchant marine for handling American commerce and as a reserve navy.

"Under no circumstances," says General Wood, "should we allow the enormous fleet of ships we build during the war to be sold to foreign countries. We must keep it under our own flag. It is most important that we build up a vigorous merchant marine. It is most essential for the distribution of our commerce and the development of our foreign trade. We also need it as a reserve navy."

Referring to business, General Wood has repeatedly said in his speeches:

We want to do everything possible to push forward American business. We must not be afraid of encouraging good business, no matter how big it is. In recent years the opinion has grown up in this country among certain classes of people that big business is bad business and should be suppressed. As a matter of fact, no matter how big a business is, if it is good business, if it is beneficial to the people it should be encouraged. On the other hand, no business is too small to be controlled and regulated if it is bad business. It is not the size of the business which is to be considered. It is the character of it.

We shall be greatly assisted in building up business if we can spread the war burden over a longer period of years. The war was fought not for ourselves alone, but for posterity and it seems hardly just that the burden of the war should be borne exclusively by the present generation, especially the excess profits tax, which has a strangle hold on business. It tends to paralyze initiative; to restrict expansion, which assets are big assets. We do not want anything which will hamper business. We must take the shackles off of business.

With regard to America's foreign policy, General Wood has committed himself in the following words:

We want a strong, self-respecting foreign policy, tolerant, seeking peace, but staunch in the protection of our rights and interests. We do not wish to be trouble makers, but must establish a policy which will insure our standing among nations. A firm and dignified policy in this respect will prevent any actions which may lead to serious difficulties.

General Wood approves of the adoption of the peace treaty with the League of Nations "Americanized with reservations which will leave America free to follow out her traditional policies to control without interference her own internal affairs; in other words, free to follow the dictates of American public opinion as expressed through the instrumentalities provided by the Constitution."

He is an ardent advocate of better pay for school teachers; closer governmental co-operation with farmers for the purpose of reducing the high cost of living; closest scrutiny of immigration; rigid government economy; adoption of a budget system for the nation; universal training for clean citizenship, creation of a Department of Health, the head of which would be a member of the cabinet, and selection of diplomatic and consular officials with the greatest care.

General Wood's attitude with regard to capital and labor appeals equally strongly to both sides. He says:

Labor and capital in this country must work together in order to meet the problems which are going to follow this world war. We do not wish an autocracy of either capital or labor, but a real democracy in both, characterized by a spirit of coöperation and helpfulness. We must inject more of the human element into our relations with those about us, whether they be our associates or our subordinates—more gathering about the table and discussing matters fully and frankly. We must recognize that the working man is neither a machine nor a commodity, but that he is a collaborator with capital.

Individual capacity and ambition must receive encouragement and recognition. The employer must recognize the dignity and status of the worker and give him every consideration due. The closest possible contact and the fullest understanding should be maintained between employer and employee. Arrangements for the adjustment of grievances must be provided which will work smoothly and promptly.

Labor must recognize that high wages can only be maintained under conditions of high production and high efficiency. Capital must be paid in accordance with the risk of the enterprise. Those who direct must be paid adequately; labor must be paid adequately, and after this, if anything remains, comes the question of equitable distribution.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER ON THE ISSUES OF THE HOUR

REFERRING to Nicholas Murray Butler, in an editorial commenting on an address delivered by him last January before the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, the *New York Times* said: "There is nothing in him of the 'pussyfoot' politician or the 'gumshoe' statesman. No other candidate has developed so full a measure of understanding as to our present problems or of vision toward the future." This opinion of New York's candidate for the Republican nomination for President of the United States appears to have been fully substantiated by his public acts and utterances.

With a clearness of vision, keenness of thought, and with a splendid courage of conviction Mr. Butler has always frankly and publicly discussed problems of national and international importance. He has in no slightest way deviated from this course since his name was proposed for the Republican Presidential nomination. His recent utterances, according to the general judgment of the press, have been in harmony with the most liberal and progressive spirit

of the hour. When he has criticised national or international policies, it has always been constructively because he is essentially a builder and not a destroyer.

During the years that the late Colonel Theodore Roosevelt was Governor of New York and President of the United States, Mr. Butler was his chosen adviser, and former President William Howard Taft, writing in the *Philadelphia Evening Ledger* last December, expressed this conclusion: "Nicholas Murray Butler has been the wheel-horse of the Republican party." Leaders of the Republican party concur in Mr. Taft's opinion, for they say that Butler's thought has been the warp and the woof of every Republican national platform for the past twenty years.

As a candidate for President, Mr. Butler's views and his stand on the big issues of the day become of even more vital interest. For more than a year he has discussed the Treaty of Peace and the League of Nations Covenant, speaking in Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Paterson, and other cities. He wrote the following

condensation of these addresses into the 1920 New York State Republican platform:

We favor the immediate ratification of the pending treaty of peace, with such distinct reservations and declarations as shall make it clear to all the world that the United States retains its unconditional right to withdraw from the League of Nations on proper notice; that the United States assumes no obligation, either legal or moral, to send American soldiers or sailors for services abroad, unless the Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional power, shall so authorize and direct; that the Monroe Doctrine is protected both in letter and in spirit; that no foreign power or council of foreign powers shall have any control whatsoever over the domestic policies of the United States, and that the Government and the people of the United States shall not be drawn, by the operation of Part XIII of the treaty, the so-called labor clauses, into the net spread by international Socialism.

Article X of the covenant for a League of Nations, in its original form, cannot and should not be ratified by the Senate or accepted by the People of the United States. To do so would not only contract away control by the American people of their own policies and acts, but would certainly embroil the country in an endless succession of wars, great and small.

We believe that the proposed covenant for a League of Nations is gravely defective in that it attempts to substitute discussion, instead of the rules of law, for force in the settlement of international differences. We declare it to be the policy of the Republican party, when the treaty of peace is ratified, promptly to take steps for the institution of an international high court of justice to hear and decide, in accordance with the principles of law and equity, disputes that are justifiable in character arising between nations, and for an international conference, meeting at stated intervals, to declare and to revise the rules of international law and conduct.

The Prohibition Amendment

On the Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment he wrote in reply to a letter from William H. Anderson, superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of New York:

I have long believed the saloon to be a public nuisance that should be abated. I have not supported prohibition for the reason that I did not believe it either a just or proper way to deal with the problem. Contrary views have prevailed, and the Eighteenth Amendment has been proclaimed to be a part of the fundamental law of the land. As such it has the same claim to the respect and obedience of the people as other provisions of the Constitution of the United States. Prohibition may still be debated in the Congress or argued in the courts, but for the executive department of the national government it is a closed issue. Ours is a government of laws, not of men.

For a National Budget System

He is a pioneer advocate of a national budget system. Before the United States

Senate Committee, on January 12 last, he said:

The President should be required by law to take the responsibility for recommending to the Congress just how the income of the next fiscal year is to be raised, just how the expenditures of that year are to be made, and what provision is to be made for the estimated deficiency in income, if any.

There has been some argument of the point that the preparation of the budget should be a matter apart from politics. This could never happen in a democratic form of government. A budget is nothing but politics; it is all politics. It is indeed the issues of the last preceding campaign reduced to practice. If the people desire to establish a certain system of taxation, and so vote, the next budget will reflect that decision. If they deliberately choose a policy requiring certain large expenditures, the next budget should reflect that fact. The budget would very quickly come to be looked upon by the people as the method in and through which they could get their wishes carried out and hold responsible for any failure to carry them out either the President or the Congress, or both, as the case might be.

Legislation for an adequate budget system will, I think, contain three distinct sets of provisions—first, those relating to the preparation and submission of the budget itself; second, those requiring the presence of the heads of executive departments on the floor of Congress at stated times to answer questions and give explanations relative to budget items falling within the scope of their several departments, and, third, provision for an independent audit of all Government expenditures, not only as to the correctness of their form, but as to their economic value, by a public auditor directly responsible to the legislative department of the Government.

Labor and Capital

Before the Union League Club, of Philadelphia, on November 22, 1919, he outlined his policy on industrial relations in these words:

We cannot indefinitely continue, without disaster, the present state of industrial turmoil, which is due to attempts to improve industrial and economic conditions by the use of methods of force. Industrial war must, in the public interest, go the way of international war, and by similar processes. It is futile to attempt to set up any agency for the promotion of industrial peace in which what is called Capital, what is called Labor, and what is called the Public are equally represented and meet upon equal terms. Such a course simply gives new strength to the movement for a class struggle and the promotion of class consciousness. What we call Capital is nothing more or less than a group of men and women who hold savings, all of whom are a part of the Public. What we call Labor is nothing more or less than a group of men and women who work for wages, all of whom are also a part of the Public. Capital and Labor may face each other on equal terms, but they cannot be permitted to face the Public on equal

terms. The Public is always and everywhere their superior and includes them both.

Perhaps a practicable method of advancing industrial peace would be to establish, by authority of Congress, an Industrial Relations Commission before which any industrial difference or dispute might be brought at the instance of any party thereto or at that of the Attorney General of the United States. This Commission, to be made up of judicially-minded persons sworn to serve only the public interest, would then examine into the merits of such difference or disputes as might be brought before it, take testimony, hear arguments, and reach a finding with recommendations for action. Public opinion may be trusted to bring about compliance with the findings and recommendations of such a commission if properly constituted.

High Cost of Government

In New Britain, Conn., on February 25 last, he charged the high cost of government with being one of the fundamental causes of the high cost of living when he said:

The heavy taxation that has already been discussed, especially its more unwise forms, such as the excess profits taxes, tends to increase the cost of living. We cannot do much to reduce the high cost of living until we reduce the high cost of government. When we bring down the high cost of government the high cost of living will fall automatically. There will be a deflation of credit, a reduction in the public debt and a reasonable economy in governmental expenditures. Then, and only then, will the high cost of living, which every man, woman and child in the land feels, begin to decline.

Speaking to the National Association of Engine and Boat Manufacturers, in New York, on February 26, he made this reference to a merchant marine:

It should be a part of our policy to see that the American flag does not again leave the high seas. This can only be accomplished by private enterprise under modern and just laws.

His policy of "Education as a national defense against the menace of Bolshevism and all other 'isms'" is briefly defined in a paragraph from his address in Minneapolis September 15, 1919:

You can meet a wrong, a false, a destructive idea, only by conquering it with the truth, with a right, a constructive idea, and the task of to-day and to-morrow is for every American, every lover of America, every one with a faith in America at heart, to preach, to teach, to act America, until from one end of this land to the other, among our whole hundred millions, there is none so blind and none so deaf as not to see that his personal interest and his group interest depends upon America.

Those who are the enemies of America have not counted the cost of their activity. They are chiefly hidden away in dark places, speaking

strange tongues and preaching doctrines that were exploded when Greece was young. *They cannot stand the light, these enemies of ours.* They cannot stand the reading in their presence of the language of the preamble of our Constitution.

His views as to the proper relationship between the Federal Government and business enterprise were stated in Philadelphia on January 28:

It is little short of pathetic, after some of the best brains in the nation have organized and set on foot a great industrial undertaking which engages the cooperation of thousands of men and women, reduces the cost of production of some staple article, and begins to extend American trade into new lands, to find them summarily brought to book as criminals by the Attorney General of the United States or by the United States District Attorney in some judicial district. No matter what the facts may be, this is precisely *not* the way to deal with the questions involved. The individuals concerned, in most cases at least, have certainly not been consciously attempting a criminal act, but have proceeded along lines which in their judgment were financially and industrially sound, and in full accord with the public interest. To prosecute them as criminals, and to break up into separate parts a well-knit organization which they may have developed, is not in any sense in the public interest—it is against the public interest.

The course of wisdom and of progress would be for the Federal Trade Commission, representing the public intelligence and the public conscience, to hear the plans of those who propose to develop an undertaking of this sort; to point out in advance what would be considered unfair business practices and what would not; to indicate the line where monopoly would be held to begin, and which therefore must not be crossed; and then to send the new undertaking on its way with the full knowledge and cooperation of the Federal Trade Commission, with which, thereafter the undertaking should stand in the closest possible relations. Its financial operations and its industrial policies should be reported to the Federal Trade Commission, and clearly understood by that body. In this way the public would have a proper agency to protect its interests, while the peoples' business could go forward securely and prosperously, the uncertainty as to what might and what might not be done having been removed. For Americans this would be no novel experiment. It would simply repeat in the field of industry the precise policy which the government has followed with extraordinary success in the case of the National Banks, ever since the establishment of the National Banking System in 1863.

Immigration—Americanization

He summed up his numerous statements on "Immigration" in the following plank in his New York State platform:

The recent administration of laws relating to immigration has been shocking in the extreme.

More important than new legislation is correct enforcement of the law that now exists by able, industrious, conscientious officials, who fully understand its significance and purpose. The administrative staff should be adequate and thoroughly competent. Congress should at once make available for the use of immigration authorities the evidence in relation to criminals to be found in the police and court records of the localities from which they come. The general physical requirements for males coming to America to perform manual labor should be raised and made more definite. All aliens should hereafter be required to register once a year at designated offices, while they remain in the country without becoming citizens.

The question of immigration is largely a question of good administration that will lead to the exclusion of undesirable persons and promote the proper distribution and quick assimilation of those able-bodied and clean-minded men and women who come to America to seek new opportunity for usefulness, with a determination to be loyal to the Government and institutions of the United States.

Analyzing the labor problem before the Institute of Arts and Sciences in New York, October 13, 1919, he said in part:

If the wage earner can be led to understand that his wages are paid out of product and not out of capital or out of profits, he will speedily assist in increasing production, because he will understand that only in that way is it possible to provide for any permanent increase in wages. Again, just so soon as the wage-earner is led to see the truth of the fact that he and the man who works with his savings, the so-called capitalist, are alike interested in greater production, he will begin to comprehend what coöperation in industrial production really means. *Persons otherwise intelligent go about the country telling us that it is mere hypocrisy to say that the interests of employer and employed are the same. On the contrary, it is mere ignorance to say they are not the same.*

When this point has been made clear and industry is viewed as a coöperative enterprise in production, then it follows that those who work with their hands, like those who work with their brains and those who work with their savings, are entitled to take part in the organization and direction of the industry and to have a voice in determining the conditions under which their coöperation shall be given and continued. No matter how many or how few persons may have contributed of their savings to the organization and carrying on of a given industry, that indus-

try does not, therefore, belong in the broad sense of the word to them alone: *it belongs also to those human beings who coöperate with them by aiding in the production of goods either by the work of their hands or by the work of their brains.* This principle can readily be applied without interfering with the effectiveness of skilled and responsible management.

Mr. Butler has persistently and eloquently urged sound and practical Americanization methods and policies for many years. In 1914, in an address in Chicago, he said: "To protect the national unity and security, no American community should be permitted to substitute any other language for English as the basis or instrument for common-school education." Again, in Cincinnati, on April 19, 1919, he said: "The cornerstone of American government and of American life—the cornerstone of Americanism—is the civil liberty of the individual citizen. The essentials of that civil liberty are proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence and defined in the Constitution of the United States. The Declaration of Independence rings as true to-day as it did in 1776. The Constitution remains the surest and safest foundation for a free government that the wit of man has yet devised.

"Faithful adherence to these strong and enduring foundations, and a high purpose to apply the fundamental principles of American life with sympathy and open-mindedness to each new problem that presents itself will give us a people increasingly prosperous, increasingly happy, and increasingly secure.

"America will be saved, through education and reason, by those who look with respect and reverence upon the great series of happenings extending from the voyage of the *Mayflower* to the achievements of the American armies on the soil of France, and upon that long succession of statesmen, orators, men of letters, and men of affairs who have themselves been both the product and the highest promise of American life and American opportunity."

THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE GENERAL SITUATION

IN the two months which have passed since I last discussed international conditions in this magazine there have been striking developments in all directions. Three great problems have been pressed to the attention of the world, those of Russia, Turkey, and the Adriatic; but all three are only circumstances in the single major difficulty, in the struggle for peace, which, nearly eighteen months after the end of the fighting, is still unachieved, is still seemingly remote. Nor do the three questions mentioned cover the whole ground, for a fourth, the problem of Germany, is more and more coming to the front as arguments are presented in support of a revision of the Treaty of Versailles, a revision "downward" in German favor.

Now it is essential to recognize, at the outset, that most of all the trouble arises, not as a result of incapacity disclosed by the peacemakers, but as a consequence of the dislocation of war. More than four years of destruction have resulted in an economic dislocation, which, together with the political upheavals, naturally defies any easy and quick solution. The best peace document in the world could not in the smallest degree restore the destroyed property or raise the dead. A generation will pass before these consequences, the effects of the war, can be even measurably liquidated.

There is a widespread notion, sedulously propagated in certain quarters, that the ratification of the treaties by the United States Senate and the modification of the terms affecting Germany would change the existing situation promptly, but this is a mere delusion as ridiculous as the idea now disseminated by certain British economists that, had the peace negotiations been differently conducted, the economic consequences of the war might have been avoided. The truth is that the chaos, the economic anarchy, the general *malaise* that extends throughout the world are but the logical and inevitable consequences of the conflict, which cannot be abolished by any document.

Having said this, it remains to point out that the present situation results from the complete lack of central authority anywhere in the world. The Paris Conference undertook to act, clothed with the authority residing in the force of victorious armies. It issued certain orders, and it agreed upon certain policies. But when the agreements had been reached and the orders issued, there was no power to translate these decisions into actions. Thus, save in the case of Germany, which was directly under the control of the Allied armies, submission or rejection of the Paris orders was optional with those who received the orders.

This was inevitable unless the victorious nations, Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, were prepared to furnish troops to carry out the will of the Peace Conference. No decision in the matter of Russia, for example, was worth consideration, unless it were backed by the military force which could compel Russia to accept and obey the Paris Conference. When the Paris conferees discovered that their writ did not run beyond their artillery, they had either to advance their guns or abandon their effort to impose their decisions.

Instead, however, they continued to issue orders and to make resolutions. They hesitated between three courses, two of which were actually futile, that is, between the reduction of Russia by arms, the ignoring of Russian affairs altogether, and the attempt to compose their grievances with Russia as best they could. In the beginning they used the military forces of Kolchak, Denikine, and Yudenitch as their agents, supplying these with arms, but failing to contribute the military units, without which these Russian leaders were bound to fail. Next they turned their backs on Russia. Now they are seeking to make peace with Russia, no longer having any adequate weapon against a Bolshevik leadership, which has conquered domestic enemies.

The Turkish problem reveals the same story: absence of power, multiplicity of efforts, and, as in the Russian case, confusion of national interests. For, in Turkey,

British, French, and Italian interests clash, rather than coincide; and the same is equally true in the case of Germany and of Russia. Indeed, Italian policy is now manifestly working against the French to bring about a restoration of Germany as a menace to France, while the British seek the restoration of the German state, not as a political menace to the French, but as a new commercial field for themselves.

Actually, then, America has quit Europe, leaving Britain, France, and Italy as the executors of the Paris Conference decisions and the liquidators of the unfinished accounts; and these three nations have already fallen into very sharp differences which tend to become more acute all the time. Moreover, as the recent Fiume dispute indicated, in order to preserve a degree of unity between these three nations, compromises have to be patched up, which are, to say the least, obnoxious to President Wilson and his views of settlement.

II. CATSPA W PERILS

I am going to discuss these several problems in detail; but before I do this I desire to warn my readers against the present danger, menacing all Americans, of becoming the victims of the propaganda of the several Allied and enemy nations alike, in the present crisis. The essential truth is that the British, French, Italian, and, for that matter, German governments pursue certain legitimate but not less personal ends, for which they are each seeking to acquire moral and sentimental justifications.

The British are endeavoring, first of all, to persuade Americans to remain in European affairs, because they are satisfied that American support will be assured for their views, which are expressed in a determination to reduce the economic charges of Germany. Such reduction will immensely benefit their own trade, although patently imperilling France, and in the similar wish to restrict the new Poland as much as possible is a detail in the regeneration of Germany and in the placating of Russia. As to the Adriatic fuss, the British are ready to support Wilson against Nitti, if America will consent to take a real interest in Europe, but unwilling to break with Nitti until our decision is made. Pending this, the British are quite cleverly using Italian assistance against the French, while planning to use our aid against both the French and the

Italians, if we consent to remain in Europe.

Above all else it is necessary to recognize that the British policy is based purely and simply upon commercial conceptions. The British have won, in the war and in the peace, all that they could hope to win—the destruction of a rival fleet, the elimination of an economic rival, the freedom and security which are essential to British prosperity. For them this war has ended as did the Napoleonic and Louis XIV wars. Now it is necessary to get back to business as soon as possible.

Neither the French nor the Italians are in such happy situation. For both of them the war imposed a far greater proportionate cost, and the peace provided far less complete recompense. The elimination of the German fleet and the occupation of the German colonies gave Britain security, but France cannot have the same security if Germany holds the Rhine barrier and the new Polish state remains too weak, in combination with France, to balance German military might. Italy looks with apprehension at the rise of a new Slavonic state, which may have a future menace for her in the Adriatic far in excess of that which the crumbling Hapsburg monarchy had in the last century.

But French and Italian policies do not coincide, because France desires to have all the new Slav states strengthened and sees in Poland, Jugo-Slavia, and Czechoslovakia future allies against German militarism. Conscious of the possibility that a restored Germany may again attack, France opposed German restoration at French expense and favors the extension of the Slav states.

Italy, on the contrary, is fully prepared to see Germany restored, no matter what the menace to France, provided only that Jugo-Slavia is weakened; for Jugo-Slavia is not only a possible rival on the Adriatic, but, with Greece, a positive barrier to Italian mastery of the Balkans and the Near East. Thus, while France is seeking to strengthen three Slav states, which would be her allies inevitably, Italy is striving to build up an alliance with the Hungarians, the Rumanians, and the Bulgarians, who are hostile to the three Slav states. She is, too, holding out a hand to Berlin, at the same time, for such an association as she seeks would fall in with German purposes in the future.

On the whole, the British are playing the Italian game against the French because their own commercial interests will most prosper by the restoration of Germany.

They are striking against Poland, they are continuing to urge the reduction of German indemnities, to support Russia against Poland, Italy against Jugo-Slavia, to argue in favor of the union of German Austria with Germany, thus increasing, by eight or ten millions, the number of Germans and re-establishing Germany hegemony on the continent, with purely commercial ends in mind.

All of which is another way of saying that the British are perfectly willing that Germany should be the dominant land power in Europe again, provided that she abandons naval aspirations, and her present financial condition imposes such a limitation. The Italians are equally willing, since Germany will naturally have the same anti-Slav purposes as the Italians, while the French, abandoned by both their recent allies, are striving a little hopelessly to safeguard the victory for which they have paid so much and the fruits of which are being enjoyed by the British and the Italians, rather than by themselves.

Now, examining these circumstances, it is obviously essential that Americans should not be deluded into imagining that the battle in Europe at the present hour is between liberalism and imperialism, between British moderation and continental chauvinism. The battle is between two totally legitimate national conceptions, between two utterly different self-interests, those of the French and the British. Moreover, the British argument is admirably set forth in the book of Maynard Keynes, the British economist, who proposes a general surrender by all the enemies of Germany, the British alone excepted, of much of their profit, and adds the delicious detail that the United States shall consent to cancel the \$10,000,000,000 of loans, made by it to Allied countries, who will then cancel their loans to each other, reduce the German indemnity correspondingly, and—solicit new American loans.

Keynes is only one of a score of Englishmen who are eagerly seeking some way of getting some other country to meet the costs of the war and at the same time to get Germany on her feet, thus opening a way for British commerce, since in the next decades Germany would be bound to prove the best British customer. Americans should perceive this and refuse to be snared by any European plea of idealism which aims at achieving practical results at their own or somebody else's expense. Europe is getting back to normal, politically if not economically.

The clash of policies is not of direct concern to us. Above all, it is not for our interests to play the game of one European nation against another. Granted that it is of immense profit to the British to keep Poland weak and thus promote British trade in Germany and in Russia; we, who have a Polish sympathy more than a century old, have no such interest.

During the war, and particularly after we became a belligerent, our purposes and those of our European allies were identical. But this is no longer true. Each of our former associates has its own national interests to serve, and for us there is not only a duty but a necessity to avoid being made a catspaw in the conflict between these purposes. Nations will continue to camouflage self-interest with quotations from the Fourteen Points, but it is our need to examine each proposal with utmost care, no matter what its source.

III. THE RUSSIAN SITUATION

Now, bearing in mind the circumstances which I have emphasized, what is the Russian situation? Obviously all nations, European and American, would be benefited by peace with and in Russia. To restore some sort of order in that chaos, which for three years has been a world menace, would be worth any reasonable price. Moreover, it is no longer possible to think of restoring Russian order by external interference, either by a war of conquest, which was never attempted and only briefly contemplated, or by employing Russian leaders as our indirect agents.

Lenine and Trotzky, with their associates, are now masters of Russia. The forces of opposition have been practically smashed and the soldiers who led the armies of the Czar and those of the anti-Bolsheviks are in increasing numbers submitting to the Bolshevik rule. In a word, exactly as in the French case, the Russian revolution has become national and the fusion of the nation with the revolutionaries is becoming more and more complete.

So far it is plain we are on safe ground, but only negative conclusions can be based on these assertions. We cannot conquer Russia, we cannot overthrow the present Russian régime, by indirect methods. We must therefore choose between making peace and making war, for it is idle to suppose that there can be any twilight zone, any

state which is neither war nor peace, when more than 150,000,000 of human beings are concerned and some of the richest and most fertile regions on this planet are in the case.

But making peace is not the simplest thing in the world. To begin with, on what terms is peace possible? We have agreed at Paris to the liberation of Russian border tribes, for example, to the freedom of Finland and Poland. We have at least considered and played with the idea of the freedom of the Baltic provinces; and we have recently assigned Bessarabia to Rumania. Suppose Russia declines to accept all these transfers of Russian territory, what then? We cannot officially surrender the Poles and the Finns to their Russian masters. We cannot openly agree to abandon the Poles, the Finns, the Lithuanians, and the Letts, to say nothing of the Rumanians, to a new form of Russian tyranny.

But as the Russian Bolsheviks become more and more national in the policies advocated, there is a growing reassertion of the old Russian ideas. Even Constantinople is now claimed by the Soviet successors of the Czars. Moreover, eastern Siberia is in Japanese hands; and Japan sees with apprehension the rise of a new Russian régime, which in the future may reopen the question of Slavdom on the Pacific.

Agreed that we all want peace with Russia, what are we willing to pay for it, for we must accept Russian terms? We have, in fact, made war upon Trotzky and Lenine covertly, even if it were not open war, and they have won the contest. Here once more there is a plain divergence of Allied policy. The British are ready to consent that the Russians reoccupy all of their old Polish conquests save the very narrow strip of territory in which the Poles are the chief ethnic element. This would mean that Poland would be practically indefensible against subsequent Russian attack. But the British argue that unless she regains all, save the ethnic areas, Russia will be bound to attack Poland and join with the Germans in a new partition. The weakness of this British contention lies in the fact that there is no promise that, even with the return of all but the ethnic area, Russia will abandon Polish designs.

The French support the Polish claims to a frontier which would be defensible, an eastern boundary at the Pripet Marshes with the right to garrison for a period of years the west bank of the Dnieper, which corre-

sponds for Poland to the Rhine barrier for France. The French are less eager to make peace with Russia than to establish a really strong Poland, which shall replace Russia in the scheme of European relations in the future and menace Germany on the east, just as Russia did in 1914, if Germany makes a new attack in the west. Moreover, the French are quite unwilling to make any arrangement with the Russians, unless the Russians agree to repay the billions borrowed from France before the war.

Now it would be a mistake to see either in French or British policy any concern for principles which conflicted with their own national aspirations. There is security for France in a strong Poland and nowhere else. There is profit for the British in trade with Germany and Russia, which will be promoted, according to British notions, if Poland is kept weak, that is, if Polish aspirations are sacrificed to German and Russian. But the conflict between the two policies leads to chaos and the prolongation of economic paralysis.

As for the Italians, they are supporting the British attitude in the matter of Russia, because the French refused to support their ambitions in the Adriatic and instead backed the Jugo-Slavs, accepting President Wilson's views in this case, but solely because a strong Jugo-Slavia was only less important than a strong Poland. Beyond this, Italy has every reason to desire to promote a cleavage between the Slavs themselves, because if Pan-Slavism ever revived, then obviously Italy would be menaced by a possible confederation of all the Slavs from the Urals to the Adriatic.

IV. THE SINGLE PROBLEM

I am going to touch on the Adriatic problem presently, but it is essential to recognize that there is really only one problem, which is revealing itself in Russian, Adriatic, and Turkish phases, to say nothing of the German development. Peace with Russia depends entirely upon the temper of the Bolshevik control. This control has a strong army, which is reported to be mobilizing on the Polish front, and the army has become in a measure national. The British and the Italians are striving to compel the Poles to give in and take boundaries which will be indefensible, in the hope of placating the Russians. American policy seems to be tending in the same direction. But the

French continue to back the Poles and the Poles are not likely to retire to their own ethnic frontiers, followed by Russian armies, unless they can acquire some real guarantee that the Russians will not begin on the Bug the attack they are now planning on the Beresina.

The Germans, on their part, are striving to prevent any Russo-Polish settlement, because they plan to reconquer from the Poles the provinces of Posen and West Prussia, assigned by the Paris Conference to Poland, as well as Upper Silesia, if the plebiscite in that region favors the Poles. This German purpose is, moreover, strengthened by British attempts to compel the Poles to abandon Upper Silesia, even if the people vote to become Poles, as a detail in the British plan to rehabilitate Germany. The explanation here is the existence of a coal basin in Upper Silesia, which the British think—that is, Britons of the Keynes camp think—would be more useful to world economic prosperity in German than Polish hands.

Germany and Russia will naturally agree in their future Polish policy, for both would like to reclaim Polish lands, lands ethnically Polish, which the present settlement has assigned to the new Polish state. France would like to protect Poland against inevitable attack. Britain would risk Poland in the hope of placating both Russia and Germany, and Italy is ready to contribute her moral aid to any project to weaken the smaller Slav nationalities, of which Jugoslavia is the most obnoxious to her.

But it is worth recalling that there are 25,000,000 Poles, that they are entitled to liberty, that the old partitions created an unstable situation in Europe, and that America has very little real justification in permitting itself to become a partner in a policy to sacrifice the Poles to German and Russian policies, even if the sacrifice were as profitable to her as it would obviously be to the British or as useful as it would be to Italian purposes.

If Poland is to be compelled to retire from those natural barriers at which, alone, she can defend herself against future Russian attack, then it is the duty of those nations which are seeking to compel her to make this withdrawal to guarantee her against attack. But no one believes that the British, the Italians, or the Americans would send armies to the Vistula and the Bug to defend Poland; and without these armies Poland would fall. As for the French, they cannot

spare the men from their German guard-houses along the Rhine.

The odd thing about the present British policy is that it repeats exactly Sir Edward Grey's fatal policy in the Balkans in 1915, when Bulgaria was arming and the Serbs, well informed as to the purpose of the mobilization, asked permission to attack the Bulgars at once. The British forbade this attack. The Bulgars completed their mobilization, attacked Serbia in the rear and brought about the ruin of the country and three years of hostile occupation. This blunder was expensive for the British and the French, since it compelled the Salonica expedition; but it was most expensive for the Serbians, who will not recover for a generation from the consequences of enforced obedience to British orders in the critical moments of 1915.

However, in the case of Russia, it is primarily essential for Americans to perceive that the problem is not simple. As to the notion that Russia is a storehouse of raw materials just bursting the sides and waiting only real peace to become available for Europe, this is utter nonsense. Whatever raw materials and food there may be—and the supply is limited—it will take a very long time to restore communications sufficiently to permit transportation. The sooner peace is made the quicker we shall get at the raw materials, but there will be no prompt relief, even if peace comes to-morrow.

And peace may not come to-morrow or next year, for Russia is getting away from the old Bolshevik madness and tending rapidly toward nationalistic policies. Moreover with strong armies and with only the Poles and Rumanians capable of resisting them, the Russians may not impossibly drift into some such policy of conquest as marked the last days of the first French Republic and the rise of Napoleon. And the greater this danger becomes, the less likely the Poles are to abandon all reasonable or even unreasonable precautions against national ruin. It is simple enough for Americans or Englishmen, protected by the Channel or the Ocean from all enemies and from every invader, to characterize the Polish desire to hold the Dnieper and the French will to occupy the Rhine as imperialism and chauvinism; but in point of fact the British doctrine of sea supremacy and the American insistence upon the Monroe Doctrine disclose the same underlying purpose, the same instinct for self-preservation.

It may be that the Revolution has burned

itself out and that the desire of the Russian masses for peace is so compelling that Lenine and Trotzky will have no choice but to make reasonable proposals, for, after all, they are in a position to dictate peace terms. In that case we shall see a swift settlement and an end of the anarchy, international, if not domestic, which has resulted from the Russian upheaval. For this all must hope, but we have been too often disappointed and misled in Russian affairs to indulge in extreme optimism now.

Nor can we afford to assume too great responsibilities in sharing in any effort to coerce the border races into making peace on ruinous terms. We do not mean to accept any responsibility for Polish independence. We are not ready to send a division to Rumania, if the Russians seek to retake Bessarabia. Therefore we should be chary of accepting moral obligations by lending our admittedly considerable influence to forcing the Poles or the Rumanians to make concessions, which a year or a decade hence may spell national ruin for them.

In the Russian case, as elsewhere in Europe, there is great and growing danger lest American influence shall be exploited to serve the selfish ends of other countries, which are appealing to the United States in the language of American policy as expressed at Paris, but are acting in the interest of their own economic and political interests.

V. THE TURKISH DECISION

The announcement made after the London session of the British, French, and Italian Prime Ministers, that the Turk was to be left in Constantinople, took the world by surprise, because the world had more or less tacitly accepted the declarations, made during the war, that victorious peace would carry with it the expulsion of the Turk from Europe.

But if the Turk is to be expelled, who is to take his place? In Paris the President and Colonel House were ready to accept the mission, the Turkish mandate for the United States, with the full approval of all the European nations, actually concerned. But the course of the debate in the Senate having demonstrated that the United States was unlikely to take the mandate, it was necessary to find a substitute.

Had Russia remained faithful to the alliance, Constantinople was hers, by virtue of the agreement of France and Britain early

in the war. But Russia had taken herself out of the reckoning and if the Lenine-Trotzky government was beginning to repent of its renunciation of Constantinople and reassert Czarist claims, no one was prepared to recognize these claims. Indeed, one can believe that Western Europe was on the whole relieved that Russia's claims had been extinguished.

But with America and Russia out, who was available? Among the great powers, Britain, France, and Italy; among the lesser, Greece. But the three great powers were agreed in opposing one another's claims. The French were unwilling the British should hold the Straits. The British and French opposed Italian claims, and the British and Italians opposed French occupation. As to the Greek, he was the logical heir, since the property had once been Hellenic, but he could only hold it with Allied support. Moreover, his claims in Asia Minor conflicted with Italian.

Actually the decision came down, then, to a choice between international control and the continuation of the Turkish occupation. But here new objections arose. International control means international chaos. The case of Tangier has recently proved one more demonstration of this fact. It also means an absence of direct responsibility—an important thing for the French, who hold most of the Turkish debt.

Back of this loomed the larger question of religion. Britain and France in Asia and Africa are very great Mohammedan powers, and their subjects, who acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Caliphate, were opposed to the dispossession of the Turk. It was a matter of real moment to the French in Algeria and Tunis, to the British in India and Egypt, and even the Italians have Mohammedan subjects, to avoid an upheaval, born of the expulsion of the Turk. The result of all the various influences, and the absence of any clearly defined alternative, explains clearly one more failure in the case of the Turk.

But unluckily not only did the decision arouse loud protest in England, but the Turk chose this moment to begin new Armenian massacres and to attack the French in Cilicia, the British in Mesopotamia, and to threaten the Greeks in Smyrna. This new manifestation of Turkish nationalism held out a similar menace for the Italians, engaged in occupying the hinterland of the Gulf of Adalia. The three great powers

found themselves confronted at the same moment with domestic protest and foreign dangers.

A simple solution is not to be found, despite all the weaknesses of the existing compromise. Probably no European nation, with the exception of the British, could afford the costs of a new campaign such as would be necessary to reduce the Turks, and the British could only undertake it if the reward were the occupation of the whole of the Turkish Empire—a thing which is not to be thought of in view of Greek, Italian, and French aspirations. But no combined operation of the three countries, with a measure of Greek assistance, is likely, for there is no commensurate reward.

Here is the key of the whole problem. It may be a sin to leave the Turk in Constantinople, an offense against civilization, but it is not less clear that there must be some successor. To take Constantinople and place it under Christian rule, under international control, would merely mean to arouse the anger of all of the Islamic world and would lead directly to the massacre of the surviving Armenians and scattered Greeks in the Turkish districts of Anatolia and Armenia. It would lead indirectly to international rivalries between the three great powers, who would have to undertake the joint administration of Constantinople. And Constantinople, itself, would be a source of weakness if Russia should presently come to health and, as signs seem to suggest, reassert her old claims upon the Golden Horn. However one approaches the Constantinople problem, the difficulties promptly disclose themselves in impressive proportions.

The real difficulty with the Turkish problem is that Turkey, with the possible exception of Syria and of Mesopotamia, is a geographic and economic unit. It cannot be broken up without propagating, not preventing, anarchy. The ideal solution is obviously mandatory control by a single great power, but only America, of the great powers, was acceptable to all others and only America possessed the immediately available capital and resources for the gigantic task.

Moreover, even for America the task was colossal, because to the financial and military burdens incident to the immediate task were added the complications due to the Italian, Greek, and French claims, which, in the case of the Greeks, rest on very substantial foundations of ethnological as well as historic facts. Moreover, if the problem of Turkey, prop-

erly speaking—that is, of Anatolia, Armenia, and Thrace—is complicated by racial and national rivalries, the same is true quite as much of the Arabic fraction, where the British and the French are working at cross-purposes themselves and are confronted by the claims of the Arabs, recognized by their own official concessions.

All of which is another way of saying that the Turkish thorn, like the Russian, is difficult to grasp. It is true that the rivalries of the great powers complicate the question, but it is no less true that the main difficulty lies in the hopeless mixture of races and religions in the whole of the old Osmanli Empire from Basra to Byzantium. To-day the several powers have contented themselves with marking out spheres of influence in the Arab regions and about the Gulf of Adalia, assigning to the Greeks the Smyrna area.

But the Arabs are unwilling to accept the French rule in Syria; the Turks are fighting the French about Adana and around Mosul are attacking the British, while the Arabs are in arms against the French and are only temporarily reconciled to British rule at Bagdad. To this is added the problem of Egypt, where disorder is very far from abolished. Were the European powers financially and physically as strong as before the war, they might make a common effort to restore order in this region, but they are not and the promise is for half measures, growing anarchy and further massacres, while even a joint protectorate over Constantinople would change little and perhaps increase rather than diminish disorder to the south. Still, the general protest over the Constantinople proposal suggests some such reversal of policy on the part of the great powers, perhaps with added pressure from America, which manifestly disapproves of the present solution.

VI. THE NEW FIUME DEADLOCK

Turning now to the Adriatic, one sees at once a new evidence of the general incoherence. The elements in the problem are universally known. Great Britain and France, in a moment of extremity, made a bargain with Italy, promising her certain rewards if she would come into the war as an ally. These rewards, recognized by the Treaty of London, included the crest of the Alps on the Tyrolese frontier, Trieste and its hinterland, the western half of the Istrian Peninsula, and the northern half of

Dalmatia, together with various islands. Fiume was left to the Jugo-Slavs.

Italy entered the war, performed her part of the bargain and in return demanded, at the Paris Conference, the territory promised her. But she also demanded Fiume on the basis of self-determination. After months of debate, President Wilson, who had opposed the terms of the "secret" treaty, appealed to the Italian people over the head of Orlando, with the result that the Italians rose to support their government and the Fiume claim.

Since then we have had a deadlock, Italy occupying the disputed territory, Fiume finally seized by D'Annunzio, to prevent any surrender by the Italian government, the Jugo-Slavs mobilizing in the hinterland. In a word there has not been a moment since last spring when war was not a possibility. Moreover, the necessity of the Italians to maintain their claims by force has compelled them to keep their armies mobilized and thus prevented a return to conditions of peace, incidentally straining financial resources.

British and French support of President Wilson has aroused the bitterest Italian resentment, while rage at the American President has known no limits. French troops in occupation in Adriatic ports have been murdered by Italian mobs; there have been clashes between American and Italian naval authorities, and the whole situation has been and is difficult and dangerous.

Meantime, after the return of the President to America and the virtual retirement of America from the European debate, Britain, France, and Italy have sought to arrive at some settlement. The settlement recently agreed upon, after long delays, represented a material reduction of Italian claims, but was unsatisfactory to the Jugo-Slavs and did not conform to the last compromise approved by Mr. Polk, acting for President Wilson. Accordingly, when the British and French governments transmitted this compromise to the Jugo-Slavs, together with the minatory notice that, if it were rejected, the terms of the Treaty of London would be applied, the President intervened, with the result that the whole matter was reopened.

No one who looks at the dispute calmly can fail to perceive that the President's contentions have been justified by the facts. He has, indeed, consented to the inclusion within Italian frontiers of more than half a million Germans and Slavonians, in absolute disregard of his principle of self-determina-

tion and out of respect for Italian demands for a strategic frontier. But Italy is looking for something more than a strategic frontier. She is seeking economic control of the Adriatic, through the mastery of the two ports which have railway communication with the hinterland and thus are the economic lungs of Jugo-Slavia.

But right as the President's contention has been, from the outset, the difficulty has lain and lies in the reluctance of the American people to accept responsibilities in foreign matters. If the Italians do not find a compromise satisfactory to the Jugo-Slavs, armed collision will inevitably result; for the Jugo-Slavs, having the moral endorsement of their claims, supplied by the President's several notes, cannot yield. To do this would be to risk the newly achieved unity of the three branches of the Southern Slavs.

Meantime the Italians have been at work rousing the Rumanians, the Hungarians, and the Bulgarians against the Jugo-Slavs. They have sought to break up the solidarity between the Croats, the Slovenians, and the Serbs, and they have promoted separatist aspirations among the Montenegrins. The result is that, if any collision should grow out of the Fiume episode, the Jugo-Slavs would be assailed on all fronts, simultaneously, and a new partition would result, unless the United States and Great Britain intervened. Moreover, as I have already pointed out, French support of the Jugo-Slavs, based upon the desire to see a strong Slav state on the Danube, has led to a Franco-Italian estrangement, while similar support of the Serbs in the Banat has been equally destructive of Rumanian friendship for the French, the British, and the Americans. And in obtaining for the Serbs a fraction of the Banat, their western friends have incurred for them the dangerous enmity of the larger Rumanian neighbor, hitherto a friend and ally.

VII. NEW EUROPEAN TENDENCIES

The Adriatic problem not merely involves Slav, but also Greek interests. If the Italians are eagerly seeking to reduce Slav possessions at the northern end of the Adriatic, they are not less earnestly endeavoring, by maintaining the fiction of Albanian nationalism, to prevent the Greeks from occupying the Hellenic regions of Northern Epirus. Not only does Italy deny these Greek territories to the state of Venizelos, but she continues to hold the Egean Islands,

the Dodecanesus and Rhodes, whose population is purely Greek, whose aspiration to be joined to their Hellenic brethren is as old as the Greek War of Liberation, which will pass its first centennial next year.

But both in the case of the Jugo-Slavs and of the Greeks, there is no other available champion than the United States. In the last analysis, neither the British nor the French can risk further estrangement of Italy. Europe is drifting back to a new system of alliances. To-morrow or next day Germany and Russia will be in the market and if Italy allies herself with these two states, then the balance of power in Europe will be broken and the fate of the recently liberated nationalities will be at stake.

Hence the ever more insistent demands from the British that America return to Europe. If we do not come back the British will presently be compelled to enter a new system of European alliances, to agree to French, Italian, perhaps even Polish claims, for a Russo-German alliance would be even more of a threat to the British than to the French, since it would menace India and Mesopotamia, even more acutely than Strassburg or Metz. In partnership with the British, the United States can share in a real Anglo-Saxon world control, but if we reject the partnership, the present British domination of Europe will come to an end and Britain will find herself driven to make the same alliances which preceded the World War, and were signs of British perception of existing menaces to her security.

Moreover, and this fact underlies all British policy, a system of alliances will not only reappear, but claim Britain as a member, unless the United States promptly accepts the League of Nations, which is the Anglo-Saxon substitute and—unless present signs fail—the League of Nations itself would prove an alliance of Britain, the United States, and France, with Italian participation conditioned upon the degree of American commitments.

VIII. THE GERMAN REVOLUTION

As I read the proofs of this article the first news has come in of the German Revolution. Of the success or failure of this uprising it is too early to speak, but the character of the men who are engineering it is known. We are in the presence of exactly the same sort of reaction which occurred a little more than a century ago, when Napoleon came back from Elba. The fact that

Germany has no Napoleon, that the German menace is a system, not a single tyrant, is of little significance.

The causes of the German reaction are identical with those of the Napoleonic return. Exactly as at the Congress of Vienna, the conquerors have become divided. Rivalries have sprung up between the French, the British, and the Italians, wholly comparable with those which well-nigh wrecked the Vienna Conference. The German Junkers have seized upon a moment as favorable for them as was Napoleon's hour of return for him.

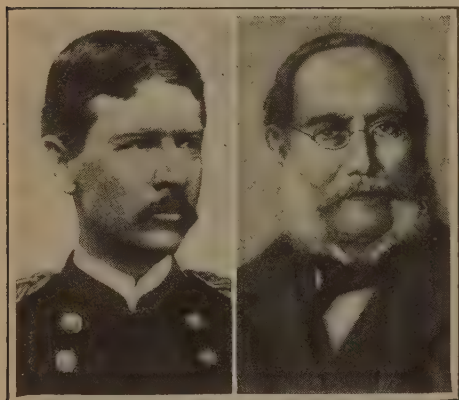
But the same perils lie in the pathway of the Prussian militarists as proved insuperable for Napoleon. Germany is weary of war. If her people have turned to the Army again, it is merely in the belief that the Allies are no longer able or willing to insist upon the present peace terms; that the soldiers can now save Germany, restore her to the position of 1914, regain for her the lost provinces and the former economic position, not by battle but by old-fashioned sabre-rattling.

All depends now upon the Allied decision. If the British and French governments unite in a determination to hold no conversation with the Junkers; if they demonstrate to the German people that the reaction will lead not to better terms for Germany, but to worse, that all economic aid will be withheld if they disclose a resolution to preserve their victory over Prussianism, then, sooner or later, probably promptly, the German reaction will encounter German resistance.

A continuation of the policy of recent months, however, further vacillations such as have marked the conduct of relations both with Germany and with Russia, will lead straight to disaster. The victory of 1918 is once more placed in jeopardy, because world peace can never be secured while the old gang are in control in Berlin. The shadow of Hindenburg and the fact of Ludendorff operating behind the shadow, are as deadly a menace to world tranquility as was Napoleon himself. Once more, as in 1914, the French have been right and the Anglo-Saxons wrong in their estimate of Germany; but this time the advantage of military resources is in Allied hands. Foch has the necessary weapon to reduce German resistance briefly and completely. All depends upon whether the statesmen who have sabotaged his victory consent now to let him undo their mistakes, or insist upon making their failures absolute.

ON THE TRAIL OF THE YELLOW-FEVER GERM

FROM THE NOTES OF A BYSTANDER



DR. WALTER REED

(Head of the Board of Army Surgeons that learned by experimentation the mosquito's part in yellow-fever transmission)

DR. CARLOS FINLAY

(Who forty years ago advanced the theory of the transmission of yellow fever by the mosquito)

IT is announced that Dr. Noguchi and his associate, Dr. Kligler, both of the scientific staff of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, have gone to Yucatan at the urgent request of the people and authorities of the stricken regions, to study yellow fever, which still ravages certain districts and is a menace to other tropical and semi-tropical countries—among them our own Southern States and the West Indies. Last season Dr. Noguchi went to Guayaquil on a similar mission, returning with results of great scientific interest and practical importance. The present expedition, like the former, is managed and financed by the International Health Board, of the Rockefeller Foundation.

To the Man in the Street, whose versatile and belabored mind is sorely overtaxed these days with a host of big and little problems and events, this undramatic item about yellow fever probably doesn't appeal as first-page news. But there is a little story in it of science, of humanity, of professional lure and pride, and of economic promise. So it may be worth while to outline the story, if

only for the sporting features of an episode in the continuing conquest of disease.

A Menace to Our Southern States

We do not longer fear yellow fever in New York and Philadelphia and other northern districts of the United States, in which formerly it was a serious pest, counting its victims by thousands and trailing misery and panic and loss. For we now know enough about the conditions of its origin and spread to maintain effective safeguards. In the Southern States, however, while the old aimless and largely futile struggles against the disease when once it had gained a foothold can never come again, there is always the liability of costly and menacing local outbreaks so long as permanent nests of the disease exist in countries with which direct social or economic intercourse is maintained. The big, ever-threatening hotbeds of yellow fever at Havana and in Brazil are now in control and can be kept so at the price of intelligent and unremitting vigilance. But here and there in Mexico and South America and on the west coast of Africa it still lurks unguarded.

So the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, with its big achievements in the fight against the hookworm well in hand, with its tuberculosis first aid in France approaching completion, and busy with its great crusade against malaria, has found in its horoscope the promise of the suppression of yellow fever also, if the relatively few remaining lurking places of its germs can be cleaned up. To this end more knowledge of these germs is needed.

A Bit of History

In the early days yellow fever was to northern ports a hazard and to the South an ever-threatening peril, because no one knew what caused it or the exact conditions favoring its spread. Dr. Carlos J. Finlay, of Havana, who knew it from long personal experience, began to be suspicious of a cer-

tain mosquito as a carrying agent nearly forty years ago and came to believe that it was a germ disease, and for a time thought that he knew the germ. But the wise ones shook their heads and would have none of his mosquito or his germ. Various other microbes were brought to judgment and discharged for lack of evidence.

Dr. Alvah H. Doty, for many years the efficient and forward-looking Health Officer of the great port of New York, concluded from his long experience with ships hailing from yellow-fever countries, that whatever the inciting agent of the disease might be there was no good reason to believe that it contaminated the ships or their cargoes, or that it was conveyed by the clothing or effects of passengers. And so he stopped the wearisome and costly and bad-smelling disinfection and fumigation of them all, let the ships pass to their docks, and all unsuspecting passengers and their luggage go unmolested on their ways; to the great saving of time, money, and temper. Nothing untoward happened. But his break with the traditions sent cold shivers down the backs of hardened sanitarians who did not fail to rail at the temerity and the convictions of the Health Officer. They appealed to the Surgeon General in charge of the Federal Quarantine, but he was powerless to interfere with the rights of the sovereign State of New York, whose officer Doty was. They worried President Cleveland. It seemed so awful to pass in old rags and soiled clothing without elaborate disinfection of both rags and ships on which they came. The President sent Doty to Egypt to study the dirtiest rags he knew of and the probabilities of their carrying infective stuff. Doty brought back his new facts and his undamaged convictions and the President agreed that they both fitted in with good common sense and bade him go his way. The fact is, it was no unconsidered whim, though baggage and cargoes and rags and soiled clothing and the big ships themselves were readily set free as not hazardous, except under very special conditions, even when from yellow-fever countries. Always before any passenger was allowed to leave the ship he was searched as passengers had never been searched before for evidence of actual or incipient disease. This was an early example of the practice, now becoming general, of regarding as hazards the persons rather than the surroundings or effects of those who may harbor infective germs, and marked the be-



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DR. ALVAH H. DOTY
(Early advocate of the theory that infective germs are carried by persons rather than by their clothing and other effects)

GEN. WM. C. GORGAS
(In charge of the American Army's sanitary work which eliminated yellow fever from Havana, 1898-1902)

ginning of the end of quarantine ship and cargo disinfection as the fetish which for years before it was.

So things went on, with no promising attempts to suppress the disease in its homes in Cuba and South America because no one knew what to do, until the prospect of a war with Spain in Cuba made it imperative for the United States Government to wake up and try and find out something about the incitant of yellow fever in the West Indies and what might be done to discourage it.

A Yellow-Fever Commission

Thus in 1900 a commission of medical officers of the United States Army, headed by Dr. Walter Reed, with Drs. James Carroll, Jesse W. Lazear, and Aristides Agramonte as associates, went down to Havana, where the fever flourished, and made a series of studies of cases and the conditions under which the disease is transmitted, so wisely planned, so courageously executed, and with such illuminating and beneficent results that the story is scarcely paralleled in all the annals of heroic achievement in science.

They concluded that there must be a living organism in the blood of yellow-fever victims in the early days of the disease. For by the transference of a small amount of the blood they could incite the malady in others. And they found that a mosquito—Finlay's mosquito (*Stegomyia*), which

science had sniffed at for a couple of decades—if allowed to bite a patient in the early days of his illness and then permitted to feed upon another susceptible person, could act as intermediary in conveying the infective living incitant.

They did not spare themselves, these devotees to science and humanity, and, following the bite of a purposely infected mosquito, Carroll was seriously ill of yellow fever, while Lazear, in a similar crucial experiment, died after a short illness. Reed, worn by his responsibilities and exacting tasks, died in 1902. His memory lives in the great Walter Reed Military Hospital at Arlington.

There was no lack of volunteers among the soldiers at the little pest camp, which they called Camp Lazear, where these dramatic studies were under way. One was just a private named Jernigan, who, after escaping unscathed the onslaught of some scientifically infected mosquitoes, turned up again when the call came for someone to volunteer to be injected with a syringe full of the blood from a virulent case of the fever. He came down this time, but got well. Another who survived a big dose of infected blood is known on the records only as J. M. B. There were many others in this heroic group who, undismayed, took their chances—and they were big ones—in this great game of disinterested service. Such human risks were necessary then, as they have been since, in the study of other infective maladies, because it did not at that time seem possible to induce yellow fever in the lower animals.

The Mosquito the Only Carrier

The commission could discover no way in which the germ of yellow fever is naturally conveyed from one to another, except by the mosquito. It is the female only which is to blame; for the male has so flabby a proboscis that he cannot get through the skin to suck blood, and so is a forlorn compulsory vegetarian. Thus the discovery is not new that "the female of the species is more deadly than the male." Apparently the mosquito is not at all unpleasantly affected by the, to us, sorely poisonous germs which she imbibes with the infected blood; and with her its transmission is only an incident in the day's work of getting an honest living.

It was proved that the disease actually is not to be conveyed by any form of the

most ruthless exposure of susceptible persons to the soiled clothing or even to discharges of the fever's victims, which hitherto had been regarded with horror as sources of desperate risk. Volunteers were not found wanting for even this supreme test of courage in the interest of science and humanity.

The Germ Still a Mystery

There was a little cabin built at Camp Lazear. It was 14 by 20 feet in size, with two little windows, wire-screened to keep mosquitoes out, and wooden-shuttered to keep away the salubrious sun by day lest it interfere with the tests. The temperature was kept above 90° Fahrenheit and the air was kept moist. Here three volunteer soldier men spent twenty nights shut up in the closest possible contact with bedding and clothing fresh from the beds and bodies of yellow-fever patients at the hospitals, and purposely grossly soiled with all forms of their excreta. By day the time was spent in tents. At the end these heroic three were cleaned up, quarantined for the proper period, and set free—all perfectly well.

Their names are Dr. Robert P. Cooke, Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. A., and two privates, Volk and Jernigan, all young Americans.

So ships and cargoes and well passengers and their effects were freed for all time from the thrall of the elder costly and futile quarantines, and so the mosquito was confirmed in his monopoly as a yellow-fever germ-carrier.

Dr. Finlay was right, only he was right for the wrong reason and too soon. Dr. Doty also was right on a basis of acute personal observation and uncommon common sense; and science and practical preventive medicine now stand beside them both.

These early studies did not get far enough to develop promising methods of treatment for the disease. Nor did they suggest ways of securing immunity in less hazardous fashion than through the successful weathering of an attack. For one doesn't have yellow fever twice. More than this, though it was clear enough from all clinical experience and laboratory and field experiment that yellow fever must be incited by some sort of germ, these experts could not find the thing, strive as they might. No microscopic search revealed it, and no attempt at culture, such as had been successful in trailing the organisms of other infections,

gave light or basis for further investigation. It was learned also that the germs must be very small, because they passed readily through the pores of porcelain filters, so minute that most microbes are held back. And it seemed possible that they might be so small as to be beyond the capacity of even microscopic vision.

The experimenters found that a mosquito which had sucked the blood of a yellow-fever patient in the first five days of the disease could not at once, on biting another, convey the infective agent, but only after the lapse of some twelve days. This observation, taken in connection with the excessive minuteness of the unknown organism, as shown by its passing the pores of a porcelain filter, led to the conjecture that the elusive germs might not be bacteria, which are plants, but one of the types of minute animal life, called protozoa, which sometimes assume excessively small spore-like forms as they pass through developmental phases in their lowly careers; and this takes a certain amount of time. Here the analogies of malaria, also a mosquito-borne and fostered parasite, were obvious, and the malarial microbe is a notorious protozoön.

How to Control Yellow Fever

From this knowledge of the mosquito as a carrier of the incitant of yellow fever and, apparently, its only source, it was clear that the way to prevent the spread of the disease was either by keeping the mosquitoes from getting at patients in the early days of their illness through the effective screening of windows and doors, or by killing as many of the pests as possible and discouraging the breeding of the rest by cleaning up

the puddles and old cans of water near dwellings in which they breed and near which they love to linger all their lives with the pertinacity of household cats.

All these measures of safety were applied in Havana by General Gorgas in the days following these remarkable studies. They have been practised since in New Orleans, in Vera Cruz, in Rio de Janeiro. At Panama General Gorgas made the building of the great canal possible through the effective use of the new safeguards. So yellow fever, the dread pest of the ages, has been practically eliminated from its most menacing lurking places.

A Challenge to Science

It was, indeed, a great achievement to have learned how to check the ravages and spread of so desperate a pestilence. But the possibilities of further gain were alluring, if only the germ itself could be discovered. For then new methods of cure would be possible, the prospect of securing artificial immunity would be good, more effective and less costly sanitary measures of safety would be practicable, and great fruitful countries could be redeemed for economic uses from the thrall of this perpetual blight.

It was tantalizing to be so near and yet so far from the last step which might form a safe and ready vantage ground for new achievements. Every thimbleful of blood from a fever patient in the first five days of the disease, every mosquito which had fed upon him and become a carrier, might harbor this peccant and elusive thing, but no one could find it. This was a monstrous challenge to science, and ever since it has rankled in the souls of self-respecting dev-



CAMP LAZEAR, NEAR HAVANA, WHERE TRANSMISSION OF THE YELLOW-FEVER GERM BY THE MOSQUITO WAS FOR THE FIRST TIME DEFINITELY PROVEN

(In the cabin, at the right, it was proven that contaminated clothing, bedding, etc., do not convey the yellow-fever germ to man)



DR. HIDEYO NOGUCHI, THE SUCCESSFUL HUNTER OF BACTERIA IN INFECTIOUS DISEASES

(Dr. Noguchi has gone to Yucatan, at the request of the local authorities, to study the yellow-fever problem there—as he had done last year for the city of Guayaquil, Ecuador. Educated in the schools of Japan and in the Tokio Medical College, Dr. Noguchi came to the United States about ten years ago and almost at once became associated with the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in New York City.)

otees, that so definite and demonstrable a living thing as this yellow-fever germ must be could hide itself away in a drop of blood or in the carcass of a beggarly mosquito.

Noguchi Follows the Trail

Thus the request last year from Ecuador for counsel and assistance in solving the problems which were so sore a burden at Guayaquil was a lure to science and a mandate to humanity which the Rockefeller Foundation and the Rockefeller Institute cheerfully followed. Dr. Noguchi, the accomplished Japanese bacteriologist on the staff of the Institute, had long been a successful hunter of obscure bacterial incitants of infectious diseases, and, by his masterly command of cultural technique and his no less masterly patience and untiring devotion to his aims, has thrown light into many dark corners of biology. Furthermore, Dr. Noguchi was well acquainted with a disease called infectious jaundice, which a good deal resembles yellow fever. It is one of the diseases whose origin has only recently been

traced. The inciting germ—called *Leptospira*—is a spiral mobile thing, parasitic in rats and other wild animals. In insanitary places frequented by these animals it may gain access to the bodies of humans and incite serious and fatal disease. This had been first cultivated in Japan by the use of a special technical procedure devised by Dr. Noguchi.

So Noguchi, the logical leader of such an expedition, and his associates were welcomed at Guayaquil last year by a group of eminent physicians who were past masters in the detection and treatment of yellow fever and eager to be helpful, as indeed they were, in this new attempt to unearth the secret of this elusive pest-breeder. There was plenty of yellow fever in the hospital at Guayaquil, and masters in its detection always at hand. It was risky work, but these later devotees used such safeguards as the pioneers had made available and took the chances. It was science and experience and invincible courage and pertinacity against an ancient stronghold of ignorance, and this is how it came out.

The Germ Found

Noguchi succeeded where the earlier workers had failed by inducing in guinea pigs, through the transference to them of a small quantity of the blood of yellow-fever patients in the earlier days of their attack, symptoms and changes quite similar to those of the human disease. The pigs speedily developed fever, they grew yellow, they became torpid and very sick, and many of them presently died, their organs showing characteristic changes. The blood of these experimental victims conveyed to other guinea pigs induced the disease anew through many sequences, and in this infected guinea-pig blood was detected by the microscope a minute organism resembling the *Leptospira* of infectious jaundice. Young dogs and monkeys were also found to be susceptible to inoculation with yellow-fever blood.

Finally Noguchi succeeded in cultivating from the blood, at first of his artificially infected pigs and then of man, a living organism which he carried on through many successive generations in his culture tubes, and from which by inoculation he could induce the identical fatal disease in the guinea pig. This germ is not easy to cultivate, for it is finicky about its diet and environment and sulks and dies on the slightest provocation. The method of cultivation used was



AT GUAYAQUIL, ECUADOR—AN ANTI-MOSQUITO SQUAD, WITH IMPLEMENTS USED TO GOOD EFFECT IN THE YELLOW-FEVER CAMPAIGN

(It was at Guayaquil that Dr. Noguchi, through tireless experiments, found and cultivated the germ which incites yellow fever)

that through which the germ of infectious jaundice was discovered and need not be described here.

Its Name and Ways

The new germ is a very delicate, filamentous, spiral thing, tapering at the ends, and, when alive, goes wriggling, rotating, and twisting about in the blood or culture food. Not ordinarily visible when alive by direct light, even with the strongest lenses, it may be seen with what is called "dark field illumination," not known to the earlier observers, and then it looks to the straining vision like a shadowy wriggle rather than a definite object. Noguchi called it *Leptospira* (meaning slender spiral) after its close relative of infectious jaundice. And, to signalize its power to induce in its victims the characteristic jaundice, or yellow color of the skin, he surnamed it *icteroides*. So it takes its place in science as *Leptospira icteroides*, alias, in the vernacular, Slim-spiral, the jaundice-maker.

It may be cultivated from the blood and tissues of yellow-fever patients and of infected guinea pigs. Inoculation of the cultures induces the fatal typical infection in guinea pigs, from whose bodies the living germs may again be isolated. It was found to pass through the minute pores of a porce-

lain filter. Experiments on guinea pigs show that inoculations with yellow-fever blood, or with cultures of the new-found microbe which were not fatal, conferred a notable degree of immunity to subsequent infection. Tests with the blood serum of convalescent yellow-fever patients indicated that the organism which he had found was probably the inciting agent of the disease.

Having thus established a series of important facts indicating that the new-found *Leptospira* is at least the presumptive incitant of yellow fever in Guayaquil, Noguchi naturally got on the trail of the *Stegomyia* mosquito, which is quite at home, of course, in such a tropical region, and, as usual where the fever flourishes, on the job. His experiments showed that symptoms and tissue changes similar to those of yellow fever in man may be induced in guinea pigs by the bite of female *Stegomyias* which have previously sucked the blood of a yellow-fever patient or of another guinea pig artificially infected. But he found that mosquitoes which had bitten infected guinea pigs could convey the infective agent within eight days, which is strikingly less than the twelve days which the Havana researches had shown to be necessary before effective transfer by mosquitoes which have bitten fever patients could take place. This discrepancy might be ac-

counted for by the observation, which Noguchi made—and which, of course, the earlier workers had no chance to do since they did not succeed in infecting the lower animals at all—that the blood of infected pigs may contain vastly greater numbers of the *Leptospira* than does that of yellow-fever patients.

The conjecture was ventured in the early days by many of the wise ones in this field that the yellow-fever germ, when found, would prove to be, not a bacterium among the plants, but a protozoön, that is, a lowly animal; because it is mosquito-borne and has other features in common with that notorious and well-known protozoön parasite of malaria. Anent this, one may recall a too little regarded quirk of our genial doctor-philosopher, Oliver Wendell Holmes, who said, "Observation may trip now and then without throwing you, for her gait is a walk; but inference always gallops, and if she stumbles you're gone." It is interesting to note in this connection, and just to show how exasperating Nature can be, that the little group of microörganisms in which Dr. Noguchi's *Leptospira* of yellow fever belongs seems to dwell in a sort of No Man's Land of classification, between animals and plants, neither straight protozoa nor proper bacteria, and of questionable lineage and relationship in the hierarchy of life.

Fresh Fields

Of course, on the return from such a field research, there are usually many questions left unanswered and various experiments to be completed in the laboratory, with perhaps new leads to follow. So it is understood that Dr. Noguchi has been at work since his return in unraveling the life history of this, his newest addition to the

rogue's gallery of microscopic human pests, and in searching for the possibilities of developing an effective immunizing or curative yellow-fever serum.

Yellow fever and infectious jaundice have certain resemblances which are interesting in view of the apparent close relationship of the spiral germs which have been found in each. And it is noteworthy that Dr. Noguchi discovered spirals, believed to be those which incite infective jaundice, inhabiting the bodies of the rats of Guayaquil. So, though infective jaundice has not been known to exist at Guayaquil, the relationships, if any, between these two diseases and between their inciting agents ought to be cleared up. For science is very keen to learn about the cousinships of diseases and of disease germs, because the more we know about their stories the better chance there is to banish both.

It is not usual for scientific men to make claims of discovery, but to work out details and describe observations; and when the cards are on the table, face up, it is for their fellow experts to pass judgment on the evidence. Several brief publications have set forth a summary of this new work as far as it has gone. The study of more cases in a new locality is desirable; the checking up of experiments by repetition is necessary for confirmation, and the chances of new light are always welcome. To secure all or any of these, and to lend a hand to the brethren who are still under the cloud, are the motives of the new expedition to Yucatan on which Dr. Noguchi and Dr. Kligler recently set out, with the good wishes of their colleagues of the Rockefeller Institute, and it is hoped also of the Man in the Street, whose receptive range admits no limit and whose interest in something never flags.



THE RECONSTRUCTION OF RAILROAD SERVICE

BY SAMUEL O. DUNN

(Editor of the *Railway Age*)

THE railways are again under private management. Just before their return to their owners there was passed by Congress the most comprehensive, important, and constructive railroad legislation ever enacted. It affords the first example of legislation designed not only to prevent the railways from doing things inimical to the public, but also to help them do things that are essential to the welfare of the public.

A few years ago many thought the railways were inefficiently operated under private management and would be better operated under government management. After an actual trial of government management a large majority of the people lost whatever faith they had in that policy. The confidence of many in the superiority of private management apparently has risen so high that they have expected that its resumption, if sound legislation previously had been passed, would be followed immediately by improvements in service and reductions of expenses.

No one believes more strongly in the superiority of private management than the writer. He is confident improvements in service and increases in operating efficiency will soon begin to appear, and will become more marked as time passes. But the public may easily raise too high its expectations as to the near future. The railroad managements and the Interstate Commerce Commission are confronted by numerous problems unprecedented in their nature and difficulty. They are a legacy from bad private management in some cases, and from unwise regulation, government management, and the war. They must be solved before substantial economies can be made or railroad service can be satisfactorily reconstructed. Public expectations that service will soon be made as good as formerly would be disappointed, and might result in an unfortunate revulsion of sentiment

against the new system of railroad regulation and management before it had been given a real trial.

The quantity and quality of the service railways can render depend upon the number of their locomotives and cars, the mileage of their lines and tracks, and the amount of their other facilities; and upon the efficiency with which they are operated. The most striking facts in the recent history of our railways are those showing how much greater have been the increases in the demands for service than the increases in the facilities for rendering it. There was complaint from railway managers during the ten years from 1905 to 1915 that the policy of regulation being followed was preventing adequate investment in railroads. These complaints were well founded. During that decade the increase in the amount of freight handled was 61 per cent., while the increase in the number of freight cars in service was only 36 per cent. The increase in the amount of passenger traffic carried was 48 per cent., while the increase in the number of passenger cars was only 35 per cent. The increase in the number of locomotives was only 30 per cent.

Consequently, at the end of 1915, railway facilities had become inadequate to handling satisfactorily the commerce of the country when its industries were producing close to their maximum capacity. But it is since 1915 that the demands of business have most seriously outstripped the growth of railway facilities. Since then the freight and passenger traffic actually handled has increased 45 per cent. The number of locomotives and cars has increased only about 2 per cent.; and other facilities in proportion.

That there has been such a large increase in the business handled while there has been such a small increase in railroad capacity shows there has been a great advance in

operating efficiency. But the increase in operating efficiency is not the only reason why there has been such a large increase in the traffic moved. Shippers have helped by putting larger average loads in cars. Of course, the more freight there is loaded in each car, the greater is the amount handled with a given number of cars. Furthermore, conditions have enforced a more uniform movement of traffic throughout the year.

When the growth of railroad facilities was almost keeping pace with the growth of business, the movement of freight was highly seasonal. There were usually about four months in each fall and winter when the carriers were overtaxed. These were normally followed by about eight months of lighter traffic and "car surpluses." Throughout the last four years—excepting last spring, when the traffic of war had sharply declined and the "non-essential" traffic of peace was only beginning to revive—there has been a chronic "car shortage." Since all the freight offered for transportation in the months when the traffic usually is heavy could not be moved then, a large part of it has been held back and handled during the months when in former years the movement of freight ordinarily was light. Of course, when the railways can work to their maximum capacity throughout the year they can handle more business than when they can work to their maximum capacity only four or five months in a year.

However great, from the standpoint of the railways, may be the advantages of moving a uniform business throughout the year, such conditions as recently have caused it to be done have serious disadvantages from the standpoint of many farmers and business concerns. The failure or success of the year's business of many men and concerns, and their ability to keep their workers employed, are often dependent on their ability to obtain raw materials or goods, or to ship the products of their farms or factories at the particular times when market or other conditions are favorable.

Besides, there is a limit beyond which the amount of traffic that can be handled cannot be increased merely by augmenting operating efficiency, increasing the carload, or making the movement of traffic more uniform. We have seen that limit reached. The average load per car in 1918 broke all records; and there probably never will be a more uniform freight movement than there was then. The Railroad Administration kept in the service

of the railroads the best operating talent available; and these men worked with a loyalty and enthusiasm inspired by the fact that they were helping to win the war. The administration disregarded the law-made restrictions that had hampered private management, largely disregarded considerations of expense, and exercised all the power of the national government. Yet the amount of freight moved was only 2 per cent. more than in 1917.

Since the great revival of freight business last summer the railways never have been able to accept all the traffic offered. Mines and mills have been forced to reduce their output or shut down because they could not get enough transportation. The coal business ordinarily affords 35 per cent. of the total freight. How great was the accumulation of commodities of other kinds awaiting transportation last fall is indicated by the fact that, although most of the bituminous mines were closed during November and most of December by the strike, the amount of freight moved was almost as great in those two months as ever before. There has been allowed to accrue an enormous deficiency of facilities which must be made up before the railways ever again, in times of business activity, will be able to handle satisfactorily all the freight offered.

The conditions as respects passenger business are equally bad. The Railroad Administration, during more than two years of government control, never bought a passenger car. Meantime, there was an unprecedented increase of travel. The results are the shabby appearance of many cars and the overcrowding and other discomforts of trains, which are experienced by everybody who travels.

If Congress had made prompt and adequate appropriations, and the Railroad Administration had expended them wisely, a good start would have been made in 1919, when the war was over, in reducing the deficiency of facilities and reconstructing the service. But Congress gave the Railroad Administration no appropriation until midsummer. It then gave it \$500,000,000 less than it asked. Almost the entire task of reconstructing service has been passed along to the railroad companies.

Now, it takes weeks to prepare the annual budget of a railroad company. Arrangements must then be made for getting the necessary capital, organizations for doing the construction and improvement work must be

formed, and labor must be secured. Orders must be placed with the manufacturers for equipment and supplies; and before the manufacturers can start work on orders they must get their labor and materials. For these reasons the railway companies usually make up toward the end of one year the budgets of additions and improvements intended to be carried out the next year, and begin soon afterward forming their construction organizations and placing their orders for equipment and materials. This program could not be followed this year because the companies did not know until the end of February on what terms the railways were coming back, or, indeed, whether they were coming back at all. Therefore, this year the commencement of improvement work and orders for equipment will be so much delayed that it is doubtful if much of the work will be done or much of the equipment ordered will be delivered in time to be useful in handling the business of 1920.

Congress has appropriated \$300,000,000 from which loans can be made to the railways at once to help tide them over the period of transition from government to private control; and this will enable some equipment to be ordered and some improvement work to be begun without the delays occasioned by the necessity of raising new capital in the open market. But the railways require 2000 locomotives, 4000 passenger cars, and 100,000 freight cars annually merely to replace those which are worn out; and this equipment alone would at present prices cost \$500,000,000. The loans provided for by Congress will be helpful, but the amount of help they will give will be small. General conditions in the financial market were so bad when the roads were returned to the companies as to render it almost impossible for concerns of any kind to sell large amounts of new stocks or bonds at reasonable prices. But the need for a large increase of railway facilities is immediate and imperative. Therefore, the companies have made plans to ask Congress for legislation to increase the amount that the government may loan them.

To enable the railways to render in 1920 a passenger and freight service anywhere near adequate it will be necessary for all their equipment and other facilities to be used with unexampled efficiency. This will require the hardest and ablest work possible by their officers and employees; a minimum of merely competitive rivalries and a maxi-

mum of coöperation between the various roads; the maximum practicable loading of cars by shippers, and a minimum of demands and a maximum of patience on the part of the traveling public.

Coöperation Replaces Competition

Fortunately, the new legislation repeals the Sherman Anti-Trust law, as it applied to railways, and the anti-pooling section of the Interstate Commerce act. Instead of unrestricted railroad competition being required, as formerly, close coöperation and even consolidation are encouraged. Competition is necessary, in the long run, to securing the best service. But extreme competitive rivalries result under some conditions in the service of individual roads being made good at the cost of the service of the railways as a whole. At a time such as this, when the rendering of the largest practicable service is the great desideratum, coöperation between the railways is more beneficial.

The railways undoubtedly will coöperate among themselves and be able to get co-operation from the shippers in the heavy loading of cars. Probably as time goes on the railways will take advantage on a large scale of the opportunities to consolidate which the law affords. However, developments of this kind cannot come in the immediate future, since before consolidations can be made the Interstate Commerce Commission must draw up a general plan in accordance with which all the consolidations made must be effected. The organizations of the railroad employees opposed the return to private operation, and also the legislation under which it was made. The propaganda against private management and for the Plumb plan doubtless will be continued. The effects this will have on the relations between the companies and the employees, upon the efficiency of the latter's work, and upon railway service is a question of importance. My own belief is that when the employees find that no general reductions of their wages are even considered, the relations between them and the companies will begin to return to normal, their efficiency will increase, and propaganda among them against private management will grow less and less effective.

Increased Facilities Required

While some improvements in railway service undoubtedly will be made in the near future, the really great improvements which

are needed can, for reasons already indicated, be secured only by corresponding increases in facilities. The *Railway Age* recently made an estimate, based on past experience, regarding the facilities which should be provided within three years to remedy the existing deficiency and to provide for dealing with the increase of traffic which should normally occur during these three years. Its estimates of the facilities which should be provided by the end of 1922, together with the amounts of new capital which, at present wages and prices, would be required to provide them, are as follows:

15,000 miles of multiple main tracks, and	
40,000 miles of side tracks and yard tracks	\$1,250,000,000
Grade revision, cut-offs, elimination of curvature, etc.	600,000,000
Enginehouses and shops	250,000,000
Station buildings	300,000,000
6,000 miles of new main line	600,000,000
10,850 miles of automatic block signals	52,264,000
712,400 Freight cars	1,662,000,000
24,500 Passenger cars	532,000,000
Shop equipment	61,230,000
13,200 Locomotives	702,786,000
Total	\$6,010,280,000

How Will Capital Be Secured?

The main object of Congress in drafting the new legislation was to make it as near certain as practicable that the railways would be allowed to earn a return sufficient to enable them to raise enough capital adequately to increase their facilities. The Interstate Commerce Commission was directed to divide the railways into groups; to determine what percentage of return they should be allowed to earn on their combined valuations, and to fix rates which would enable them to earn this predetermined return. Until March 1, 1922, the Commission must let the roads of each group earn $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and it may let them earn an additional one-half of 1 per cent., to be invested directly in improvements. Individual railways that earn over 6 per cent. must pay one-half of the excess into a general railroad contingent fund, from which the Commission may make loans to railways or buy equipment for lease to them. Until the valuation it is making is finished the Commission may make use of the "book cost" of the carriers as a basis for determining the earnings that should be allowed.

It is impossible now to say how the railways will be grouped for rate-making purposes, or how large the advances in rates in different territories will be. The total "book cost" is now about \$19,500,000,000. It would require \$1,170,000,000 net operating income to yield an average of 6 per cent. on this. The net operating income of the Class 1 railways—all the large roads—in 1919 was \$516,000,000. This indicates need for an increase in freight rates—if no advances are made in passenger rates—of approximately \$700,000,000, or an average of about 20 per cent. Further advances in wages, or other increases of costs, would necessitate a still larger increase.

Will this legislation enable the railways to raise enough capital to expand their facilities and reconstruct their service? Recently railway bonds and stocks have sold extremely low—bonds at prices yielding the purchaser 6 per cent or more; stocks on which dividends have been regularly paid for years at prices yielding 7 to 10 per cent. This has been due to uncertainty as to the future of the railways and to general financial conditions. The uncertainty as to the future of the railways has been largely removed. The return the new legislation requires them to be permitted to earn for two years is as large as they ever earned in the past for any considerable period. It is not reasonable to assume that the Interstate Commerce Commission will, for some years at least, reduce the return allowed. It appears doubtful if the railways that are required to pay part of their surplus earnings into a general contingent fund will find this a serious handicap in financing.

On the whole, it would seem that the ability of the railways to raise capital, expand their facilities, and improve their service will depend more on general financial conditions than on conditions peculiarly affecting them. The existing income-tax laws render many former large investors in railway securities indisposed to buy—anything now except tax-free government bonds. When the railways try to buy materials and employ labor for improvement work on a large scale they will find them both unprecedentedly scarce and expensive. But many investors and manufacturers of materials seem likely to recognize that the growth of the country's industries is dependent on the increase of the capacity of the railways, and, in consequence, to favor them both in making investments and in selling materials.

A WORLD-WIDE RAILROAD SYSTEM

REORGANIZATION, UNIFICATION AND NEW RELATIONS TO THE PUBLIC
COMING EVERYWHERE AS RESULTS OF THE WAR

BY JUDSON C. WELLIVER

ONE result of the war, it is already apparent, is to be a revolutionary change in the organization of the world's railroads, their rapid development into something like a universal system, and a new recognition of their international importance.

The return of American railroads to their owners, with legislation extending Government guarantees of financial support and in return imposing more rigorous conditions of Government control, is typical of the new relations of the railroads and the state everywhere.

Even the most casual survey of the new railroad conditions in the world must impress the fact that striking changes are already taking place, which point to yet wider departures hereafter from old conceptions of the iron highway's place in the scheme of the reconstructed world.

As to economic and industrial organization, it is frankly enough recognized that the present period represents the end and the beginning of an era. What the readjusted world will be like, what it ought to be like, is the question on which men's differences are dividing them into new political parties and new schools of economic thought. Whatever may clearly indicate the directions of the new movement, the controlling purposes at the beginning of the new era, is of profound interest; and there is good reason to say that no other index to these tendencies has thus far shadowed forth so definite an outline of what lies ahead as may be described in a consideration of what is happening to the railroads.

Our Dependence on Transportation

The war has left most railroads worn out, or bankrupt, or both. It has greatly changed their relation to the public, or at least the public's conception of that relation. Largely because railroads are now unequal to the

tasks demanded of them, millions of people face starvation, states totter on their governmental foundations, systems are under critical examination as to their right and capacity to perpetuate themselves. In the railroads may be studied a cross section of almost all the problems of finance, of relations between labor and management and the state, of inadequate equipment, shortage in materials, decreased production, and suddenly vastly increased demands for service.

The world knows as never before how dependent is its complex modern economic system on transportation, and how insecure are its transportation facilities. Railroads and shipping divided the transportation burden, and even before the war both were pressed to meet demands. Especially was that true of railroads. The war stopped expansion and wrecked much of the old plant. A British White Paper states the maritime shipping losses, British, allied, and neutral, during the war, by enemy action and marine risk, at 15,058,786 tons. The world had about 49,000,000 tons to begin with, so the loss was near one-third. New construction was given as 10,849,527 tons. But that new construction would have been needed, and produced, to meet normal expansions of business, even if there had been no war.

War Burdens of the Railroads

The deficit in ocean-going capacity has been compensated partly by relentlessly cutting the volume of shipments and travel, partly by increasing the share of railroads and motor highways. The increased burden of the railroads has been vast. A British Parliamentary authority states that 55,000,000 additional annual tons were thrown on the kingdom's railroads because of the reduction in coastwise shipping. Thus transportation economies in passenger and

non-essential freight movement were cancelled by the increase in tonnage of vital essentials that must be moved by rail. London, for instance, had its passenger service much reduced, and much freight was eliminated; but on the other hand, it had to get nearly all its coal by rail during the war, whereas formerly about six-sevenths of it came by sea.

Not only did the sea lose its security during the war, but that security is not restored by the peace. With all its pretensions of lofty purpose to inaugurate a new day of peace and universal security, the Versailles treaty does nothing whatever to insure against a repetition of submarine destruction in a future war. The Entente powers declined to have Versailles discuss "freedom of the seas." Nothing has been done to outlaw the submarine, and so, tacitly at least, the precedent of the German campaign is accepted. With the most elaborate and ambitious of "world settlements" making no reference to submarine methods and excesses, can it be doubted that any national malefactor of the seas will in future claim right to do what Germany has done?

Confronting the probability that the same thing will happen again, the world sees the need to consolidate, unify, and closely knit together its railroads so that if necessary they can in emergency carry the greater tonnage that would be thrown upon them by any interference with sea traffic. This means development of continental systems, and of intercontinental linkings; it means tunnels under the English Channel and the Straits of Gibraltar, and, one day, under Bering Strait. It means that railroads must hereafter be both strategic and economic facilities.

South American Railroad Projects

On the western continent, a corresponding development is the serious revival of interest and effort, especially in South America, in a Pan-American railway. During the war, South American railroad construction well nigh ceased, but measures for developing a real continental system, connected with the Central and North American systems, received great impetus. A rail line from Magellan to the Arctic Circle, about 10,000 miles, would make the trip possible in sixteen to eighteen days. Since President Roosevelt, in 1903, sent a commission to investigate the subject, much progress has been made. It is calculated that about

10,100 miles of lines would connect New York and Buenos Aires; of which 6661 miles are already constructed, and of the remainder various sections are planned or under construction.

South America illustrates the changed situation regarding railway finance. Before the war, European and American capital was largely relied upon. For a considerable time, at least, Europe will be unable to carry a large part in such enterprises, and in South America, as almost everywhere else, the tendency is to place government financial resources back of railroad construction.

The Tendency to Public Control

This assumption by government of responsibility for railroad financing has gone so far that it may be said that, in the old pre-war sense, there are few privately controlled railways left in the world. A German survey in 1913 showed 464,421 miles of privately owned and 225,711 miles of state railways in the world. Outside of the United States, which had 256,823 miles, all privately owned, or 37 per cent. of the world's mileage, the mileage of state-owned railways considerably exceeded that of the privately owned. Since then, Canada has proceeded far toward frankly nationalizing its roads. Great Britain has not gone so far, but its policy tends the same way. The reconstruction measures adopted in France since the war leave the formerly privately owned lines with rather less independence than remains to the American roads under the Cummins-Esch law. Nationalization is everywhere the tendency.

Europe in 1913 had 100,285 miles of privately and 116,111 of publicly owned railroads. The latter included most of the mileage in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, Norway, Serbia, Rumania, Bulgaria. Great Britain, Turkey, Greece and Spain had only privately owned roads. France and Sweden had both, with private ownership of the greater part. The two systems pretty equally divided the mileage in Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Portugal, and Denmark.

America had more than half the world's railroads—356,000 miles, of which public ownership claimed only 28,223, chiefly in Mexico, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Brazil and Canada.

Asia had 44,292 miles of state and 23,298 of private roads. State lines predominated

in India, Japan, Siberia, Siam, and the Dutch Indies; private ownership in China, Ceylon, Asia Minor, Cochin-China, and the Malay States.

Africa was supplied with 11,129 miles of private and 16,564 of state roads. The Union of South Africa had about 8000 miles of state and 3200 of private lines. All the German colonies had state ownership exclusively; the French, Italian, and Portuguese colonies had exclusively private mileage; the remaining small lines were pretty evenly divided. Australasia had 20,421 state and 1615 privately owned miles.

The Great Problem of Rehabilitation

From the beginning of the war, the world overlooked and underfed its railroads. They were the first utilities to be seized and turned to public use; they were remorselessly squeezed. Inadequate to meet requirements even before the war, they had for five years a maximum taken out of them and a minimum put in. Everywhere governments are struggling with the problem of their rehabilitation. After less than two years' actual participation in the war, without any of the actual military destruction that was inflicted on railroads throughout large European areas, it has been often said that our railroad problem is the largest single one of the era of reconstruction. Yet America was better able to provide more money, rails, cars, locomotives, than any other country. The scheme and system of our roads have not been disturbed; whereas in Europe, Africa, the Near East, changes of political boundaries and the redistribution of economic resources in relation to sovereignties and transportation facilities have been so revolutionary that it may fairly be said that the railroads—what is left of them—have no logical relation to the requirements of their communities.

Readjusting Railroad Systems to the New Map of Europe

A group of men around a table at Paris drew some lines and wrote some clauses, and thereby restored the Kingdom of Poland to the map. Piecing together parts of three old empires into a restored Poland, and drawing a red line around it, was simple enough. But in that restored Poland were fragments of three railroad systems. The Germans had built political and strategic railroads in German Poland. The Russians and Austrians had done the same in their

parts. Now, Poland, restored to something like its old political unity, but without money, credit, or economic organization, finds itself compelled to reform its transportation system.

This Polish situation is a sample of what has happened to Europe. When the Polish partitions were completed, the three divisions of the country had become stepchildren in strange families, to be disciplined, subjugated, assimilated. The Germans directed railroad development, in their part of Poland, to strengthen the ties that held it to them, and weaken those that were reminiscent of the old national unity. Commercial, social, and political relations run along railroad lines as truly as the brain's impulses are communicated through the nerves. A large part of the international boundary between Germany and Russia was a line through the heart of old Poland. Russia and Germany always faced the possibility of a war, and each built its railroads in Polish territory, with reference to this. Germany, which earliest of all the states conceived the part railroads would play in war, wanted to be able to run its trains straight across the international boundary, using the enemy's railroads. Russia feared exactly this. So while Germany built its railroads on a gauge of 4 feet 8½ inches, Russia built on that of 5 feet. The Germans ringed Russian Poland with strategic railroads, and devised a system of light railways with narrow tracks and tiny cars and locomotives, to be laid rapidly in occupied territory. The Russians arranged, in most cases, that direct lines should not cross the international boundary, and laid out their own strategic system. It has many times been said that one reason Germany started the war in 1914 was the approaching completion of this Russian transportation program.

At the international boundary a Russian road would come to track's end at some insignificant village or military post; and the same was true of the German roads. These termini on opposite sides did not match; the Russians did not want to provide rails with which the enemy might easily connect. The Germans even devised a system of changeable wheels and axles, to adjust their cars and locomotives to the wider Russian gauge. This made it the more necessary for the Russians to keep their termini as far from the German termini as possible.

In all this strategic game the first thought was political and military; the last was to

develop a railroad system to serve the people of the different sections of Poland. So when we read that the Polish Government is now operating somewhat over 7000 miles of railroad that were turned over to it by the treaty of Versailles, we may erroneously conclude that Poland starts pretty well equipped. In fact, it has no railroad system at all, and confronts the need both to weld the existing fragments into a system and to equip it. The railway administration found only 1700 usable locomotives, about 3800 passenger and 31,694 freight cars. It needed 7000 more locomotives, 176,000 freight and 17,660 passenger cars! It lacks shops, repair establishments, and machine tools.

Poland Must Build a New System

Current operations result in a regular monthly deficit for the Polish railroads, as indeed for those of almost every other country. In the first four months of 1919 revenues aggregated 162,000,000 Polish marks, expenditures 247,000,000. Passenger rates are perhaps the lowest in the world. One may travel 310 miles, first class, in the Krakow district, for 78.75 crowns, equivalent to about \$1.30.

One of the worst features is that the railroads are largely in the wrong places. Undeveloped and sparsely populated districts are often better provided than areas of large population and production. The railroad authorities aim to build new lines as fast as possible to systematize the roads and connect them with the German, Austrian, and Russian systems. Generations before railroads were dreamed of, Poland was commercially important because it lay in the path of the great caravan traffic between the East and the Free Cities of the Baltic region. Poland has an acute apprehension of the advantages of reestablishing that relationship; particularly of making itself the gateway to the rehabilitated Russia that will one day be buying largely from and selling in like proportion to most of the western nations.

Difficulties of Other European States

Poland's railroad problem suggests what most of Europe faces. Other new or re-organized states are in the same case. Czechoslovakia inherits fragments of transportation systems designed for an entirely different political and economic scheme than is now in effect. The same is true of Yugoslavia, of Rumania, of Austria, and of Hungary. In

one area political unity is given, without any corresponding unity in means of communication; in another a long-established unity, to which transportation systems had adapted themselves, is wrenched apart. Mr. Hoover, seeking to feed Budapest at a time of crisis, had food at Trieste, and a railroad from there into Hungary—and yet could not move the food because a new international boundary had been interposed, a new national control was in possession of part of his railroad, and Italian control at the Trieste end had other uses for the railroad. After the Armistice had become effective, all the states, little and big, in central Europe, adopted the policy of holding fast to such rolling stock as they had, and seizing whatever might come their way.

The Russian railroad breakdown appears most nearly complete. Always inadequate, the roads have been without fuel, cars, power, lubricants, everything, with the result that people have starved in some sections while surplus foods went to waste in others only a little way distant.

To the extent that they can be executed, the terms of the peace treaty increase some difficulties of the situation. Thus Germany is required in ceded territory to turn over the railroads, with full normal equipment of motive power and cars. If this clause were strictly enforced, Germany would have to provide, out of its poverty of equipment, a full supply for the ceded parts of Poland, Alsace-Lorraine, and Schleswig. This quite aside from the requirement that Germany turn over to the Allies 5000 locomotives and 150,000 cars. This latter provision has crowded sidings in parts of France with locomotives and cars that cannot be used, while other parts of the Continent are well-nigh stripped. It was stated that at one time all Rumania, with over 2300 miles of railroad, had only eighty-four locomotives fit for service.

Pre-War Mistakes in Railroad-Building

If we were able to look back from the eminence of a century hence, we would probably note that the World War marked the end of the haphazard era of railroad provision for the world. Down to that war, we would note, railroad development had been dominated in many countries by the promoters, speculators, and financiers. Some roads had been built without economic justification; others that were really needed had not been built at all. Distorted development

had resulted in many directions; undue congestion of population, industry, and commerce in places favored by rates and facilities; neglect of other areas; unwise competition in both construction and service.

Equally unfortunate were other countries where railway development had been influenced by strategic, imperialistic, and political factors. This would be true not only of Europe, but generally of colonial possessions throughout the world, and of railroads built by alien concessionaires in Asia.

Continental Aspects of Railroad Development

Our observer of a century hence will conclude that these old methods and their unfortunate effects were only dimly understood, even at the end of the war. Nevertheless, he will find that with the peace came a disposition to systematize the railroads of great areas; to give Europe a real system, of continental proportions; to link the systems of Europe and Asia; to put the further construction of African roads more nearly on a basis corresponding to economic requirements, instead of building roads with political control primarily in mind. He will find that the post-war era gradually recognized that the railroads have a larger than merely national importance and character.

Americans, whose country is so big that they have had little occasion to deal with neighbors, have paid little attention to the procedure by which transportation in Europe has slowly and painfully gained recognition as a continental affair. The series of Conventions of Berne, from 1890 down to 1906, marked the creation of a sort of Interstate Commerce Commission for Europe, its seat at Berne. It has striven against great difficulties to minimize the obstacles which boundary lines, tariffs, national prejudices, and military obsessions have created. It has organized the schemes by which freight moves in bond over international boundaries; by which passengers may travel in through trains through two or more countries; by which railroads of different countries, whether privately or state owned, get their distributive shares of the revenues; by which cars of one country passed freely into another. It superintended the intricate system of accounting which dealt with the proceeds. Its task was enormous, and of the greatest difficulty, as may be judged by what has been said of the conditions under which the different parts of Poland were equipped with

railroads, and the difficulty of unifying them under the new conditions.

The Treaty of Versailles, in Article 366, says:

From the coming into force of the present treaty the high contracting parties shall renew, in so far as concerns them and under the reserves indicated in the second paragraph of the present article, the conventions and arrangements signed at Berne . . . regarding the transportation of goods by rail.

If within five years from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty a new convention for the transportation of passengers, luggage and goods by rail shall have been concluded to replace the Berne convention . . . this new convention and the supplementary provisions for international transport by rail which may be based on it shall bind Germany even if she shall have refused to take part in the preparation of the convention or to subscribe to it. Until a new convention shall have been concluded, Germany shall conform to the provisions of the Berne Convention . . . and to the current supplementary provisions.

Article 367. Germany shall be bound to coöperate in the establishment of through ticket service; . . . shall accept trains and carriages coming from the territories of the Allied and Associated Powers and shall forward them with a speed at least equal to that of her best long-distance trains on the same lines. The rates applicable to such through services shall not in any case be higher than the rates collected on German internal services for the same distance, under the same conditions of speed and comfort.

These are only a small part of the treaty's provisions to insure German coöperation in the recreation of the United States of Europe under the Berne scheme. The Berne plan will be reestablished, and given greater powers than ever. The provision in Article 366 that the new Berne convention "shall bind Germany even if she shall have refused to take part in the preparation of the convention or to subscribe to it," is one of the most important, in relation to the future organization of this world, in the whole treaty. For it lays down the principle that transportation by rail is of such importance that a nation must not be allowed to interpose obstacles to its freedom. Sovereignty is made secondary to universal requirements. It is not hard to conceive circumstances in which a League of Nations or a world-embracing Berne Convention may, at no distant future, brush aside any objections that mere national sovereignty may set up to block the construction of a Cape-to-Cairo road, or of an intercontinental binding the three Americas. The Versailles treaty will be cited as good authority on the necessity for uninterrupted transportation.

The refusal of the Entente Powers to discuss the freedom of the seas at Versailles will probably have a direct effect of furthering the internationalization of railroads. The submarine has made the seas less secure than ever before. In the World War the allied navies hopelessly overmatched the Central Powers', yet in less than three years of unrestricted submarining, for which it was ill prepared at the beginning, Germany inflicted such losses on her enemies that the very issue of the war was long in doubt.

It is at least an interesting reflection that an instrument presuming the lofty aims of this treaty contains no attempt to curb maritime murder and prevent wholesale destruction of shipping, belligerent and neutral.

The Projected Channel Tube

It is already obvious that some, at least, of the nations realize the implications of this. England herself is one of them. She is moving to secure her independence of the very seas that have given her power. She proposes to hold the seas against the world, and to make herself as secure as possible from submarine attack.

This brings us to consideration of the Channel Tunnel. Twenty-two miles of tube from Dover to Sangatte, France, would mean that the submarine would lose most of its terrors for England. The happy hunting-grounds of the submarine in the late war were in the narrow and shallow waters of the Channel and the Irish Sea. However the submarine may be varied in future, it will still be most effective in such waters as these. The "Chunnel," as they call it in England, would make it unnecessary for British shipping to risk the waters of this bottle-neck. They could enter ports anywhere in Great Britain or France, escaping the areas where observation is easy; unship their cargoes, and send them by rail under the Channel, if need be. Assuming England and France to be at peace, the coastline of either would become the coastline of both. No fleet of submarines now conceivable could maintain such a patrol of this wide area as was maintained over the small tract through which, during the late war, most of the shipping had to pass and repass.

Napoleon I, Stephenson, Napoleon III, and Ferdinand de Lesseps are among the famous names that have indorsed the Channel tunnel. Detailed plans were perfected in 1856, from which time it has been a tangible project. British conservatism always

opposed, French imagination always favored it. In 1874 a French company sunk a shaft and actually bored about a mile and a half of tunnel; a few years later an English company did nearly as much at the Dover end. Then British opposition halted it again. The World War and the submarine brought British opinion to the view that Frenchmen had taken from the beginning. To-day there is no serious opposition in either country.

Pre-war engineering calculations placed the tunnel's cost at \$80,000,000. It could be built in four years, and at the deepest part of the Channel would be 260 feet below low water. At that point the Channel is 165 feet deep. There would be two parallel tunnels, one taking traffic in each direction. The tunnel is, in truth, a far less imposing or less expensive project than either the Panama or the Suez ditch. That it will be built in the near future is as near certainty as anything of the future can be. The Channel Tunnel will make Britain, with her great fleet, comparatively safe from the submarine; but it will not make other countries safe from the menace of the British fleet. Rather, it will unchain that fleet from a home base such as it haunted during the late war, and set it free to seek out the commerce of the enemy everywhere. At the cost of three or four dreadnoughts, Britain would double the effectiveness of her fleet.

But Anglo-French plans for security from the submarine do not end here. The Channel Tunnel would mean an ultimate unification of the railroad systems of the two countries; and already they are looking still farther ahead. There have been built two great ocean-linking, continent-dividing canals. On the world's map are just as plainly indicated two continent-linking under-sea tunnels; one under the Strait of Gibraltar, the other under Bering Strait, connecting North America with Asia.

A Tunnel at Gibraltar

Of these, the Gibraltar tunnel project has been a dream of engineers for decades. It, likewise, has been revived by the war. It would be rather shorter than the Channel tunnel, but owing to the great depth of the sea would have to lie, at the lowest point, more than twice as far below sea-level. Its calculated cost is slightly less than that of the Channel project.

Down to the great war Gibraltar was never able to compete with the Channel in

attractiveness, for there was no very manifest reason for spending so much to connect Europe and Africa. But when the submarines were doing their worst, Britishers and Frenchmen alike fell to talking of it again. If a Channel tunnel were built, and then a like one at Gibraltar, a railroad line down the west coast of Africa would carry traffic by rail to Cape Verde, the westernmost point of Africa, whence it is only about 1100 miles, through wide and open seas, to the nearest point of the American continent! Such a route would give the Allies feasible access, secure from submarine, to the food and other supplies of South America, and would still further lessen the dependence of the western powers on a sea from which all restrictions of law had been removed.

If the strategic argument for a Gibraltar tube seems a bit fanciful to-day, the economic case for it is far more impressive than during the war. Africa has become well-nigh a French-British continent. France and Spain have extensive common interests in Morocco, by reason of which it is the French understanding that Spain would readily assent to the project. France is planning a railroad down the west coast of Africa to join up her possessions and match the British Cape-to-Cairo line through the heart of the continent. Plans are discussed for connecting these two systems, and making the trip from London or Paris, via Gibraltar, to Capetown easy and vastly shorter than by way of the Cape-to-Cairo line. The appeal of such a project to the newly awakened spirit of French imperialistic adventure is easily enough understood; and if it be suggested that France is in poor position to undertake such vast exploits, a Frenchman, at least, finds answer in the retort that if France fifty years ago could give the world the Suez Canal, despite British opposition, France to-day, with British coöperation, surely can give it the Gibraltar tunnel.

Perhaps another generation will see the submarine tamed; but even so, before another generation shall have passed it will have scared the world into boring these two tunnels and unifying the railroad systems of the United Kingdom, France, Spain, and West Africa.

The French are dreamers of magnificent dreams; and their engineers bring realization of the dreams. They saw Suez when British statesmen feared it as a menace to India, British commerce dreaded it as an

attack on British sea supremacy, and British engineers pooh-poohed it as an engineering impossibility. They saw Panama, and failed only for want of means. They saw the "Chunnel," and have at last won Britain to it. Now they see Gibraltar.

Tunneling Bering Strait

These visionaries who look forward with calm confidence to the twentieth century completing the world's conquest by western civilization do not stop yet. They have another great obstacle of nature marked for conquest: Bering Strait.

A tunnel under the strip of water that connects the Arctic and the Pacific would be about twice as long as that at Gibraltar. In some ways it is believed an easier engineering undertaking, for there are two islands to break the long jump. Borings could be started both ways from each island, and from both the Siberian and Alaskan shores.

Before there is use for a Bering tunnel the Trans-Siberian road will have to construct a line, probably from Lake Baikal, through Eastern Siberia and the Kamtchatka peninsula, and the Canadian-Alaskan systems will have to be carried across Alaska. But the Canadians are far into their northwest already; our own Alaskan system—the Government's first plunge into state railroad construction, by the way—is so far and so well developed that Alaska's transportation future is assured. In the whole scheme of joining Asia and America by rail, there is no single feature that looks more improbable to-day than our Alaska railroad system would have appeared to conservative people when we first learned that there was a bonanza on the Klondike.

New Railroad Mileage in Russia, Siberia, and China

Even before the war nearly all countries were inadequately provided with railroads. We have noted that the United States had nearly 40 per cent. of the world's mileage, yet even this country was alarmed at the decreasing construction of new lines. England and France have discovered that they need considerable new mileage to open undeveloped areas. Russia and Siberia cannot be developed without huge transportation systems. That of Siberia will have to be provided, as were the roads of the United States, on the theory of building the railroad

first and trusting to population to take advantage of it later.

China has a greater area than the United States, and probably four hundred million people. It has less than seven thousand miles of railroads. The British *Board of Trade Journal* calculates that in the next twenty-five years at least fifty thousand, possibly even one hundred thousand, miles of railway will be built in China. Chinese railway construction has been almost suspended since 1914. Enlightened Chinese and friends of China recognize that railways will be the best safeguard against disintegration of the Republic. They will largely overcome both alien intrigues looking to partition and the great diversity of language, interests, and customs among the different sections of the country. China, with its huge population waiting to be served, presents a sharp contrast to Siberia, with the area but without the population. Yet it is a curious fact that the unpopulated areas have commonly presented greater attraction to railroad enterprise than the populous ones. The development of the American-Canadian railroads, the Trans-Siberian line, and many roads in colonial areas all over the world, illustrate this fact. Since the war began, Australia has opened a trans-continental line, its motive partly economic and partly strategic. Yet Australia, in area equaling the United States, has only about five million people.

Germany's Problems of Operation

The railroads of Poland have afforded illustration of the transportation chaos that the war has brought to much of Europe. Those of Germany illustrate certain new problems in engineering and operation, also results of the war. Not only does the Peace Treaty take from Germany a large part of its coal-producing area, but it requires Germany to furnish, over a long period, great tonnages of coal to France and Italy. Mr. Keynes has shown how impossible it will be for Germany to maintain its railroads and industries with the coal remaining in its possession.

Germany's alternative is electrification of the railroads—a program that is suddenly finding favor in many parts of the world. Germany proposes to harness her water powers and as rapidly as possible operate her railroads with hydroelectric power.

Electrification as a Solution

Italy is in even worse condition than Germany because it has practically no coal. On the other hand, Italy has marvelous water-power possibilities in her mountain ranges. The Alps in the north and the long Apennine chain extending the length of the peninsula make it possible for Italy to convert water power into electricity and distribute it throughout the entire country. Italian enterprise is already undertaking the task, and the railroads will be electrified as rapidly as possible.

Last year a French commission came to the United States to study this country's accomplishments in railroad electrification, and it is proposed to equip and operate a large part of the French system with hydroelectric power. In Chile, Argentina, Brazil, and other South American countries the electrification program is urged by the same consideration as in Italy: lack of coal, on the one side, and abundance of water power on the other. Our own railway engineers and financiers are generally agreed that electric power must be applied to our railroads very largely in the next generation.

Even in England, although it has little water power, electrification is planned. Lacking water power, England has immense coal resources, and it is proposed literally to electrify the kingdom—to divide the country into industrial and transportation regions, with reference to coal supplies, and to establish great electric plants in each coal area, to convert the energy of the coal, right at the pit-head, into electricity, thence to be distributed throughout the region, for both railroad and industrial purposes.

So conservative and well-informed a railroad authority as William Michael Acworth has recently raised the question whether England will ultimately find it worth while to try to save her present railroad plant, or decide, in view of the necessities of unification and electrification, to scrap it entirely and start over. Mr. Acworth is one of the world's greatest railroad authorities. He has written voluminously against government ownership, but the war has changed his views. As a member of an expert commission he recommended that Canada nationalize its railroads, and in a recent article published in England he reached the conclusion that even that country must accept the nationalization program.

CANADA AND RAILWAY NATIONALIZATION

BY SIR PATRICK THOMAS McGRATH

(Member of the Legislative Council of Newfoundland)

AT the moment, when the United States is handing back the railways of that country to private owners, having apparently realized that nationalization is not feasible, the neighboring Dominion of Canada, on the other hand, is deliberately proposing to undertake the nationalization of its railways as far as possible, in the belief that it can make this venture a success.

Canada, rather curiously, has an even greater provision of railway accommodation for its people than has the United States—one mile of railway for every 234 persons—while in the United States there is but one mile for every 390. Indeed, many contend that Canada is overprovided with railways, especially in the West, where some twenty years ago an agitation set in for an increased provision in this respect, because of the expectation that the country would develop at a much greater rate than actually proved to be the case. An extreme example of government effort in this respect is seen in the famous Hudson Bay Railway, built to the shores of the Northern Sea to satisfy the demands of the Western provinces for an outlet in this direction, the success of which must be very questionable.

Canada's generous provision of railways is to-day one of the chief features in causing the financial and economic stress and strain through which she is passing, and which threatens to become still more serious before it takes a favorable turn. During the late war hundreds of miles of railroad iron was taken up to be sent to France, and it is doubtful if much of this will ever be relaid, because the existing facilities are considered to be ample for most of the territory which the other lines helped to serve.

In Canada the question of railway nationalization has now become a regular party issue, the Unionist Government, headed by Sir Robert Borden, having committed itself definitely to this policy; the farmers, who have taken a prominent place

in the political developments in the country in recent months, being similarly inclined, while the Liberals are disposed to take the contrary course, supported by the business community in the main, which may be described as being opposed to the principle. On behalf of the government it is argued that its hand was more or less forced by the exigencies of the war. Some privately-owned railway systems became financially embarrassed and after being helped from the public treasury to a certain extent, and further demands being still made, the government decided it would be a cheaper and better policy to take over the railway companies and this was done with the Canadian Northern Railway in 1918, while in the closing months of 1919 the Grand Trunk System was acquired—not outright, as with the other, but under conditions which are virtually equivalent to outright purchase.

A Unified Transcontinental System to Compete with the Canadian Pacific

Until the past two years Canada had three great railway lines crossing the continent. The Canadian Pacific was one; the system composed of the Intercolonial, National Transcontinental, and Grand Trunk Pacific was the second; and what was known as the Canadian Northern was the third. These had a total mileage, roughly, of 38,000, and about 18,600 miles were represented by the Canadian Pacific, one of the greatest transportation agencies in the world. All the rest have now been brought into a unified system known as the "Canadian National Railways" and designed to form under government operation a fit competitor to the Canadian Pacific.

It is frankly admitted that efficiency in operation to an extent realized by the Canadian Pacific is scarcely to be expected from the national system, but it is hoped that the example of this privately owned line will help to maintain the standard of the gov-

ernment organization, while, on the other hand, the strong argument for the new system is that it will be able to keep rates so low that the C. P. will be unable to make excessive charges for services in any part of Canada.

This argument, while pleasing enough in theory, has yet to be exemplified, and it must be admitted that in so far as Canada's previous experience goes there is little to encourage the hope that this result can be accomplished except at a very heavy cost to the taxpayer.

It is needless to say much in describing the Canadian Pacific Railway System, the fame of which is world-wide. Its principal competitor in Canada has been the Grand Trunk—a line operating chiefly in the Province of Ontario. This road was established about fifty years ago, and has been supported by English capital, and dominated by an English directorate. It has 3500 miles of track and operates in the most populous section of Canada. Yet the official returns show that it only made a profit in 1918 of about half the amount required to meet the fixed charges. Its Western extension, known as the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, was undertaken about fifteen years ago, during the premiership of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as part of a transcontinental system. Its 2800 miles has been a dead weight around the neck of the parent concern.

Another part of the great railway project of that period is what is known as the National Transcontinental Railway, extending from a point in New Brunswick to the west. It was to be built by the government and operated by the Grand Trunk, but that company was obliged to throw it back on the hands of the government some two or three years ago, and since that time it has been operated as part of the government system. It, too, proved a losing venture from the start. Perhaps no better illustration can be afforded of the hasty manner in which these projects were enterprised than to point out that the Transcontinental Railway was estimated at the outset to cost only thirteen million dollars, and actually cost 250 millions.

These lines were designed to work in conjunction with the Intercolonial Railway System—the original government railway of Canada—built as one of the terms for the federating of the Maritime Provinces with Central Canada half a century ago, and operated by the government ever since.

The third transcontinental system was

that which was known until recently as the "Canadian Northern" or "Mackenzie and Mann" system, from the two railway magnates who devised and carried the enterprise through. This line was built in various sections of Canada as traffic seemed to warrant, the intention being to join up the different parts later, but that stage was never reached. The intervening links were supplied by the second system. This Canadian Northern line was taken over by the government in 1918 and amalgamated with the Intercolonial and National Transcontinental. By the recent enactment the Grand Trunk System was acquired and now there are but the two competing agencies—the Canadian Pacific, privately owned, and the other aggregation, entitled "The Canadian National Railways," publicly owned.

Financial Difficulties

Canada's financial position to-day is serious. Her obligations total about three billion dollars, one-third being made up of her outlays for the public works and services of the country for the fifty years that confederation has been in existence; one-third being her outlays in connection with the Great War, just ended; and one-third being her railway properties, including, of course, those recently acquired, as above stated.

To put it otherwise, Canada must find every year from current revenue the money to pay the interest on three billion dollars, including the one billion represented by her railway investments, payment of which must be made either in the form of interest to holders of debentures or stocks of the original companies which she has acquired, or meeting deficits in the actual operation of the line. Her present revenue and systems of taxation are not adequate to meet all these demands, and the necessary costs of carrying on the public services of the country. The public men of the Dominion are, therefore, issuing warnings as to the need of economy and increased production.

This, however, is easier said than done. The experience of the war shows how difficult it is to reduce expenses of permanent government services in the face of the increased cost of everything nowadays, which we describe by the phrase the "High Cost of Living." If Canada is able to carry on her railroad undertakings satisfactorily and make them pay as if privately owned, she will accomplish something that has never been done before. Canada is in this regard

in a better position than any other country to determine the possibilities in this respect, because railway ownership and operation is not altogether a new experiment for her. In the Intercolonial Railway, serving Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and Quebec, she has had a government line in actual working for forty years, and it has never paid the interest on the outlay, and until recently rarely made two ends meet in operating. This condition was excused by practical politicians on the ground that the people got certain benefits through the reduced rates which the line charged, but on the other hand, while this might be true of the section served by the railway, yet the whole of the Dominion had to be taxed to meet the cost of operating the line, as well as the cost of many millions of dollars in the original construction and subsequent improvement.

Within the past two or three years the government had to take over and operate, in conjunction with the Intercolonial, some 2000 miles of the National Transcontinental Railway. The capital cost or actual expenditure on this mileage was 306 millions. For the twelve months which ended on the 31st of March, 1919, the working expenses of the Canadian Government Railways, as thus represented, were \$43,696,000; and the actual revenue was only \$37,906,000.

Within the same period Canada has acquired, as already stated, the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk lines, which are not likely, judging by their records in the past, to add to the money-making operation of the government system. Neither of them was in a position at the time of their taking over by the government, to meet its capital charges by its revenue. This is no pleasant prospect for a country with 8,000,000 of population, already facing a debt, apart from the railways, of \$2,000,000,000.

What Are the Roads Costing?

A further example of the difficulty of making railways pay is seen in the last official statement of the Canadian Northern Railway under government operation. This shows a deficit for the current year of \$5,587,000, which represents only the difference between traffic receipts and money paid out for actual operation, taking no account of interest on the capital invested, money spent for improvements, or anything chargeable to capital account.

Last year, as just shown, the operating deficit on the Canadian Government Rail-

ways—not including the Canadian Northern—was about six millions. In addition the government spent nearly thirty-five millions which was charged to capital account. This brought the total excess of all expenses over all receipts up to forty million dollars. Had a fair charge been added for interest on the cost of these railways this total would have reached nearly sixty million dollars. So, it is obvious that the admitted Canadian Northern deficit must be multiplied many times before the people will find what that road will actually cost them this year.

But a more discouraging fact is that while the Canadian Northern in its last full year of company operation (1918) actually made a profit—a small profit, indeed, not enough to meet its accumulated financial obligations, but sufficing to pay its running expenses and to leave a surplus of five and one-half million dollars—this surplus was transformed in a little more than a year of government operation into a deficit of a similar sum.

Take again the facts respecting the Grand Trunk Railway System. This line under company operation was officially credited with having operating premiums of three millions for 1919. In taking the road over the government assumed obligations totaling nine millions. These obligations were as follows:

To pay four per cent. interest on all debentures of the company;

Four per cent. interest on all credited stock, and

Four per cent. interest on the arbitrated value of all the other securities of the line.

The first item means an actual interest charge of six millions; the second of about \$2,250,000; the third an uncertain amount, but there is a provision in the agreement of arbitration fixing the minimum amount at \$2,250,000, but by even cutting this in half it will be seen that Canada has to face obligations of over nine million dollars, less three millions of surplus earnings if the road is operated as cheaply as by the private company. If the same expense ensues as with the Canadian Northern, however, the result is likely to be a doubling of the deficit.

It is estimated in some quarters to-day that Canada is actually losing on her railroad project thirty-five million dollars a year, and that within another twelve months the sum will be increased to about sixty million dollars as a minimum when all these lines are in operation as parts of the "national" system.

CONSTRUCTIVE LEGISLATION IN CANADA

BY OWEN E. MCGILLICUDDY

THE administration of the Union Government at Ottawa is being severely criticized in many quarters, on the ground that it has outlived its usefulness. But there is no doubt that since its election to office, in December, 1917, it has put through more legislation of a varied character than any other government ever attempted in the history of the Dominion.

The acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway, the prohibition enactment, the problems incident to the repatriation and reestablishment of Canada's soldiers, the elimination of patronage, the development of a Canadian merchant marine, new social legislation, and the creation of the Board of Commerce—these are only a few of the progressive and necessary steps initiated by the government during the past year. The very nature of a number of these questions made for contention rather than unity of support, and Hon. N. W. Rowell, President of the Council, has frankly admitted that while the government was unpopular, it had courageously handled all problems which had been brought before it and would take up the problems yet to be solved in the same spirit.

"No government could do its duty during the past two years and be popular with all classes and sections of the community," he said. "If Canada was to do her whole duty during the war it was indispensable that restrictions and obligations should be imposed upon the people, in order that the nation's energy should be directed to one supreme effort—the achievement of victory. People do not like restrictions and obligations, and no government that imposes them can be popular once the pressure of war necessity is removed."

Mr. Rowell pointed out that while practically all the Orders-in-Council passed under the War Measures Act had been repealed, many of those affected by the orders would still resent the restrictions, no matter how important in the national interest their enactment may have been. "No government," he said, "could enforce compulsory

military service without provoking hostility and resentment in thousands of families who were unwilling to let their sons go to the front. No government could abolish patronage and appointments to the public service which affect every constituency from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and deprive thousands of men who have been political workers of the hope of reward, without incurring strong hostility from large elements in every section of the country. No government could pass legislation which would deprive men who were accustomed to having liquor in their homes of the opportunity of securing this liquor, without provoking hostility from thousands.

CANADA'S ENHANCED PRESTIGE

"In short," pointed out the President of the Council, "Union Government was put into power by the Canadian electors to do things which the country needed to have done, but which no party government was willing to undertake; and the question is not whether Union Government is popular, but whether Union Government has done right—has served the public interests. The fact is that Union Government has dealt with great national problems from the standpoint of the public need and the public interest, regardless of whether their action would be popular or unpopular.

"The net result is—and it cannot be gainsaid—that outside the boundaries of Canada the name of Canada never stood so high as it does to-day, and no country which took part in the war has suffered so little from the inevitable results which follow prolonged participation in a great war. Canada has emerged from the war with her credit enhanced at home and abroad, and she faces her second year of peace with brighter prospects and a more assured future than in any year of her history."

CARING FOR THE RETURNED SOLDIER

Undoubtedly the Union Government has been responsible for much useful work in



THE NEW PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS AT OTTAWA—WHERE THE DOMINION LEGISLATURE SITS—REPLACING THOSE DESTROYED BY FIRE FOUR YEARS AGO

connection with the demobilization and repatriation of the Canadian Expeditionary Forces. When the armistice was signed Canada had 277,439 men overseas, of whom no fewer than 43,000 were sick and wounded in British and French hospitals. All these sick and wounded, with the exception of less than 100, have been returned to Canada; and, with the exception of about 1000 men engaged in closing up matters in Great Britain, all members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force have now been returned and demobilized.

The total amount paid out in war-service gratuities by the Canadian Government up to last December was \$148,405,030.78. It is estimated that about \$22,000,000 more will be required to complete payment to members of the C. E. F. and to Canadians who served in the imperial forces, making a total of \$170,000,000 paid by Canada on account of war-service gratuity. Pensions in Canada have been higher than in any other country; and included in the amounts paid by Canada for pensions is a war bonus of 20 per cent. The total number of pensions granted up to October 31 last was 82,661.

During the past year the government brought under review the question of settling soldiers on land. At the spring session of the House of Commons last year a bill was passed under which a soldier may receive a loan up to \$7500 for the purchase of land, livestock, implements, and the erection of buildings. By December 44,278 had made application for qualification certificates for such allowances. Of this number 33,496 had been approved, and 18,309 loans had been provided, amounting to \$54,701,858.

EDUCATING AND TRAINING THE DISABLED

Disabled men are being reeducated and retrained to fit them for some useful occupation; and over 40,000 applications, including both classes, have been approved for reeducation or retraining. More than 34,000 applicants have already entered upon their course, and nearly 9000 have graduated. At its last session, Parliament voted approximately \$33,000,000 for the work of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment. This is apart from \$40,000,000 voted at the autumn session. Labor exchanges have been established throughout Canada, with the result that up to December 6 over 101,000 returned men had been found employment,



ONE HOUSING PROBLEM SOLVED!
(Madam Parliament moves into a suitable residence)
From the *Star* (Montreal, Canada)

or 96.5 per cent. of all who applied for assistance. More than 24,000 returned men had been given positions in the government service up to December 31.

At the autumn session Parliament placed at the disposal of the government the sum of \$40,000,000 for reestablishment work as set out in the report of the repatriation committee. This money, as required, is now to be disbursed by the Patriotic Fund under the directorship of General Ross, to meet cases of absolute need. Taken altogether—war-service gratuity, pensions, land settlement, reeducation and retraining, providing of employment, and an unemployment fund—*no other warring nation has equaled Canada in providing for the returning men or dependents of those who fell.*

HOUSING AND PROHIBITION LEGISLATION

The government has adopted legislation providing for the spending of \$25,000,000 in a housing program to be carried out in each of the provinces. Seven hundred houses have already been built in Ontario, and another 700 are under way. Every province but one is taking advantage of the legislation. Ten million dollars has been set aside for technical education, and grants will be made on condition that the provinces spend a similar amount.

The Union Government has given Canada the most advanced temperance legislation in her history. Under the legislation passed at the last session of Parliament, any province can absolutely prevent the importation of liquor into its territory for beverage purposes.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

One of the most important measures of the government during the past year has been that relating to civil-service reform and the reclassification of the whole service on the basis of merit. No more important act dealing with the civil service has been passed by any Parliament. According to Mr. Rowell, patronage has been entirely eliminated, both in appointments and promotions. "When the work is completed," said he, "it not only should result in the elimination of the grave abuses which are inseparably associated with the patronage system, but it should also result in a very sub-

stantial increase in efficiency in the service."

Undoubtedly in so gigantic a work mistakes and apparent injustices will occur, but the new act provides machinery whereby all these matters may be reviewed by a Civil Service Commission, errors corrected, and injustices removed. It should result, from the point of view of an efficient Civil Service, in (1) better pay for the service rendered, (2) promotion on merit, and (3) security of tenure. To the public it should result in greater efficiency in the government service and a substantial reduction in public expenditure by the gradual elimination of unnecessary and inefficient employees.

IMMIGRATION, AND A MERCHANT MARINE

Owing to the amendments in the Immigration Act, Canada's settlers will be selected with much greater care than in the past. The government has taken power to deport from Canada those persons whose aim it is to overthrow by force all constituted authority or those who believe in, or are opposed to, organized government.

Among other important work accomplished by the present administration has been the creation of a Canadian Trade Mission in London under the direction of Mr. Lloyd Harris, the creation of a Board of Commerce to stop profiteering, the passage of a more direct bankruptcy law, the creation of the Canadian Wheat Board to market the cereal crop of the Dominion, the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway, and the establishment of a Canadian Merchant Marine in connection with the government system of railways.

The government has contracted for no fewer than sixty steel freight ships, ranging in net weight tonnage from lake size, 3750 tons, to 10,500 tons, with a total net tonnage of 359,945. Government ships are now carrying lumber from British Columbia to England and Australia; others are running to Newfoundland, Liverpool, Glasgow, and London. When the ships now contracted for are completed the Canadian merchant marine will be plying to and from the important ports of all continents, developing Canadian trade and giving Canada a government-owned and operated transportation system by rail and by water circling round the globe.



Photograph from U. S. Forest Service

FORESTS ON THE SOUTHERN SLOPES OF THE BLUE RIDGE IN THE SAPPHIRE COUNTRY OF NORTH CAROLINA

FOREST PRESERVATION IN THE EASTERN MOUNTAINS

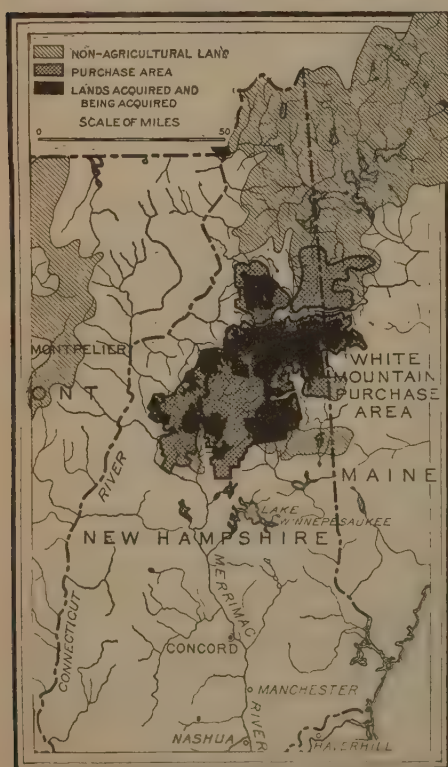
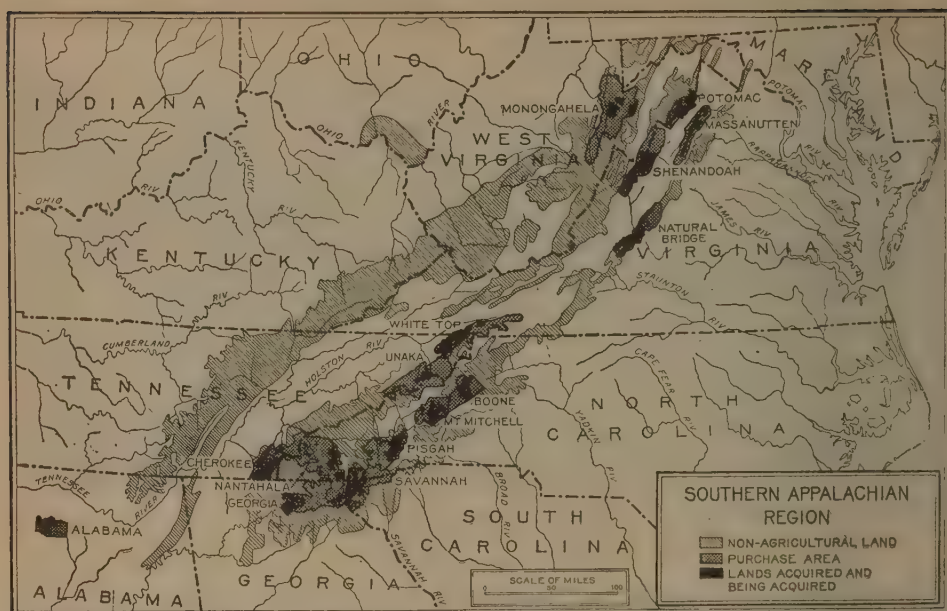
BY PHILIP W. AYRES

(Forester of the Society for Protection of New Hampshire Forests)

WHEN climbing in the White Mountains one comes at intervals upon prominent new red posts beside the highway or the trail. They mark the boundaries of the national forest reserve recently purchased by the Federal Government. Every climber now may choose his camp for the night at will on the reserve, under Mt. Washington or in the Franconia Mountains, or in the newly acquired primeval forest on the slopes of Mt. Chocorua. His are the wide stretches of valley, the floating clouds, the fresh upland fields. As he climbs through the hardwoods and hemlocks into the spruces and firs and through the stunted gnome woods into the fir scrub toward the summits, he finds no more boundary posts until he reaches the valleys and farm lands on the other side. He realizes that as a citizen he is joint owner not only of the whole mountain, but also of the whole range. Here the old lumber camps are in decay. The new forest is springing into life wherever fire has not destroyed the soil. A new patriotism fills his heart, a sense of protecting at the fountain head not only

the timber that will give to the people future houses, furniture and tools, but also pure drinking water to many cities, steady power at the wheels of hundreds of factories, and a strong, full flow upon which without interruption the shipping from these cities and factories may pass to and from the sea. What myriads of electric lights throughout New England are dependent upon the steady flow of mountain streams!

Crossing to the next range he passes a red post and the scene changes. The sound of many axes greets the ear. The sight of men and horses and confused logs meets the eye. He is on private land that is being stripped clean. Great black patches on the steep slopes mark recent fires that follow the lumber slash over thousands of acres. In a forest fire the soil itself, which is of vegetable origin, the result of age-long accumulations, is also burned. This profoundly changes the capacity for forest growth, and over whole mountains practically destroys the soil. Sometimes the soil of growing forests is changed by fire to bare and barren rock, per-



NATIONAL FOREST IN THE WHITE MOUNTAIN REGION—NEW HAMPSHIRE AND MAINE

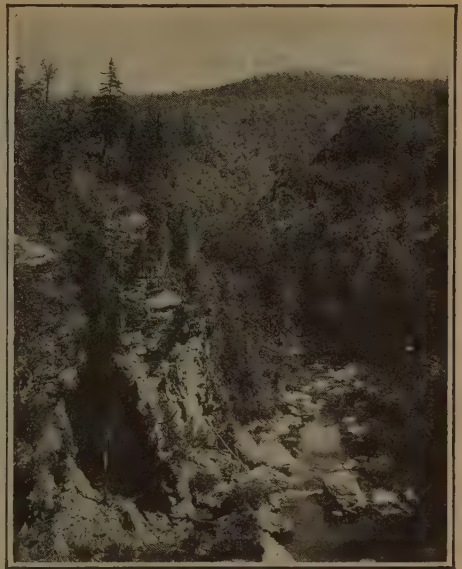
manently debarred from usefulness. On inquiry the climber learns that less than half of the original plan laid down by the Government in the White Mountain region has thus far been carried out. He drinks at a spring whose waters flow into the Connecticut River and Long Island Sound; five minutes later at another that flows into the Merrimac, and thence to the Atlantic Ocean. The one is on the National forest; the other on private land. Both should be protected, for both turn mill wheels and electric plants time after time on their way to the sea. When water fails at the wheels tens of thousands of workmen and workwomen must stop, or else the factories must resort to steam plants, expensively constructed, with coal hauled at high prices from distant States. Every important river in New England, except the Penobscot, rises on the great White Mountain watersheds, and they affect every New England State except Rhode Island.

It is the same in the mountains of West Virginia and North Carolina. One may camp on Mt. Mitchell, in North Carolina, at an elevation higher than Mt. Washington, in the midst of the worst lumber slash in Eastern America, where destructive logging with vast fires followed by unexampled erosion are doing their perfect work in depriving the American people of their heritage. Future prices must be higher because

the power of production over great areas in both the Northern and Southern mountains is destroyed by the hand of man in a single generation. When a forest in the high mountains is cut, the underlying soil freezes for the first time. Hitherto the forest cover with the duff and growth of ferns and mountain bushes has protected it, so that as the snow melts the soil holds back five times its own weight of water, an unbelievable weight, that keeps great rivers flowing on forever; but when the forest is destroyed the snow in springtime melts upon the frozen under surface and rushes down the mountains in torrents, carrying silt that fills up and spoils the mill ponds as well as the rivers and harbors, to be removed later from rivers and harbors by the Government. This expenditure maintains high taxes, and adds one more hidden element to the high cost of living.

Any who have gone through the terror of great floods that sweep down through such cities as Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, wonder that the problem has not been tackled earlier. Not only the property losses of millions of dollars, but also the distress of many hundreds of poor people who congregate on the low ground where land is cheap, compel the attention of the country and of Congress. Does it begin to be apparent that the mountain forest is, as a matter of fact, a primary element in the national welfare?

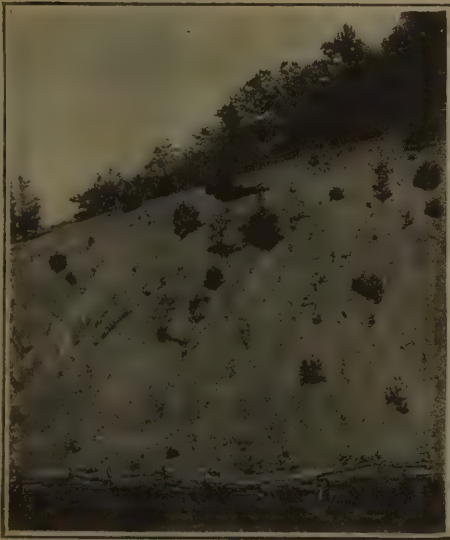
The maps show where forest land has



GORGE OF THE LINVILLE RIVER ACROSS THE BLUE RIDGE IN MITCHELL COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA
(Fair forest growth on steep, rocky walls)

been acquired by the Government in the mountains at the headwaters of the Monongahela River in West Virginia. This affects the floods in Pittsburgh. Other areas in that State, not yet acquired, at the headwaters of the New River and the Greenbrier, that discharge through the Great Kanawha, affect the flood situation at Cincinnati. Appropriations should not be withheld, nor should the wise policy fail until these lands also have been taken. It is fitting that the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce has memorialized Congress recently to continue this undertaking, and that the commercial bodies in other cities, the Merchants Association in New York City, the Chamber of Commerce in Philadelphia and Association of Commerce in Chicago, as a matter of general welfare, have joined in the request. In the Southern Mountains only one-fourth of the area originally planned by the Government has been acquired.

National forest reserves in the West were first established by President Cleveland in his first administration. During the thirty-five years intervening, 155,000,000 acres have been saved from private exploitation, having been separated from the public domain, and placed in the care of the United States Forest Service by Presidential proclamation. It is to President Roosevelt, how-



A TYPICAL CASE OF EROSION IN NORTH CAROLINA—
REFORESTATION PREVENTED BY CONSTANT WASHING



CLEAN CUTTING IN THE PRIMEVAL TIMBER AT WATERVILLE, N. H.
(In Switzerland the steepest slopes are never cut)

ever, that we owe the greatest extension. Members of Congress from some of the Western States began to be alarmed at the removal of forest resources from immediate "development," and secured a law that no more forest reserves should be set aside in certain States except by act of Congress. Before signing this bill, Mr. Roosevelt, in characteristic fashion, signed proclamations setting aside nearly 50,000,000 acres in those and other States.

The great national forest reserves are located almost exclusively in the Rocky Mountains and far Western States. They equal in size the six New England States combined with New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, and afford ample protection at the headwaters of the great rivers of the West, such as the Columbia River, the Missouri and the Colorado. Grazing land and rocky highlands above timber line reduce considerably the total forest cover. Much of the standing timber is still inaccessible. As it becomes available it will help to meet the growing needs of the West.

What about the East, where population is more dense, and the original forest nearly depleted? To begin a policy of forest reserves in the East, Congress passed what is known as the Weeks Law, appropriating eleven million dollars for the acquisition by purchase of forest lands at the headwaters of navigable streams not already protected. This was approved by President Taft on March 1, 1911. It has been applied exclusively to the acquisition of forest land in the eastern mountains. Four hundred and

thirty thousand acres, or seven hundred square miles, have been taken in the White Mountain region of New Hampshire and Maine, and nearly three times as much, or 1,200,000 acres in seven Southern Appalachian States — the two Virginias, the two Carolinas, Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama. One small purchase has been made in Arkansas to join two pieces of land already owned by the Government.

To protect these purchases from pork-barrel influences, they are very carefully safeguarded: before the Government can take

the land, the legislature of that State must pass a law specifically inviting the United States to acquire forest land within its borders; the United States Geological Survey must certify that the lands, if acquired, will favorably influence the navigability of the streams flowing from the watershed; the Department of Justice must certify that the title is acceptable; the Forest Service must pass upon the capacity of the land to maintain forest growth, and its desirability for reserve purposes; no agricultural land may be taken, and finally, before



PRIMEVAL TIMBER ON MOUNT OSCEOLA,
WATERVILLE, N. H.
(Surveyed, but not purchased, by the Government)

any purchase can be made it must be approved by a special purchasing board, known as the National Forest Reservation Commission, that consists of three members of the Cabinet, the Secretaries of Agriculture, War and Interior, with two members of the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate, and two members of the House appointed by the Speaker. It is a seven days' wonder that with these restrictions the law works, and it is not surprising that before the several State legislatures and the Government departments and the Commission could be brought into cooperation, three of the eleven million dollars passed the time allotted for their expenditure, and reverted into the United States Treasury; but with splendid faith the officers of the Forest Service developed an orderly plan, and began to acquire forest land so effectively and well that Congress has twice given to it the stamp of its approval, once in 1916 when by special enactment the three millions that reverted were restored to the appropriation, and again in 1919 when the present Congress, in the face of war debts and excess profits taxes, appropriated \$600,000 to continue purchases and maintain the expert personnel for the year 1920. It takes an expert to buy forest land anywhere, but when the purchases are made under varying conditions in ten widely separated States, the necessary force become highly trained, and if scattered by a lapse of funds, cannot be reestablished without years of expensive practice.

If any one doubts the necessity for this policy of federal acquisition, let him remember that this nation, with an ever-growing population, is using its forest supplies three times as fast as they grow. There must come an end to this, and the pinch of very high prices is already upon us. Due to practical exhaustion the black walnut timber that Lincoln used to split into fence rails is now selling at \$260 for one thousand feet, board measure; hickory brings the same price. White pine that formerly stretched from Maine to Minnesota now has a greatly restricted output and sells for three and four times the prices of a decade ago. This is more than war prices; it is exhaustion price. Throughout the mountains, North and South, lumber operations, stimulated by high prices, are everywhere sweeping off the timber with unprecedented rapidity, except on the limited areas taken by the Government. Fire and erosion are ever at work.

What of the future? Shall the policy of Federal acquisition in the White Mountains and Southern Appalachians be continued or dropped? This is now before Congress and the American people to decide; and a clear decision is necessary, for a dallying half-policy can lead only to expense, and tends, like all inefficiency, to corruption. The original and special appropriations will have been used with the close of the fiscal year 1920. As in the past Congress will respond if the people make known their desire in letters to their representatives.



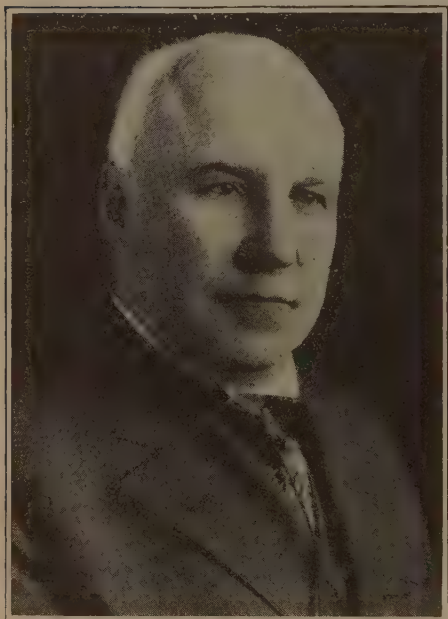
Photograph from U. S. Forest Service

VALLEY LANDS DESTROYED BY EROSION AND BY REDEPOSIT OF GRAVEL BARS AT CANE CREEK, N. C.

FRANKLIN K. LANE, AMERICAN

HIS PUBLIC CAREER AND HIS FORECASTS ON LEAVING OFFICE

BY WILLIAM E. SMYTHE



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HONORABLE FRANKLIN K. LANE, SECRETARY OF THE
INTERIOR, 1913-20

"I LOOK on America as a great experiment—as much of an experiment as a human life. It is a living thing which can make determinations for itself. It must falter and fail at times that it may learn. The test is: *Does it carry on?*"

I stood with Franklin K. Lane at one of the southern windows of his office in the great building of the Interior Department—a monument, by the way, to his own administration, built in the second year of his term—gazing out across the Potomac to the snow-clad hills of Virginia, a few days before he surrendered his portfolio to become a private citizen. Looking back upon his twenty-one years of public service, and contemplating with genuine sadness the early

severance of his relations with great public affairs and with the thousands of men and women who have worked with him, rather than under him, he found himself in a philosophical mood and disposed to adventure into an undiscovered country—the social and economic future.

There is no more hospitable spot in official Washington than the Secretary's big office, fashioned after his own taste. (Congress gave him \$8000 for the purpose, and he spent \$1800 with excellent results.) In one corner of the room is Dallin's statuette of the Soldier Settler, which one day may be cast in bronze, heroic size, and set up in the midst of a smiling homeland, where now there is but silence and desolation; a table of odd design and an easy chair that would have delighted the heart of a Hawthorne, since these articles of furniture are far more suggestive of literature than of officialdom. And, most cheerful of all, the crackling logs on the hearth. "There are no joys like an open fire and a dog," he remarked, with smiling reference to a solemn conference of Cabinet and near-Cabinet officials, bureau chiefs, and leaders of Congress, at which his own dog had been conspicuously present—the frantic efforts of a colored messenger to the contrary notwithstanding.

"Yes," he repeated, "the acid test of America in the fateful years that lie just ahead is the answer to that question—Does it carry on? Our policies are to be determined always by the ends we have in view. Our fiber is to be judged by the steadfastness with which we pursue these ends. Our past history gives us what we call our traditional attitude. To gain and to maintain that attitude is the essence of Americanism; and it is an attitude that expresses itself from generation to generation in different ways because of different problems which must be met. Therefore we do not treat any bit of machinery as sacrosanct. We ask that it shall serve the high end of our na-

tional life, and, if it fails, it goes the way of the outgrown, the obsolescent."

"Do you mean that the time has come to change our institutions—in a word, for revolution?" I asked.

America an "Animated Hope"

He shook his head and wrinkled his brow with the air of a man who wishes to make his meaning very explicit. "America is to me not a rigid, automatic machine," he said, "but a climbing, animated hope; therefore, I am not unwilling to have anything that is America subjected to challenge, scrutiny, and study."

He paused a moment and then went on: "But I ask (and I think with reason) that what has been devised shall not be discarded until a thing better has been devised and can be substituted, and it must be proved to be better. There is the thought that I believe must be emphasized more and more to our people: That thinking in a vacuum is no better than dreaming; that the test of statesmanship or of the value of any plan is its practicability in an environment that is not ideal; that political institutions and social institutions are like religious institutions, based upon the recognition of imperfect human nature. It is far easier to be a Mazzini than a Cavour."

It struck me at the moment that the Secretary himself had succeeded in being both the dreamer and the builder. I know how he has impressed his great qualities of imagination upon his associates, and even upon the public, while there can be no question whatever about his achievements in the field of actual construction; but let us listen a little further to his philosophy, while he is in the mood:

"The American attitude toward our problems is that each man shall have his chance; but this chance must come to him under definite rules; it cannot come to him, we believe, in a condition of chaos. The American is not slobber-jawed and loose-minded, but a believer in definite and precise thinking, in planning, and in the value of purpose. Before he lifts his foot he wishes to know where his next foothold is to be. The mountain-top is his objective, and how he is to get there he cannot in detail say, but he knows that he cannot get there by looking at the mountain-top; he must keep his eyes on the immediate rock that he is scaling, for mountains are not climbed by flight, but by steps."

"And the aim of it all is—" I suggested. He replied:

"Our aim is to make this the best of all lands; our belief is that we can accomplish this through the releasing of the latent qualities in all of the people; that no one, and no few, can do as much in this direction as all can if the inhibition of caste and of material dependence are lifted. Free men will formulate free institutions through which they can work in an orderly way, making waste only of those things which have proved useless.

"This I take to be the philosophy of American democracy. It is a philosophy of progress based on experiment, arising out of a sure faith that our attitude is unquestionably right, and that it will in time, and perhaps by difficult process, be translated into concrete social improvements."

Alaska as an Instance

I turned my mind back seven years to the beginning of his administration as Secretary of the Interior. The first and most urgent problem that awaited his decision was the troubled Territory of Alaska, enmeshed for years in acrimonious discussion; ruled by outside politicians; its resources bottled up in the name of conservation, and inaccessible for lack of internal transportation—the whole wonderful treasure-house little but the football of politics and the plaything of sensational journalism.

Did Alaska "carry on"? Hardly! It could not, under the circumstances. The new Secretary's first act was to nominate a real Alaskan as Governor—the first in the whole history of the Territory. Next, he urgently recommended the construction of a trunk railway from Seward to Fairbanks as the only possible way of opening the country to the enterprise of small capitalists as well as great. This railroad, now two-thirds finished, cost from \$60,000 to \$70,000 a mile, against \$221,052 per mile for the Government-built railroad across the Isthmus of Panama. Then came the leasing of the coal lands and the initiation of development in those neglected fields of vast potential value. Thus Alaska has become "a living thing" that could "carry on."

So, with our great resources of oil and water-power, the Lane philosophy—"development without waste"—is soon to be applied, after seven years of strenuous struggle for the necessary legislation, with incalculable benefit to the nation.

I returned to the Secretary's phrase—"concrete social improvements"—and asked him what these improvements should be. He replied:

"No one would attempt a full answer to such a question; the nearby answers are enough of a challenge. They grow out of what we have been learning for many years, but not realizing; and they may be said to consist of a series of discoveries.

"For instance, we have discovered our own illiteracy; that we, the boasted public-school nation, have millions of native-born, as well as foreign-born, who do not read the language of our laws, and millions more who cannot write a word of any language. That must be cured, and can be under such a law as the Kenyon Bill."

The Americanization Policy

The Kenyon Bill, which has recently passed the Senate and is now pending in the House, is the concrete expression of Secretary Lane's own policy of Americanization—a policy he has urged with passionate ardor, born of a sense of appalling danger inherent in widespread popular ignorance of our language, our history, and our ideals. If he had done nothing except to arouse the nation to this peril, and put the evil in the way of ultimate extinction, that single service would rank his name high among all who have sat at the Cabinet table from the beginning of the Republic. We must hear him further on this subject:

"Then we have discovered that free men are not always healthy men; that there is an amount of curable disease in this country that threatens to weaken the next generation as surely as it lessens the possibilities of this generation. If the States do not immediately learn the lesson the war has taught in this regard, the Federal Government will surely take over this field to itself—not because it wishes to, but because for national reasons it must. John D. Rockefeller has done more for the health of this nation than the Government of the United States, and neither one should have had to do anything, for it is the work of the States."

Realizing that he was about to take his hand from the wheel and leave this precious cause to others, and moved with the deepest earnestness for its final success, the Secretary walked up and down the room in silence for a moment, then turned to me and said, with the dramatic force of the orator that he is:

"If we could devote the years from 1920 to 1940 to an intensive campaign for getting possession of ourselves, realizing our crude resources in body and mind, we would lay the foundations for hundreds of years of splendid doings. The tools of life—a sound, usable body, and a mind that can have access to what others have found out—to give these tools of life to the largest possible number is a kind of socialism that not many will cavil at, for the ideals of democracy can hardly be realized when 25 per cent. of a war draft are isolated by ignorance and as many more discarded for physical reasons. Perhaps that does not suggest enough of a program for a generation!"

Homes for Millions—a Living Hope

He then turned to another subject which has occupied his mind and efforts for the past seven years, and which he is now compelled to pass on to others: "And we have found out that, physically, we are only discovering America; that we have tens of millions of acres of fine land that is unused, and many more unusable as it is; all of this can be reclaimed and made into homes. We must make country life more tolerable—to women especially—if we are not to become lopsided, running to city life and a mad industrialism. To cure this the Farms-for-Soldiers plan is a living hope."

Yes, and the Farms-for-Soldiers plan is not the only living hope of homes for men that Franklin K. Lane has planted in the hearts of American humanity. In his last annual report he proposes the nationalization of the reclamation movement which has wrought so greatly for the eighteen States of arid America in the past seventeen years. "We must liberate rich areas now held in bondage by the swamp, convert millions of acres of idle cut-over lands to profitable use, and raise from the dead the once vigorous agricultural life of our abandoned farms," he declared; and he suggested a concrete way to do it through the coöperation of the Government with private capital without the expenditure of Federal funds, in accordance with this principle: "Not what the Government can do for the people, but what the people can do for themselves under the intelligent and kindly leadership of the Government."

Remembering that it was he who urged the President to summon the representatives of capital, labor, and the public into friendly conference last October, at a moment when

the sky was black with threatened universal strikes, and that he had presided over what proved to be a disappointing adventure into the Land of Get-Together, I asked for an expression of his views on that question.

Relations of Labor and Capital

His response showed how deeply he had thought and how much he has learned from his contact with the captains of both sides during the past few years. I wonder if any statesman or economist has said anything finer than this:

"Labor and Capital—the Lamb and the Lion, Beauty and the Beast, Red Riding Hood and the Wolf—if these contrasts or combinations connote something real, then there is little prospect of peace for a long time in this or any other land. That is to say, if Labor is the good, the true, and the beautiful, and Capital is the incarnate principle of evil, then the fight is on until Labor triumphantly wins. But, if Capital means character in any part, or forethought, or natural leadership, or pluck, or organizing skill, or personal prestige, all incorporated into dollars; and Labor means an increasingly greater skill with hands and head (not a mere standardized bit of work that calls neither for initiative to get it nor struggle to do it), a moving, ambitious self-respect, a well-founded demand that the man shall be recognized—if these are Capital and Labor, then the problem is the human one of getting on together, and this is no more than one phase of civilization's whole movement from the primal day.

"I want to see this problem wrestled with until we lead the world in our ability to get on without constant civil war arising out of brutalities or wilfulness or indifference on the part of either. The first Industrial Conference was a charting expedition; it showed the rocks—some of them, at least. The second is an effort to find some course that promises a degree of safety. We will keep at it until we know the sea."

A Great Career

I looked back to my first meeting with Mr. Lane, eighteen years ago at Sacramento, one hot September afternoon. He was the central figure in a scene of tumultuous enthusiasm, acknowledging the cheers of the Democratic State Convention, as its nominee for Governor of California. He almost overcame a mountainous Republican majority—missing the election by only about

a thousand votes, and then because of the rejection of three times that number of ballots for technical reasons. Perhaps there has not been a quadrennial since when he could not have had the governorship for the asking.

I recalled his singularly successful service as Corporation Counsel of San Francisco, when he rendered a series of decisions on vital public questions, not one of which was reversed by the courts. These decisions were considered of sufficient importance to be perpetuated in a substantial volume.

I remembered his visit to the White House in the interest of the Hetch Hetchy water supply, and how President Roosevelt liked him at sight, and then and there determined to appoint him to the first vacancy on the Interstate Commerce Commission. As member, and finally, Chairman, of that important tribunal, he repeated his early experience by rendering a series of decisions on fundamental problems that were sustained by the highest courts in the land. Among those decisions was that which made interstate pipe-lines common carriers; also the Shreveport case, in which he denied the right of the State to discriminate against interstate commerce by granting preferential rates to local trade, regardless of the distance covered. He handled the novel and momentous questions involved in the Harriman consolidation of railroad and steamship lines; the long- and short-haul cases arising in Nevada; the complaints of the associated jobbers of Los Angeles, San Francisco, and other cities, in regard to the switching charges, and other matters of large and lasting consequence to the national economy. He served with distinction on the International Railway Commission as representative of the United States; on the Central Committee of the American National Red Cross; on the American-Mexican High Commission of 1916, and on the great Council of National Defense.

Standing at the apex of his public usefulness, in the prime of his intellectual and physical power, and at a momentous time in the life of the nation he has loved and served, it seemed little less than a tragedy that he must retire to enter upon private business in order to make the provision which every man owes to his family. To how many minds will the thought occur that if he had been born in the United States instead of Prince Edward Island he might be the Moses to lead his countrymen

out of the bondage of fear and doubt into the promised land of economic peace?

"Well, Mr. Secretary," I said, "now give me a final word for the people." He smiled in his characteristically warming and benevolent way, as he replied:

"Above all else in this country we need now a group of men of constructive imaginations, sound sense, large appreciation of the

values in America, spiritual and physical, who can sit down together year in and year out and plan for our orderly progress. We are running on hunches, treating symptoms—not studying problems and devising ways of meeting them practically. American democracy has not provided this group of Elder Statesmen, this Cabinet of National Engineering, but it will come."

THE FRANCHISE IN JAPAN



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MR. YUKIO OZAKI, FORMER CABINET MINISTER AND NOW LEADER IN THE NATION-WIDE AGITATION FOR MANHOOD SUFFRAGE IN JAPAN

(In the photograph Mr. Ozaki is reading the first draft of the suffrage bill in conference with the leaders of his party, the Kensei-Kai)

NOT a little surprise was occasioned in this country by the publication late in February of cable dispatches stating that the Japanese Diet had been dissolved by Imperial decree as a result of differences of opinion between the Cabinet and party leaders in the Diet regarding the extension of the franchise. Under the Japanese constitution a new election must be held within five months.

Perhaps it is not generally understood in America that less than 6 per cent. of the Japanese population now has the vote. Mr. Putnam Weale recently stated in *Current History* that the franchise, even with the recent lowering of voters' qualifications to the payment of direct taxes amounting to

\$1.50 per annum, is limited to 3,500,000 persons out of a total population of 60,000,000. According to Mr. Weale, the device of the direct-tax qualification disfranchises most of the modernized urban population and concentrates in the conservative country districts. Tens of thousands of educated men pay no direct taxes at all. The entire body of labor, farm laborers and mechanics, is excluded, even under the extension adopted in the legislation of two years ago.

A powerful agitation for universal male suffrage has been under way in Japan for some time. The Socialists have been especially active in this movement. In Parliament the leading opposition party—the Kensei-Kai—introduced a measure conferring the vote on all males without regard to property or educational qualifications and made it the chief issue of the recent session. Such rapid headway was made by the supporters of this bill that the Ministry seems to have feared to permit the matter to come to a test vote, and so applied to the Emperor for a writ of dissolution.

Mr. Yukio Ozaki, one of the leaders in the national movement for franchise extension, has had an important career in Japanese politics. He was Minister of Education under Count Okuma in 1898, and for nine years, beginning in 1903, served as Mayor of Tokio. He is an essayist and orator of marked power. Scenes at suffrage mass-meetings in Tokio are shown on the opposite page.

During the thirty years which have elapsed since the present constitutional government was instituted in Japan there have been forty-one sessions of the Diet. Seventeen cabinets have held office during this period, the terms averaging less than two years each.



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DEMONSTRATION FOR JAPANESE MANHOOD SUFFRAGE BY WORKMEN AND STUDENTS OF TOKIO



© K. Adachi

MORE THAN SIXTY ASSOCIATIONS AND LEAGUES IN ALL PARTS OF JAPAN ARE REPRESENTED IN THIS SUFFRAGE DEMONSTRATION AT HIBIYA PARK, TOKIO

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

VICISSITUDES OF THE GERMAN REPUBLIC

OBSERVERS from the outside have never been able to satisfy themselves as to the real nature of the German government under President Ebert which was overthrown last month. In the *American Political Science Review* for February Mr. Walter James Shepard, of the University of Missouri, gives voice to the suspicion that had been very generally held in this country as to the genuineness of the revolution of 1918. He says:

The war, with its shattering of national ideals, its appalling toll of life, the grinding misery which it imposed, and the insuperable financial bondage to which it condemned the nation for an indefinite future, might account for a thorough popular disillusionment which would sweep the nation into the current of democracy. But if this were the case, we would expect a general enthusiasm for the new government, an evident popular sense of the passing of the dark night of autocratic rule and a joy in the light of a new and happier day.

But Mr. Shepard proceeds to show that such an enthusiasm for the Ebert government never really existed. He divides the people of Germany into three main classes: First, a minority, consisting of nationalists and militarists who bitterly opposed the republic and agitated at every favorable opportunity for the restoration of the monarchy in its old form; second, another comparatively small group made up of the revolutionaries, the Spartacists, with some of the Independent Socialists, who were just as strongly opposed to the government and wherever possible used the instruments of "direct action" to bring about the revolution which in their opinion had not yet been accomplished; third, the vast mass of the nation, which seemed to Mr. Shepard to be "utterly indifferent with respect to forms of government." Of the individuals who made up this majority Mr. Shepard says:

Any régime which makes life easier, gives them something to eat and protects them from civil war, commands their temporary support. They are essentially opportunists awaiting the turn of events. Of real adherents on principle to republican, parliamentary, genuinely democratic government, there appear to be very few in Germany.

EIGHTEEN MONTHS OF GERMAN GOVERNMENT

The Ebert government, then, was created and maintained upon this uncertain and precarious basis of public opinion. In order to understand more clearly the recent trend of events in Germany, we may profit by the recapitulation of the successive stages of the revolution of 1918 as set forth by Mr. Shepard. As he considers it, the revolution falls into four stages: The first covered the period from October 3, 1918, when Prince Maximilian of Baden was appointed to the chancellorship, to November 9, when the Kaiser abdicated and the provisional government under the chancellorship of Friedrich Ebert was established. Since it was clear that the war was ending disastrously for Germany, a desperate effort was made to introduce such liberal measures as would satisfy the demands of the Entente Allies and conciliate the revolutionary forces in the nation. Several Socialists were included in the government, and reforms which progressives had been demanding in vain for many years were now instituted. In form, the German Constitution became as liberal as the English. Mr. Shepard calls this phase the bourgeois revolution.

The second phase was that of the provisional government under Ebert as Chancellor, extending from November 9, 1918, to the convening of the National Assembly on February 6, 1919. The government was in the hands of the Majority Socialists, though there was little change in the personnel of the higher administrative posts. Under the

law of November 30, which provided for a universal manhood and womanhood suffrage and proportional representation, the elections were held for the National Assembly. The government merely tried to hold things together until the assembly should convene.

The third phase extended from the meeting of the assembly to the promulgation of the Constitution on August 13. The assembly at once adopted a provisional constitution, under which Ebert was chosen President of the Republic and in turn appointed Philip Scheidemann chancellor. A ministry made up, with one exception, of majority Socialists and Centrists was organized and the government assumed a more regular character. Scheidemann, who opposed the acceptance of the terms of peace offered by the Allies, was forced to retire on June 20 and a new ministry under Gustav Bauer was installed. This change, however, did not affect the general character of the government, which was still supported by the Socialist-Centrist coalition in the National Assembly.

The fourth phase of the revolution in Germany was ushered in with the promulgation of the constitution on August 13. Ebert took the oath of office under the new constitution as President of the Republic and the Bauer ministry was continued. No change was made in policy or personnel. The National Assembly now took the place of the regular Reichstag.

THE GERMAN PRESIDENCY

Mr. Shepard proceeds to describe the general features of the constitution. We can mention here only a few of its provisions. (An accurate English translation of the document can be obtained, on application, from the World Peace Foundation, Boston, Mass.) Under its terms the Reichstag remains the representative body for the German nation as a unity. The members are absolved from obedience to instructions from their constituents. They are to be chosen by universal, equal, direct, and secret manhood and womanhood suffrage on the basis of proportional representation. Their term is shortened from five to four years and annual sessions are required. The President of the Republic may dissolve the Reichstag, but only once for the same cause. He is not limited, as was the Kaiser, in this power by the necessity of securing the consent of the Bundesrath. New elections must be held within sixty days after dissolution of the Reichstag

or the expiration of its constitutional term. Provisions regarding the President of the Republic are summarized as follows:

He is chosen by the whole German people, and must have completed his thirty-fifth year. Further details concerning his election and qualification are left to subsequent legislation. His term of office, seven years, is what the French would call a *septennat personnel*. If a vacancy occurs, a new president is elected for a new period of seven years and not for the unexpired term. Pending such election, or in case of temporary incapacity, the chancellor performs the functions of the office. The President is not subject to prosecution except with the sanction of the Reichstag. The provision of his removal is unique. On proposal by two-thirds of the Reichstag he is subject to recall by popular vote. During the period between the vote of the Reichstag and the referendum he is not permitted to exercise the functions of the office. In case the referendum sustains the President, it counts as a new election for the constitutional term of seven years and automatically entails the dissolution of the Reichstag.

The powers of the President include the representation of the nation in matters of international law, the accrediting and receiving of ambassadors, and the conclusion of treaties and alliances; but declarations of war and the conclusion of peace require national legislation, and alliances and treaties relating to subjects covered by national law require the approval of the Reichstag. The President possesses the power of appointment and removal of officials in the civil and military service, and may delegate this power to other officials. He has supreme command of the military forces of the nation. He may use the armed forces to compel a state to perform its constitutional or legal duties. When public security and order are disturbed and armed intervention becomes necessary, he may suspend the constitutional guaranties of personal freedom, the secrecy of the post, telegraph and telephone services, the right of assembly, the right of association, and the right to the possession of private property; but in these cases his action must be immediately reported to the Reichstag, which may revoke them.

After a survey of social and political conditions in Germany, made during a tour of the country in the fall of 1919, Mr. Otto H. Luken stated in *Current History* for February:

Germany needs a strong government supported by a nation which believes that the masses can be brought into order. However, there does not seem to be a people: there are only individuals who think of themselves alone. There is a minimum of altruism and a maximum of egotism. The only strong man in the government is the Minister of Defense, Noske. The Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Hermann Müller, a former labor union leader and party journalist, although a very capable and honest man, will hardly be able to bring about the necessary reform in his

department. So far no important appointments or changes in the personnel have been made which would indicate that the system of diplomacy of the past is to be discontinued. On the contrary, in this department, as well as in others, the Socialist chiefs have in many respects adopted the manners and customs of their predecessors. Only a month ago one of the most influential councilors of Bethmann-Hollweg and one of the most industrious and loyal agents of his system, the Privy Councilor, Dr. Riezler, was appointed Cabinet Chief of the German President.

OBSERVATIONS IN GERMANY

AN unsigned article in the *Quarterly Review* (London) contains much shrewd observation of the present condition of Germany, and lays particular stress upon the necessity of a clear statement by the Allies with regard to the future restrictions upon German trade.

Vital and admirable as the work of the German Government has been, it is not of a kind to strike the imagination of the masses, or to reconcile them to the needs and trials of the moment, and win for the institutions and men of the new régime a lasting prestige. Broadly speaking, there were two achievements capable of producing such an effect: peace, and the restoration of normal life on a reformed social basis. The German Government has failed in both. The bulk of the German people frankly admit the mistakes and responsibilities of the old régime, and are prepared to accept impositions much in excess of what they had been led to expect at the time of the armistice. As to the causes which are impeding the economic reconstruction and the proposed social reforms, they can largely be traced to the mistaken policy of a Supreme Council and of its agents, and are of such a nature as not only to foreshadow the collapse of the economic portion of the Treaty, which is inevitable, but moreover, cannot fail, unless speedily remedied, to create new burdens where the Allied peoples were led to expect relief.

Contrary to the intentions of the treaty and to the decisions of the Economic Conference which met at Brussels, the German authorities are denied control over imports and exports on their Western frontier. Through this "Gap in the West" the country has been flooded with expensive luxuries. Between the spring of 1919 and the end of November last year, for instance, the import of cigarettes which was in theory prohibited by law reached the amazing figure of four milliard marks—a sum nominally equal to the indemnity exacted from France in 1870.

The failure to define Germany's obligations is having an infinitely depressing and disruptive effect.

A bold scheme of synthetic economic reconstruction had originally been worked out from ideas evolved by one of the most brilliant of living Germans, Walther Rathenau, manufacturer, man of science, economist and publicist. But what government would invest its authority in schemes which, at any moment, may founder upon a decree of the Supreme Council? So the responsible minister, Wiessel, and his ingenious *Plan-Wirtschaft*, were dropped. There could be no more suggestive comment on the prevailing mentality than the words addressed by Wiessel's successor, upon taking up his duties, to his assembled subordinates: "My plan," he declared, "is to have no plan." And planless the life of the whole German nation is becoming.

The propertied classes, in so far as they have not smuggled their money beyond the frontiers, find no inducement in productive work; whereas workers and clerks spend all they earn. Why should they save, if all their savings are to be seized by the foreigner? All are tempted, very naturally after so many years of privation, to make the best of the present moment. "We are becoming a dancing people," said a well-known economist to the writer. Uncertainty is discouraging all effort and enterprise, and is making of the evasion of taxation a wide-spread practice. For the conviction is growing that any addition to private and public wealth would only serve to screw up Allied demands. That such is the effect of Allied policy is corroborated by the fact, confirmed by various bankers of standing, that private financial dealings have suffered but little deprivation, whereas a complete lack of scruple prevails in financial relations with the authorities.

The complete demoralization of the German people strikes every observer, and appears infinitely tragic to anyone who, before the war, had learned to appreciate and respect the integrity of the German officials.

Those who came into contact with German officials before the war, and had learned to appreciate their moral rectitude, combined though it often was with arrogance and bad manners, will experience a rude shock on revisiting the country. The change is distressing, because it illustrates, more strikingly than many other less obvious phenomena, the moral ravages of an ill-

considered and unjust policy. Under the corroding actions of excessive material impositions and moral humiliations, many of those subtle, unwritten social customs and laws, which more than anything else form the substance of Western civilization, are becoming inoperative. A whole people, and one rich with progressive potentialities, is losing its self-respect. No other expression can more adequately summarize the situation, and convey a sense of the dangerous path upon which Europe is being led, than the suggestive term used by a German statesman, when he complained that we were causing a general *Entmenschung* (dehumanizing) of his countrymen.

Reconstruction in the widest sense of the word, and a revival of trade and industry, are obviously the only safeguard against despair and violence, and therefore the only means by which the solvency of Germany, and her ability to pay even the sums already demanded of her, can be restored.

Consequently it is to the interest of the Allies that this restoration should take place, and as speedily as possible. But it cannot really begin until the disastrous uncertainty, which now hangs, like the sword of Damocles, over Germany's head, is removed. Until the German Government knows whether it will have to provide five or eight or ten thousand millions—in other words,

whether the sum is to be one which in course of time it may be able to pay, or one which will inevitably spell national bankruptcy and ruin—reconstruction on any considered plan, and given the moral and industrial revival on which solvency depends, are out of the question. The Supreme Economic Council and the Reparation Commission must take the situation in hand without delay; and the latter body, in particular, should be instructed to bear in mind, when making its final estimates, that excessive demands may mean the failure to get anything at all. No one in his senses now believes in the complete reimbursement of our war-losses which was so recklessly promised fourteen months ago. We may, indeed, agree that Germany, for her crime in initiating the war and for her brutalities in the waging of it, deserves to be made to pay the uttermost farthing; but what we have to guard against is that madness of revenge which recoils upon itself.

Nor will it suffice to rest content with this negative restriction of our demands; we must initiate and carry out a positive policy. The German Empire was, in matters of trade, our best customer before the war; we cannot afford to destroy so productive a source of national income, or to deprive our debtor of the only means by which she can be enabled to pay her debts. Commercial relations—under certain restrictions, no doubt—should be reestablished and fostered immediately on the ratification of the peace; and the renewal of political relations must follow.

THE FARMER PREMIER OF ONTARIO

AMONG our Canadian neighbors the latest political sensation is the rapid rise to power of the United Farmers of Ontario, a new party. The leader of this five-year-old organization, the Hon. E. C. Drury, was asked to form a cabinet, and since November last has been the first farmer Prime Minister of the Province.

As to the policy that the new government in Ontario may be expected to adopt, Jean Graham says in the *Canadian Magazine*:

At first, the lifelong Liberals and the die-hard Conservatives were highly disconcerted by the results of Ontario's voting, and wondered greatly what would become of this or that department and who would be the Leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition. As the days went by and no calamity appeared to befall the new government, the fearful of heart took comfort from the fact that the farmer will be an uncompromising foe of any measures resembling Bolshevism.

Men whose forefathers have possessed the land are not given to encore a speaker who deals lightly with property and who thinks the first duty of citizenship is to cause an upheaval. Mr. Drury and several members of the cabinet he has formed are men who represent the third or



HON. E. C. DRURY, PREMIER OF ONTARIO

fourth generation on the broad acres which they hold. Such citizens as these are not going to salute the Red Flag—nor will they tolerate the unfurling of its folds. The new Premier has promised that there is to be no class legislation—and he is a true democrat, with a due regard for law and order. He has indicated that the Big Interests have nothing to fear, so long as they are good and obedient, but that any tendency to play the game of "grab" will be summarily checked. The manufacturer's needs have been a prime consideration for so many years that the farmer need not apologize for chuckling when he considers himself in the light of a land mag-

nate to whom the corporation authorities may find it expedient to defer.

The policy of Prohibition will be carried out in accordance with the expression of Ontario's desire in the matter of as rigid restriction of the liquor traffic as relations with the other provinces will allow. Mr. Drury is personally in favor of Prohibition—as, indeed, are most farmers in Canada. The country tavern has proved itself a nuisance and a curse, and the farmer has seen for himself that John Barleycorn usually holds the first mortgage on the old homestead. So the blind pig is not to be tolerated in the Ontario farmyard.

EXPERIMENTS WITH THE HELICOPTER

THE flying-machine of a few decades hence may be a very different affair from the one of to-day. The principles embodied in aeroplanes—whether biplanes, monoplanes or others—may, perhaps, be cast aside in favor of some fundamentally different idea. Two other important types of flyers have enjoyed a theoretical existence for many years, though they have not advanced much beyond theory. These are the ornithopter, with flapping wings, and the helicopter, with direct-lifting screw designed for permitting it to rise vertically in the air.

The story of the helicopter goes back to the year 1784, when two Frenchmen, Launoy and Bienvenue, exhibited before the French Academy a small pair of oppositely rotating screws driven by an elastic wooden bow, which lifted itself in the air quite readily. In 1842 Horatio Phillips, in England, produced a small steam-driven helicopter, which rose successfully and traveled for some distance in the air. In 1878 a larger device of this sort, invented by Prof. Forlanini, rose to a height of 42 feet, lifting about 26 pounds per horse-power. More recently, man-lifting helicopters have been produced in France by Cornu and Bréguet, but they have not proved satisfactory for horizontal flight.

An article by Mr. R. G. Skerrett, in the *Scientific American*, tells us that two well-known American engineers, Prof. Francis B. Crocker and Dr. Peter Cooper Hewitt, have revived the project of the helicopter, with encouraging results. Mr. Skerrett says:

To one familiar with the art of mechanical flight, it is an old story that the airplane propeller is a relatively inefficient instrument of propulsion—that a very large percentage of the power delivered by the engines is lost simply because the screw fails to get a good hold upon

the air. To make matters worse, this "slip" grows in geometric ratio as the speed of revolution mounts higher and higher. Therefore, to provide the needful measure of sustentation, the flying machine's wings are given more and more surface in order to utilize the buoyant reactions of the atmosphere; for the wings are relatively much better able to play their part in keeping the craft aloft than is the propeller, as it exists in general service.

In the helicopter the blades of the propeller take the place of wings. This device has been subjected to much ridicule, and, in recent years, has been little heard of. The war was responsible for the renewed efforts above mentioned, to turn it to practical account. Concerning the experiments of Messrs. Crocker and Hewitt we read:

The machine was assembled and put through its paces at Ampere, New Jersey, last year. It was called into being as a possible aid in fighting the Teutons and the cessation of hostilities stopped further trials for the time; but before the tests were concluded it was amply demonstrated that a helicopter had been produced of a unique form which might come to stand in a class distinct from those machines of an allied type which had proved so disappointing. Doctor Hewitt and Professor Crocker accomplished their ends by breaking away from the lines of endeavor previously pursued by engineers and inventors. In particular they appear to have produced propellers of a far more efficient order than any airplane screws now on the market. Indeed, this may rightly be said to have been the key to their attacks upon the problem.

The airplane propeller that develops a lift or thrust of 10 pounds per horse-power on a fast machine is the exception rather than the rule, and a very large number of them do not give more than 6 or 7 pounds per engine horse-power. This would not do, of course, in a helicopter, where lift and sustentation must be secured by the thrust of the screws alone. The propellers finally produced gave a lift of 2550 pounds for 126.5 horse-power when making but 70 revolutions a minute! That is, the thrust was at the rate of 20.2 pounds per horse-power.

THE ECONOMICS OF THE PEACE TREATY

A NEW turn was given to the discussion of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles by the publication early this year of "The Economic Consequences of the Peace," by John Maynard Keynes. Before this book appeared most of the debate over the treaty on this side of the Atlantic, at any rate, had been concerned with the political aspects of the document.

Mr. Keynes is an economic expert (editor of the *British Economic Journal*), who as an official of the British Treasury prepared the British case for the Peace Conference on economic and financial questions. During the conference, he was in fact the principal adviser of the British delegation on such questions, and a member of the Supreme Economic Council. He is perhaps as well qualified as any man in the world to speak authoritatively on the economic issues of the war and the peace. For this reason his analysis of what he termed the blunders of the Peace Conference and his disclosure of the successive steps in the negotiations at Paris have had a sensational effect.

The chief points made by Mr. Keynes in his book were well summarized in the *Sun* and *New York Herald* by Mr. Paul D. Cravath, of New York, who himself had excellent opportunities for studying Europe's economic condition during and after the war. The following paragraphs are quoted from Mr. Cravath's admirable review:

What Keynes seeks to demonstrate is that the Treaty of Paris is a colossal blunder and, until radically revised, will be a menace of unparalleled portent to the peace, prosperity, and happiness not only of Europe but of the entire civilized world. His arraignment of the treaty may be summarized under two heads; first, that it was a gross breach by the Allies of the contract entered into with Germany under the leadership of President Wilson when the Allies, subject to certain reservations, accepted the terms laid down in the President "Fourteen Points" and his subsequent addresses as the basis of the peace that was to follow the armistice.

Keynes says: "The nature of the contract between Germany and the Allies resulting from this exchange of documents is plain and unequivocal. . . . The circumstances of the contract were of an unusually solemn and binding character; for one of the conditions of it was that Germany should agree to armistice terms which were to be such as would leave her helpless. Germany having rendered herself helpless in reliance on the contract, the honor of the Allies was peculiarly involved in fulfilling their part and, if there were ambiguities, in not using their position to take advantage of them."

He then proceeds with merciless logic to demonstrate in how many ways the terms of the treaty, which Germany was forced to accept without being given an opportunity to discuss its provisions, disregarded the contract. One of the most interesting chapters is the one which tells the story of how the President was led step by step to abandon his contract, always convincing himself that he "would do nothing that was not honorable, he would do nothing that was not just and right; he would do nothing that was contrary to his great profession of faith."

He does the President the justice of attributing to him sincerity. He says: "In spite of everything I believe his [the President's] temperament allowed him to leave Paris a really sincere man; and it is probable that to this day he is genuinely convinced that the treaty contains practically nothing inconsistent with his former confessions."

The climax of Keynes' analysis of the President comes when he describes Mr. Lloyd George's well known attempt to secure the softening of the treaty when at the last moment he took fright at its economic severities. "To his horror, Mr. Lloyd George," says Keynes, "desiring at the last moment all the modifications he dared, discovered that he could not in five days persuade the President of error in what it had taken five months to prove him to be just and right. After all, it was harder to de-bamboozle this old Presbyterian than it had been to bamboozle him; for the former involved his belief in, and respect for, himself. Thus in the last act the President stood for stubbornness and a refusal of conciliations."

It is against the economic and financial provisions of the treaty that Keynes directs his heaviest batteries. He shows with a singular clarity of analysis how Clemenceau, from beginning to end, was controlled by his conception of the peace that was required for France's safety, how he dominated the Prime Minister, who did not care what France got provided Great Britain got her deserts and finally how he dominated the President by convincing him that the peace that Germany was forced to take, whatever it might appear to be, was, after all, the peace of the Fourteen Points with a bitter coating that the Germans deserved.

The importance of the Keynes book as a report of the Peace Conference is also emphasized by Mr. Joseph P. Cotton, writing in the *New York Evening Post*. He characterizes the book as "the first report of these things by an entirely honest man of first-rate intelligence, first-hand knowledge of what went on at Paris, and good general information concerning European conditions and history."

There has been heretofore no public knowledge—as opposed to gossip and suspicion—as to what really happened at Paris. Whatever else the treaty was, it was not an open covenant openly arrived at. We have known that the treaty was a compromise, but we have had little idea as to

what views were compromised—what France urged or what France reluctantly accepted, and, save as to the tussle of opinion as to Fiume, the American public has had no idea what the American representatives in Paris asked for, worked for, or why they accepted what they did.

There has been no attempt by the President to explain the treaty or defend its terms, save to emphasize that it creates, by the League of Nations, a conference room for the nations which may well be a valuable substitute for the machinery of diplomacy, and certain valuable agreements of the nations as to retardation of war. Outside of the matter of Shantung it is fair to say that the only point connected with the treaty or the League generally discussed in America has been the question of the surrender of sovereignty by the United States involved in entering into any scheme of any kind for coöperation in European affairs.

Yet Keynes' book shows—and, to the satisfaction of any but the most partisan, proves—that in the negotiations of the Paris Conference, behind closed doors the President, without plan and without constructive suggestions and without assistance from his colleagues or his assistants, was constantly overmatched by the Tiger and the gentleman whom *Punch* pictures as the "Welsh lightweight," and that he was driven at the last to consent to a treaty which flagrantly and repeatedly violates the terms which Germany accepted as the basis for the armistice and the "Fourteen Points," a treaty which leaves Germany and Austria in a condition of economic serfdom for an indefinite period, and places upon Germany the payment of an impossible indemnity. Keynes proves that the treaty was a bad job, badly planned and badly done, and that Continental Europe—left as it is under the treaty—inevitably faces economic bankruptcy and decay—a long, silent process of semi-starvation and a lowering of the standards of life and comfort and civilization which must surely affect the allied as well as the conquered nations.

Approval of Mr. Keynes' benevolent attitude toward Germany is by no means unanimous. Thus, Professor Charles H. Haskins, of Harvard, who has given special attention to the question of the Sarre mines, takes serious exception to Mr. Keynes' treatment of this question. In a letter to the *New York Evening Post*, he admits that the "Economic Consequences of the Peace" is a brilliant book, but does not regard it as entirely trustworthy. He says:

Throughout the book the author's economic conceptions are curiously static. He pleads for the restoration of pre-war conditions as far as possible, irrespective of the fact that they gave Germany a position of peculiar advantage in Europe, and he opposes any correction of this balance in favor either of France or of the new states of the East. Having adopted a Germanocentric theory of European economic life, he follows it through. A little more imagination would show him that many readjustments are possible with the opening up of new natural resources and lines of trade and with the extension of the in-

dustrial revolution to eastern Europe; and a little more sympathy with non-German peoples would show him the injustice of reestablishing a state of affairs which Germany exploited to her own selfish advantage. Readjustment inevitably causes hardship in Germany, but it is necessary to prevent German dominance over peoples whom the war has at last set free. And when an economist tries to clinch a long argument on reparation by an appeal for German children, we are obliged to remind him that there are also French and Belgian and Polish and Serbian and Italian children whose claims deserve equal consideration.

Mr. Keynes' final chapter, in which he discusses possible remedies for the perilous situation resulting from the treaty, has been more savagely criticized in America than any other part of the book. Concerning the proposition that the Allies should cancel all the debts they owe each other, debts incurred for the purposes of the war, Professor Hazen, of Columbia University, says in the *New York Times* of February 29:

As far as the United States is concerned, this means about \$10,000,000,000 wiped off. Mr. Keynes' method of argumentation is peculiar and somewhat invidious. If the Allies do not do this, what will happen? They will be exacting intolerable "indemnities" from each other. In the case of "victorious France" she "must pay her friends and Allies more than four times the indemnity which in the defeat of 1870 she paid Germany. The hand of Bismarck was light compared with that of an Ally or an Associate."

We doubt if any Frenchman has had this brilliant thought that the hand of the Ally lies more heavily, upon him than Bismarck's. It does not require an exceptionally acute mind to see some difference between borrowing from a friend for the purpose of saving your country and having an enemy extort an indemnity from you and also take some of your provinces.

Unless these Inter-Allied loans are cancelled he expects that the allied nations will try to evade payment and that the demand for repudiation will arise, and this demand he apparently approves if necessary. "In short, I do not believe that any of these tributes will continue to be paid, at the best, for more than a very few years. *They do not square with human nature or agree with the spirit of the age.*" The italics are mine, put there because the sentiments expressed struck me very forcibly, and because the reader, reflecting on them, may get additional light as to the value of Mr. Keynes' guidance through the troubles of our time. Mr. Keynes admits that "It might be an exaggeration to say that it is impossible for the European Allies to pay the capital and interest due from them on these debts, but to make them do so would certainly be to impose a crushing burden." If they prove to be crushing, they can be reduced and relieved, can they not, without being repudiated? There is some distance between these two extremes. At any rate we can imagine the enthusiasm that would be shown in Congress for a bill cancelling ten billions of debt.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE DEFENDED

IN all the hostile criticism of the Peace Conference that has recently flooded the British and American press few attempts have been made to set forth impartially the difficulties and dangers that surrounded the framing of the Treaty. At least one such attempt has been made by Mr. Headlam-Morley, of the British Foreign Office, in an article contributed to the first number of *Discovery* and summarized by the London *Review of Reviews*.

VIENNA (1814) CONTRASTED WITH PARIS (1919)

"It is natural," says this writer, "to compare the Congress of Paris with the Congress of Vienna, and I fear that in the minds of many the result of the comparison has been, as it was expressed to me by a great scholar: 'I think we are all beginning to think better of the Congress of Vienna.' . . . But if we are to make the comparison, let us recognize at once that Paris had difficulties to meet from which Vienna was freed."

It is pointed out that in 1814 two things had to be done: (1) the settlement of the terms of peace between France and the Great Alliance, and (2) the settlement of numerous questions relating to the assignation of territory surrendered by France. These two stages were kept distinct. Peace was made with France within a few weeks; with the result that European powers were able to apply themselves in comparative leisure to the other problems.

In 1919 a different procedure was adopted; the whole settlement of Europe had to be made under the form of treaties of peace, and the settlement between the Allies themselves, a settlement in which inevitably strong differences of opinion must appear, had to be made while the state of war still continued.

Another difficulty arose from this procedure, viz., that direct communication with the enemy governments was excluded. A study of the text of the treaties will show that they deal, often in great detail, with matters of great complexity; this is especially the case in the chapters dealing with financial and commercial matters. Merely as a matter of procedure, the work would have been much facilitated had it been possible to discuss these matters around the table with the German delegates; the possibility of this was, however, excluded.

Another result was that there was thrown upon the Conference, not only the task of making peace, but the even more serious task of controlling the affairs of Europe during the process. What had to be done for the temporary administration of those districts whose ultimate fate had to be de-

termined? Many of these were the subject of acute controversy between our own Allies, and this threw upon the Conference the responsibility of keeping order in these disputed territories, and at times even preventing open hostilities between the Allied states themselves.

In 1814 there were no railways to consider; in 1919 "it was impossible to determine the frontiers without taking into consideration the lines of communication."

WERE THE FOURTEEN POINTS IGNORED?

But perhaps the most striking difference between Paris and Vienna arose out of the peculiar nature of the terms of the Armistice, in which were specified the general principles in accordance with which the peace was to be made. Germany had laid down her arms and the Allies had agreed to an armistice on the condition that the ultimate peace should be in accordance with certain principles which had been stated by President Wilson. These are generally referred to as the "Fourteen Points," but it is worth while remembering that they were, in fact, not limited to the fourteen points specified in his speech of January, 1918; there was also included in the correspondence preceding the Armistice a reference to any later statements that he made. In fact, the other statements which he made comprised four other lists of points in a categorical form, and made in subsequent speeches or official messages.

It has been stated that the Conference completely ignored the Fourteen Points, that they were not considered. This can be emphatically denied. Each individual can, of course, only speak as to his own personal experience, and this is necessarily limited to those parts of the discussions with which he was immediately concerned. I may at least be allowed to record my own experience. It is that throughout the discussions there was constantly present to the minds of those who took part in them, and frequent reference made to, the principles of the peace, and I can affirm, on immediate and personal knowledge, that in the Council of Four itself the decision on matters of the highest importance was determined by explicit reference to the Fourteen Points—e. g. a decision favorable to the Allies, and for which there were many grounds of expediency, would be rejected solely because it could not be reconciled with the pledges which had been given. But the principles by which the work had to be guided had not been expressed in a manner which made their translation into precise legal form easy; to a large extent they were general conceptions, aspirations, exhortations, and some of them were not easy to reconcile with one another.

Mr. Headlam-Morley gives some interesting illustrations of the problems arising out of the various Wilsonian dicta. The article is certainly one to be read for the light it throws on the complexity of the Conference's debates and decisions.

THE PROBLEM OF EGYPT

THE Egyptian question is dealt with—from the standpoint of colonial administration—by Major Lindsay Bashford in an article on "Lord Milner and His Mission" in the *Nineteenth Century* (February). After a glowing appreciation of the mission's personnel, Major Bashford refers to the increase of the "Egypt for the Egyptians" party:

Thus . . . I was not surprised when, in Paris on a January afternoon of this year, the Nationalist leader Zaghlul Pasha emphatically stated to me that the Egyptian issue had passed from party to nation. Somewhat bombastically, no doubt, this astute Egyptian affirmed that he was the leader of a people, not yet, perhaps, organized for common action but informed by a common ideal.

Zaghlul Pasha, comfortably installed in the Champs-Élysées, may appear to the general view but a hedonistic champion of a remote cause, but it is impossible to forget that in Egypt there are some fourteen million Egyptians, gradually being educated, according to English program, to some conception of nationality, whilst within the same confines there are only some 24,000 Britishers. One may be certain that the 56,000 Greeks, the 40,000 Italians and the 21,000 French who with the British community comprise the European section of the population, and are, indeed, the dominating factor in the commercial, industrial and financial life of Egypt, will avoid dispute or friction whenever possible, but will take good care to ensure that, whatever happens, their bread will be satisfactorily buttered.

It is, therefore, not out of place to inquire whether the terms of the existing Egyptian problem cannot now be simply and frankly stated. That the Nationalists can put forward some strong arguments cannot be denied. They have just grievances. How far, it will at once be asked, has the British Government acted conscientiously in the pursuance of its avowed policy of fitting the Egyptian to take an increasing part in the government of his country? This was the policy established by Lord Cromer and profoundly believed in by many of the able men who worked with him in the earlier days of the British occupation. That is, in general terms, the policy of the British Empire wherever native races are concerned. Sharing this belief Lord Kitchener made a characteristically bold attempt to extend and reorganize the representative institutions of Egypt. The war and the declaration of the Protectorate prevented his project from being carried out.

The declared object of Lord Milner's mission is to reestablish this policy. But the Nationalist party will not accept anything short of complete independence. Major Bashford seeks to show how impossible this is:

society to-day will at once make it clear how little competent the Egyptian is to maintain order in his own house. In the first place he has little commercial or industrial ability. He is temperamentally devoid of initiative, and is incapable of prompt decision. Certain pleasant qualities he undoubtedly possesses, such as patience, stolid industry and the capacity to endure. These are servant, not master qualities. He is not without a certain small ingenuity in money matters. He is saving and there is plenty of Egyptian capital in land and house property, but he has not the courage to use capital in a big way or the intelligence to grasp the wider principles of national industry and credit on which alone the prosperity of a people depends.

Egypt presents the remarkable spectacle of a country practically the whole structure of whose commercial and industrial life is in the hands of men of alien nationality: Greek, Italian, Syrian, French! How is it conceivable, under any sane theory of autonomy, that a race should govern itself when the control of its wealth, its credit and the organization of its daily industrial life is in other hands? Egypt to-day is exceedingly prosperous. She felt the strain of the war less than any other country within British authority and by reason of the war immense quantities of money were poured into Egypt between 1914 and 1918. Sir Valentine Chirol gives the Egyptian gain from war expenditures as at least 200,000,000l., and quotes the instance of a general store in Cairo which made in 1919 a profit of 350,000l. on a capital of 600,000l. Needless to say, this store is not run by Egyptians but by Syrians. Whilst, indeed, the country generally has benefited by this great and sudden war prosperity, the Egyptian has no control over the distribution of this new wealth. He may earn better wages, sell his live stock or his grain at higher prices, or even make a small profit on a modest deal in property. But he is always the wage-earner rather than the capitalist. He neither calls the tune nor pays the piper, but occupies a very modest seat in the gallery.

With regard to the restlessness at present in Egypt and throughout the Mohammedan world, "caused by the announcement of President Wilson's theories as regards the rights of small peoples and the public acceptance of those theories by the British Government," "the observer . . . cannot but feel that the propagation of Mr. Wilson's admirable theories has done a great deal of harm. A state, especially an Oriental state, cannot be run by ideals." It is fair to remark, says the *London Review of Reviews*, that when it was a question of winning the war, the propagation of these same theories did a great deal of good—so far as the Allies were concerned. But that, as the more subtle Western mind argues, is another story.

A glance at the curious condition of Egyptian



THE NEW BRITISH DREADNOUGHT, "HOOD"—A BATTLESHIP WITH THE SPEED OF A CRUISER

(Britain's latest battleship, the *Hood*, is declared to be the mightiest fighting machine afloat, with a displacement of 41,200 tons, armed with eight 15-inch guns and with a secondary armament of twelve 5.5-inch guns, and having oil-fired boilers and turbines, giving her a speed of 31 knots. The *Hood* is provided with "blisters," below the water-line from about her fore turret to right aft, to counteract the effect of a torpedo explosion. The total cost of the ship is estimated at £6,000,000. She is 860 feet long with a beam of 140 feet and a draught of 28½ feet)

IS THE BATTLESHIP DOOMED?

MR. ARCHIBALD HURD, the well-known naval writer, discusses in the *Fortnightly Review* (February) the important question whether the battleships and other large men-of-war have been rendered obsolete by the development of the submarine and of naval aircraft, as many highly qualified observers believe. Five different methods of attack involve the possible destruction of the immense and costly ships that are now regarded as the measure of sea power: the plugging fire of modern guns at extreme ranges of 16,000 yards or more, attack by bombing from aircraft, submarine mines, and torpedoes, whether fired from destroyers or from aeroplanes.

If this formidable indictment against the familiar types of service men-of-war (says Mr. Hurd) were supported by irrefutable evidence, all the existing fleets of the world might as well be sunk as a measure of wisdom and economy, for the maintenance of these ships represents heavy annual charges on national funds. The scuttling of the condemned ships under the White Ensign would mean the destruction of war material which has cost this country from £200,000,000 to £300,000,000. When the melancholy ceremony had been carried out, presumably in the Atlantic, the taxpayers would have to resign themselves to the building of another fleet (representing new, unproved, and fantastic ideas), which would cost at least as much money, unless British maritime interests were to go unprotected

and the British Isles and the other parts of the British Empire were to be left without defense against invasion. For in the absence of defense by sea, whether by submersible craft or surface vessels, security against invasion of the British Empire, widely distributed over the oceans of the world, cannot be provided.

For an army is not, and never can be, effective against the invader who comes by sea. An army, with all its encumbering paraphernalia, can move no more swiftly now than in Elizabethan days; but speed at sea has been multiplied four, five, or six times, and the movement of ships is no longer at the mercy of changing winds.

It might be assumed, says Mr. Hurd, from much which has been written since the signing of the Armistice, that the war had been won by submarines and aircraft. But in that event victory would have gone, not to the Allies, but to the Central Powers.

What did happen? The latter abandoned the use of the sea completely so far as merchant ships were concerned, and almost completely in the matter of men-of-war traveling on the surface. On the other hand, the Allies could not have continued to exist unless they had been able to draw reinforcing strength from the seas. The Allies, in other words, had to use their mercantile marine resources to the utmost, exposing to attack by enemy submarine and aircraft from 15,000 to 16,000 merchant ships. It would be difficult to form even a rough estimate of the

number of times these vessels entered and left the danger zone in the course of their voyages over a period of upwards of four years; but it is apparent that the enemy had ample opportunities of proving the value of both submarine and aircraft.

In order to protect this enormous volume of traffic, the Allied navies—and particularly the British navy—had to maintain an efficient watch, and ward, cruising both in the war zone and beyond the limits of the war zone, for it should be recalled that German submarines operated off the Atlantic coast of the American continent. . . .

If it be suggested that they failed to make efficient use of their air power in fighting the Allies' sea power, it may be replied that in the opening months of the war they tested aeroplanes and airships. *Not a single British warship was destroyed either by airship or aeroplane* in the course of the long war, although it might have been supposed that the North Sea provided an ideal area for their use. Aircraft similarly failed in attacking merchant vessels, though in the early months of the struggle the former were without an apology of defense.

The submarine, on the other hand, proved for a time, but only for a time, an effective weapon against merchant ships, once the Germans had abandoned all regard for international law and the dictates of humanity. But it was only against merchant vessels that the submarine was effective, even for a time. Throughout the course of the war, extending over a period of more than four and a half years, no battleship, battle-cruiser, or cruiser of the Grand Fleet, each presenting a large target, was destroyed by the enemy as a result of submarine attack. The significance of that failure can only be adequately appreciated if the activities of these vessels in the North Sea, and even in the Bight of Heligoland (in close proximity to Germany's naval bases) be borne in mind. British seamanship and high speed of the ships defeated the enemy.

In his revelations about the anti-submarine campaign, Admiral Sims has insisted again and again that the Grand Fleet was frequently cruising in the open sea in the waters which were known to be most infested with submarines.

There was no mystery about the immunity which these great fighting vessels enjoyed, for the submarine problem so far as it affected the battle fleet had already been solved. The explanation was that whenever the dreadnoughts put to sea they were preceded by a screen of cruisers and destroyers. These surface craft apparently served as a kind of impenetrable wall, against which the German U-boats were beating themselves unavailingly.

To the casual observer, however, there seemed to be no reason why the destroyers should have any particular terror for submarines. Externally they are the least impressive war vessels afloat. Sailing ahead of the battle squadrons, the destroyers were little, graceful objects upon the surface of the water; they suggested fragility rather than strength, and the idea that they were the guardians of the mighty battleships behind them at first seemed almost grotesque. Yet these little

vessels really possessed the power of overcoming the submarine. The war had not progressed far when it became apparent that the U-boat could not linger anywhere near this speedy little surface vessel without running serious risk of destruction.

Events soon demonstrated that, in all open engagements between submarine and destroyer, the submarine stood very little chance. The reason for this was simply that the submarine had no weapon with which it could successfully resist the attack of the destroyer, whereas the destroyer had several with which it could attack the submarine.

The advantage which really makes the destroyer so dangerous . . . is its excessive speed. On the surface the U-boat makes little more than fifteen miles an hour, and under the surface it makes little more than seven or eight. If the destroyer once discovered its presence, therefore, it could reach its prey in an incredibly short time. It could attack with gun, and, if conditions were favorable, it could ram—and a destroyer going at thirty or forty miles could cut a submarine nearly in two with its strong, razor-like bow.

Lord Jellicoe, in his important speeches in Canada and New Zealand, has insisted strongly upon the need for maintaining an invincible fleet of warships of the greatest size and speed. Neither Great Britain, Germany, nor any other country has ever had under construction so large a number of armored ships as the United States has at present. Japan also is busily engaged in building monster ships, and has plans ready for dreadnoughts larger than any yet afloat.

There is no finality in naval design, because physical science never stands still, but is always advancing from one triumph to another; but at a moment when H. M. S. *Hood* is passing into active commission this country may take some pride in having provided a vessel which embodies the post-war ideal. The *Hood* has the armament of a battleship and the speed of a battle-cruiser, is practically unsinkable, and carries four anti-aircraft guns, besides being defended against bombs and aerial torpedoes.

The *Hood* is said to carry a greater weight of armor than any of her predecessors among the dreadnoughts. One lesson of the Battle of Jutland has been heeded in her unusual deck protection against the effects of plunging projectiles fired at a range of 16,000 yards.

What the future may have in store, who can say? But the probability is, assuming that the New World has navies, that this new composite vessel of remarkable power, on which upwards of £6,000,000 has been expended, indicates the line upon which naval constructors, reflecting the considered opinion of the young and war-tried sea officers of to-day, will continue to work.



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MASS-MEETING OF TURKS AT CONSTANTINOPLE PROTESTING AGAINST THE PEACE TREATY

A POSSIBLE SOLUTION OF THE EASTERN QUESTION

THE Eastern Question is more than ever insistent at the present time. A contributor to *Le Correspondant* (Paris) offers a solution which he deems would be eminently fitting and effective. He says, in substance:

The history of the Ottoman Empire offers a striking contrast of military strength and political impotence. From the capture of Constantinople, in 1453, to the Treaty of Carlovitz (1699) the martial power of the Turks increased steadily, but they never succeeded in assimilating the conquered nations. Since the latter date their decline has been constant, despite momentary successes. (The writer enumerated a series of treaties which involved great losses to Turkey, concluding with the Treaty of Berlin, which was signed in 1878.)

Every time that the powers sought to impose a program of reform upon Turkey they met with lamentable failure. The Treaty of Berlin, for example, in which the Porte promised immediate reforms in the regions peopled by Armenians and guaranteed their security, was followed on the morrow by atrocious massacres which aroused the indig-

nation of the civilized world, Gladstone constituting himself its spokesman.

This fundamental political incapacity is at the bottom of the Eastern Question; it is a glaring proof, established by centuries of experience, of the impossibility of founding anything firm or stable upon the political power of the Porte.

Another element, however, equally important, is involved—one which alone can explain the policy followed by the powers: the military and political importance of the situation occupied by Turkey does not permit an assignment of suzerainty over it to one of the great powers. The Porte is a bridge spanned between three continents; one of the great highways of the world, it must be left open to all. That is doubtless why, from the time of Peter the Great up to 1914, the powers steadily refused to recognize Russia's pretensions to the Straits. Every time that they faced a new crisis of the "sick man," they hastened to proclaim the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, favoring at the same time a certain partition, the parts to serve as buffers.

To-day, for the first time—Russian ambition being eliminated—it is possible to con-

sider the Eastern problem in its totality. Never has a definitive solution seemed more urgent than now, after a war which has demonstrated the necessity of keeping the Dardanelles open at all times in order to victual Europe with the grain of Southern Russia.

If a solution is demanded in the present juncture, if a unique occasion is offered to settle a question open for a century, it seems that the way must not be sought by a complete dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. Certain regions in Asia Minor will, to be sure, come under the influence of certain powers, but one can easily recognize that, in the nature of the case, the greater part of the Turkish possessions forms a homogeneous whole which it would be dangerous to impair.

Moreover, a political dismemberment would mean an immediate lessening of authority and strength, and lay the powers, particularly England and France, open to the danger of Bolshevik infiltration into the regions peopled by Moslems. Mr. Churchill in a recent address spoke of the aggressive forces formed in Asia Minor, stretching out one hand to the Bolshevik armies on the North and the other to the Arabs on the South. An alliance between Russian Bolshevism and Turkish Mohammedanism—he added—would be a great menace to many countries, but chiefly to the British Empire, containing the largest of the Moslem estates.

It is absolutely essential, therefore, to

erect in Constantinople and Asia Minor a solid barrier entrusted to a single guardian—and he not the Great Turk.

Finally, the partition of Turkey among the powers would be sure to arouse a dangerous agitation throughout Islam. The case would be quite different if, while territorial integrity would be maintained, the Sultan would, in reality, be limited to a religious authority whose natural seat might be Mecca.

The problem, then, is to find a means whereby the greater part of the present Turkey would maintain a homogeneous character and at the same time be opened to the economic activity and control of the Allied states, without arousing political competition among them.

Would not this solution be found in the creation of a financial company, formed with the military and financial coöperation of the Allies, and placed under the suzerainty of a small nation like Belgium, which has given such a shining proof of its loyalty? The representative of Belgium at Constantinople would act as a mandatory of the Allied powers, all of whom would seek, under the aegis of the respected sovereign of a small nation, the amelioration of what is to-day one of the most forlorn regions of the earth—a region which, with its grand memories of the past as well as the bright future to which, with its situation and the fertility of its soil, it may look forward, is one of the blessed spots of the universe.

JEALOUSIES OVER SYRIA

OPTIMISTIC readers who still cling to the faith, or hope, that the cordial understanding already assumed between France and England only waits for our powerful aid to enforce peace, the world over, will be decidedly disturbed by the tone of A. Baudouin, as he sits under the purple hibiscus of his Oriental garden and watches the Arab Musselmans' banners as they pass in procession, inscribed in French and English: "No life without independence." Thereupon he jots down his own grave forebodings on "A Political Battlefield," namely Syria, for the *Revue Mondiale*. The keynote is "Albion perfide!" with a strong dash of Gallic martial ardor and Crusader's ambition for Oriental conquest.

"Perhaps French political leaders have

never understood the Arabs, especially the feudal military caste, ambitious, fearless, strife-loving, barbarians all, however veneered with Western manners and speech." To them, patriotism will always mean conquest and tyranny. French statesmen have never said plainly to the King of Hedjaz that they will insist on the absolute autonomy of Syria, that all his sovereignty must lie eastward from Damascus. A French commissioner has even expressed, in Damascus itself, his desire to see this Arabic kingdom strengthened. To the Arabs this is but a confession of weakness by a state that has elsewhere, as in Morocco, been less considerate of the Musselman than England. The Syrians, so long protected, aided, educated by France, are also surprised, and profoundly

disturbed, by this perilous flattery of a prospective enemy.

Now, surely, the French military authority will be responsible for order and peace in Syria, exactly as the British forces are in Palestine or Mesopotamia. And some day or other a French column will undoubtedly have to make its way to Damascus, to Aleppo. Great difficulties will be found in a country where those in charge, Arabs and Britons, have not acted in good faith.

We will organize liberty where we can: military occupation, or direct control, on British models, where it proves necessary. There is barely time to save our prestige, by adequate military display. Almost daily, events are weakening that prestige. Acts of violence like the expulsion of Emir Said, the imprisonment of the Bedouin chief Moughen, cause all Syrians to say: "The French must always efface themselves before their English allies. Educated they are, no doubt, but not strong. There are but three dominant nations, Germany, England, America." At present, in Syria, the English are everything, the French practically nothing.

Only last year the English organized and equipped a brigade of 4000 Arabs, with cannon and mitrailleuses, besides a policing force of 6000 more. So, our allies, just before retiring from our domains, have created serious obstacles for us, whenever we have to occupy inner Syria.

And while our government is discharging men by thousands, the English have in Syria and Cilicia fifteen brigades, far more numerous and better supplied than ours. Are we to be actually dependent on them? Our activity in Syria must be, primarily and above all, military. We need there abler commanders, quite as much as a more competent civil service. We have always been out-argued and outwitted by the English in every so-called "compromise," and they have never carried out loyally even the terms they themselves had exacted.

We do not despair of seeing arrive from France competent well-informed men, who will restore order, and protect the many interests imperiled: who will tell the English, and the Cherifs, curtly and plainly, what France wants and what she does not. . . . We shall gain nothing at present by being too conciliatory. . . . I insist, it is not merely over the safety of the Christians in Syria and Cilicia that France is to stand on guard, but over the peace of the entire Orient.

. . . France has done more for Syria, morally, intellectually and commercially, than any other power whatsoever. She has a prior claim through action here, that dates back to Charlemagne. She has been the first Oriental power, the genial creator of a spiritual understanding between Orient and Occident. Syria will be a bulwark of French influence. France will continue there her age-long work.

As a decisive omen, the writer now sees, just passing by, Syrian children, waving little tricolor flags, and singing lustily. They are chanting an Arabic refrain that runs:

"By the will of Allah, our flag shall be the French."

Each one of our three great European allies in the World War avows, more or less frankly a consciousness of her own supreme mission to dominate—not to say exploit, the Levant. Of the Levantines themselves the present writer shows a contempt almost English. But as to the new Arab kingdom he is unable to conceal his fear, that it may prove a fatal stumbling-block to French conquest and mercantile exploitation, and his suspicion that it has been strengthened by Great Britain for that very purpose among others.

THE SIBERIAN TRAGEDY

IN the *Mercure de France* (Paris) of February 1, Arthur Toupine, actually writing on January 1, with remarkable self-suppression but with convincing warmth and sympathy, reveals the causes of Kolchak's downfall, chiefly by copious excerpts from, and an abstract of, General Pepelaieff's report to General Gaida, and the latter's frank and fearless statement to the dictator himself. Both generals, when this paper was written, had just been active in the Vladivostok revolt, Gaida, indeed, its leader. "This revolt has been suppressed to be sure, and harshly, by foreign troops. But its chief has not been executed. For Kolchak, to

order Gaida's death would have been to ordain his own, no less. The revolt was not intended to spread through Siberia nor to depose Kolchak; but was simply an attempt, in last resort, to make his rule more democratic."

Kolchak, too late, seems to have seen a half-light. He has now, even, made Pepelaieff's brother his President of Council, giving him the task "to democratize Siberia." It is these two gallant generals who have thus far held Siberia against the flood-tide of Bolshevism, and their reports are as illuminating as they are fearless—and tragic. They are eminently worthy of study in fullest de-

tail. But the cause of free democracy, in Siberia, seems hopelessly lost.

General Pepelaieff led, in the campaign of 1919, the Army of the North, which, taking the field on May 20, routed the Third Red Army, made rapid advances, and nearly reached their objective as ordered by taking the city of Wiatka. But, attacked on both flanks, supplied with no reinforcements and with no communications kept open for him with any base behind him, he had to obey an order to retire behind the Kama. Thence he reports to Gaida on June 1, 1919.

The fault is with the rear, which is tranquil, because far from danger. There are plenty of officers, but none are sent forward. The few who come run risk of punishment as deserters from headquarters. Many came over—700 in a body, at Perm—from forced service with the Bolsheviks, but these, of his trustiest and most gallant leaders, Pepelaieff was ordered to arraign before courts-martial; "so others have failed to follow!" No effort has been made to supply this crying lack of officers by urging the educated young men of the cities into training camps. Officers were even called back from the front when most needed.

No men were sent forward to supply losses, and the regiments often became mere skeleton formations through constant decimation. No legalized plan was provided to enlist inhabitants of the regions occupied, so any serious effort to do so incurred the stigma of "brigandage." The troops were barefoot, or on sandals of bark, short of clothing, while at the rear tens of thousands were parading in freshly imported English accoutrements. The cavalry had no saddles, though the Siberian town and district of Kungur had furnished two-thirds of the leather for the war with Germany. Hope and enthusiasm, loyalty itself, are dying. Whole units murder their officers and go over to the Bolsheviks. The peasantry, who at first welcomed the Whites with processions of thanksgiving, supplies, generous enlistments, have passed through sullenness to actual hostility, shown by constant mob violence, seizure of stations, even attacks in large force. The general feeling of Western Siberia is turning away toward the enemy.

The reasons are frankly indicated. The government has failed to issue a definite call for a Constitutional Assembly which should create a truly democratic government. The vague promises of ownership in land for all who till it have not been carried out in ef-

fective measures. Laborers are not assured of a living wage. No war taxes are laid on the city populations and higher classes.

An active supreme command at the front itself is called for; also aid for soldiers' families; increase of pay; prompt action as to decorations, etc., the clear right to raise fit privates to commissioned officers—in general, evidence from headquarters of intelligent interest and effective effort.

General Gaida naturally discusses more freely the general causes of the failure and deadly peril.

The defeat and retreat are not due to any reinforcement of the enemy. There has been no organization to supply the front with munitions or food. The one has been obtained almost wholly from the enemy by the earlier victories, the other by forced levies on an unwilling and resisting peasantry. The revolts are all in villages and open country, not in cities. The real rioters vanish quickly among a sympathetic peasantry while the innocent are punished, even school children being killed by Japanese rifle fire.

General Gaida puts his hand boldly on the cardinal errors of the central government. No progress toward democratic rule has been begun. No interest is shown in the overwhelming majority of population and resources outside the cities. The leaders of the communes have been executed in great numbers without trial. There is a spreading disbelief in any intention to call any real Constitutional Assembly. Members-elect are actually among those summarily put to death. Masses of people are slain as Bolsheviks, who have stood aloof or even actively opposed the Reds. All rights of the individual, the home, the press, of meeting, are overridden by force. The communes, the coöperative societies, etc., seem rather suspected and persecuted than encouraged by the provisional government.

The general feeling of suspicion, injustice, hostility, is in danger of driving the Siberian people generally into the arms of the Bolsheviks.

When such bold demands were disregarded, the democratic leaders evidently attempted to secure physical control in Vladivostok, and to guide the policy of the dictator, while maintaining the external continuity of the Provisional Government.

The latest news to reach us from Siberia indicates the approaching finale of this Siberian tragedy. The victorious advance of the Red armies is continuous; Kolchak's power seems about to crumble.

TO-DAY'S POLITICS IN ITALY

THE results of the recent Italian elections for members of the Chamber of Deputies revealed the main currents as well as the under-currents of public opinion in Italy at the present time. An essentially non-partisan view of the matter is given by Signor Filiberto Sardegna in *Rassegna Nazionale*. His presentiment of the significance of Italy's share in the war is worthy of attention. He says:

When the statement is advanced that Italy was the one power among all the Allies which sacrificed most in the war, and made the greatest effort, this must be understood in a relative, not in an absolute sense. Unfortunately, too many proclaim it without reservation. Is this a result of over-excited national pride, or does it spring from an inability to understand things aright? If for the success of a business enterprise a man who has an income of 20,000 lire invests 15,000, he no doubt makes a greater sacrifice and a greater effort than does one who puts in 50,000 lire out of an income of 100,000; but none the less the larger contribution will have had the greater influence in determining success.

When the elections were held, Italy was still under the nervous strain that had been imposed by three years of bitter war, and was agitated by the joyous sentiments aroused by the sudden and almost unhopedor victory. Hence she was unable to resist the new emotions that each day awakened in her breast.

In this period of agitation the old disputes between "neutralists" and "interventionists" were renewed, as was also the campaign against the "defeatists," and—something new—against the "depreciators of victory." At the same time, that prosperity which it was believed must follow in the wake of victory, proved to be a fond dream; the cost of living increased enormously; industry and commerce were slow in regaining their vigor; and in the meanwhile Italy could not tell whether she was in a state of war or a state of peace, whether the war had really ended, or if ended, whether it was not about to break out again.

It was easy for the Socialists to profit by the prevailing sentiment, all the more so that they had always been sincerely opposed to the war. The files of the party were reinforced by all who felt the need of making the election the vehicle of a protest. Moreover, there were many who, though sceptical as to the value and importance of Bolshevism and of the similar violent socialistic tenden-



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VITERIO SCIALOIA, THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN THE NITTI MINISTRY

cies, and disillusioned as to the worth of the men and the parties who had directed the fortunes of Italy, thought it would not be inopportune to try something new, reserving the right to change their minds again should occasion arise.

The followers of the People's Party, organized themselves seriously and without vain boasting, fully conscious of the importance and difficulty of the task they had undertaken, to oppose a bulwark against Bolshevism and Socialism, to prepare the way for a healthy and peaceful renovation of society, and to form a centre of refuge for all those who were not disposed to let themselves be swept away by an exaggerated nationalism, nor to allow themselves to be paralyzed by undue conservatism. They wished to make it understood that patriotism is a sentiment of such high significance and of such sterling value, that it should be regarded as a religion imposing the utmost conservation of thought and will.

With the People's Party were ranged all those who, doubtful of the importance or the danger of so-called clericalism, convinced that it, like so many other movements, had

died away, thought that the hour had struck for the formation of a new party, in distinct opposition to socialism, as well as all who thought the time had come to make an end of the little coteries, and of the backing and shifting of parliamentary groups, and that it was essential to renew a healthy and vigorous rivalry of well-organized and disciplined parties, not grouped about some personality, but animated by those definite ideas and plans without which there can be no profitable political struggle.

As to the Liberals, they revelled in "a splendid isolation," one could almost say a splendid indifference. What they wished for, what they thought, what they proposed to do—if they really wished for, thought of, or proposed to do anything—no one knew;

and no one could know any more about it when the elections were over. One thing alone was clear, that they were animated with such a profound terror of Bolshevism or of revolution, that they had even lost the will or the power to take measures of defense.

In conclusion, the writer declares that the present hour of Italy's history demands supreme devotion to duty and the sacrifice of all forms of egoism. The question should be not what the individual finds it most agreeable to do, but what ought to be done, and instead of expecting to prosper in spite of the government, as so many lightly say, prosperity should be expected to come from the government, which owes its right of being to its ability to produce this result.

THE LEFT BANK OF THE RHINE

THE attempts now in progress to re-adjust political frontiers in Europe more or less on a basis of racial distribution have raised a multitude of difficult questions. There is, in fact, an endless amount of confusion concerning the true racial affinities of the various European populations. The case of Alsace-Lorraine is typical. The history of these provinces lends support both to the German contention that they are racially German and to the French contention that they are racially French, according to the definition of terms and to the emphasis laid on particular features of their checkered experience. The same thing is true, in some measure, of the whole borderland lying along the left bank of the Rhine.

M. Georges Blondel, who discusses the "Rhine question" in *La Géographie* (Paris), brings out rather strikingly the fact that the word "German," as used in discussing this question from an historical standpoint, is capable of diverse interpretations. For example:

The Franks had at their head in the eighth century a man of high intelligence and great vigor. Charlemagne, whom the Germans would like to monopolize, first appears not as a German chief, but as the King of the Franks, which, in the language of that time, meant the King of the Gauls. He hardly cared to take the title of King of Germania. He wished to be Emperor of the Romans, and he went to Rome to be crowned. The restoration of the imperial dignity in his behalf must be regarded as a triumph of the Franco-Gallo people, and as a vic-

tory of Latin and Christian civilization. The fact that Charlemagne remained faithful in his private life to certain Germanic customs does not suffice to give the Germans the right to claim him. He was, above all, a devoted son of the Church; it was as much that he determined to carry Roman and Christian civilization beyond the Rhine into the forests of Germania; and it was against the Germans, especially the Saxons, that he waged war during the greater part of his life.

The partition of Charlemagne's empire among his grandsons was a source of trouble which has continued to the present day. We may deplore the fact, says M. Blondel, that Louis le Débonnaire had three sons. If he had had only two, the Rhine would certainly have remained the boundary between Germania and Gaul. As it was, an artificial kingdom was created for Lothair, between the portions assigned to his two brothers, and the northern part of this new kingdom, Lotharingia (Lorraine), became the apple of discord between France and Germany, which it was destined so long to remain.

At a still earlier period, as the writer recalls, the Rhine was notoriously the line of demarcation between Germanic and Celtic peoples and cultures. The name "Rhine" itself is Celtic, as are most of the names of rivers and divinities pertaining to the region on the west bank of that stream. It was to protect Gallo-Roman civilization from the assaults of the barbarous German tribes that the important towns along the Rhine—all on the left bank—were constructed; viz., Strassburg, Spire, Worms,

Mainz, Bingen, Coblenz, Andernach, Bonn, Cologne. Coblenz became the port of a flotilla of vessels which patrolled the river. It was the Gauls who planted the famous vineyards of the Rhine and the Moselle.

It is true that eventually the Germans secured a footing on the west bank of the Rhine, but the important Germanic tribe which gained the ascendancy in that region, the Franks, soon identified itself with the Gallo-Romans, and waged vigorous warfare against the "Germans."

The author points out that the French have never ceased to turn their eyes toward the Rhine as the "natural" boundary between France and Germany. Much more to the point, however, is the question of the state of public sentiment, past and present, in the Rhine region itself. M. Blondel declares that the extension of French dominion to the left bank in 1795 was acclaimed with joy by the population thus freed from the Prussian yoke. After Germany resumed control of this region, in 1815, she put forth every effort to denationalize the inhabitants. Yet, says M. Blondel, so strong was the affection of the latter for France in the middle of the nineteenth century that a high Prussian official wrote at the close of the reign of Frederick William III: "There is nobody here who would not thank God if the country returned under French domination."

The author also makes the interesting assertion that Bismarck, in 1866, contemplated the exclusion of the left bank of the Rhine from the prospective Empire of Germany, and expected France to seize this region, as she might easily have done, during the conflict between Prussia and Austria at that time.

Lastly, the author declares that immediately after the armistice of 1918 the expectation was widely entertained in Germany that France would claim the Rhine provinces as the fruits of her victory. It is well known that there was a strong current of sentiment in Rhenish Prussia in behalf of separation from Berlin. M. Blondel believes that a golden opportunity was then lost, and that in the period which has since elapsed the German republic has, by various concessions and promises, done much to reestablish the spirit of German solidarity in the debatable territory. The future depends largely upon the political developments of the central government. If the radicals should triumph at Berlin, the Rhine districts would probably seek their independence. The writer has no desire, however, to witness the advent of Bolshevism in Germany, because such an event would be fraught with grave danger for all western Europe. But he looks hopefully toward an economic and intellectual *rapprochement* between France and the population on the left bank of the Rhine.

ADOBE HELPS SOLVE THE BUILDING PROBLEM

IN the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for last January (pp. 104-5) were published extracts from a consular report describing some of the methods whereby English architects are solving the housing problem in spite of the conspicuous shortage in the supply of bricks. The revival of cob-building was mentioned, and an account was given of the use being made, in certain districts, of rammed earth, or pisé. The latter form of earth construction is of further contemporary interest on account of its use in rebuilding operations in the French war zone; while a method of building somewhat more closely related to cob is now reported to be the subject of interesting experiments and developments in Southern California.

The story of adobe is a pretty old one to

anybody who has lived or traveled in the parts of America where the Spaniards once held sway. Yet, as Mr. J. L. Von Blon points out in the *Scientific American*, this old subject has its novel aspects. The existing scarcity of other building materials suggests that builders in regions where adobe construction has hitherto been unknown may well turn their attention to the merits of what the author calls "mansions of mud." Moreover, great improvements are possible in the immemorial methods of adobe building, and some of these are already being realized. A concrete example of the possibilities in this line is being furnished in Walnut Park, a suburb of Los Angeles, where a group of two hundred adobe houses is in course of construction. Mr. Von Blon says:



WALLS OF AN ADOBE HOUSE UP AND READY FOR PLASTER



THE SAME HOUSE AFTER THE APPLICATION OF PLASTER

Adobe was used in the dim past, when first history was written on papyrus. Of it Nineveh was built. It has stood the test of ages and ever served its purpose well, and prevails today in Spain, Algiers, South America, Mexico and other lands. The early Californians employed it exclusively. It is merely wet soil mixed with straw, cast in molds of required size, and left in the sun to dry. Generally speaking, any earth with a clay base that makes it "goosey" and cohesive when watered will be desirable. Sand or gravel will not do. The process of manufacture is almost as simple as that whereby children turn out pies at the nearest puddle.

The mixing is best done by Mexicans with the bare feet in a sort of kneading up-and-down manner; hence the word "adobe," the substantive of "adobar"—to knead. One Mexican and his helper make 400 bricks a day—and they never have been known to speed up. The blocks are 16x10x4 inches and each goes as far as eight common bricks. Three at a time are molded in the simplest way. Their extensive manufacture by machinery is a prospect of the near future, inasmuch as the contractor is about to take up a patented device with a daily capacity of 7000. The straw in the mud serves a purpose similar, though in greater degree, to that of steel reinforcement in concrete.

When the architect first looked into the early adobe construction with a view to its modernization he found the old Southern California houses to be damp and insanitary because proper foundations and means of ventilation were lacking. These drawbacks he readily overcame. Seldom was there more constructive preparation than the crudest ground plan. The foundation was simply a layer of strewn stones with only mud as a mortar binder. Now concrete is used. The walls were eighteen inches to three feet thick, windows and doors were sparingly provided because glazing and mill work were extremely expensive, and there were no wooden floors. Tamped earth filled the bill. On this tule mats and Indian rugs were spread. The beams and rafters were made from hewn native trees. Across them saplings or wild canes were tied with rawhide thongs and on this thatch was laid the tile roof. These houses, with the picturesque California missions,

have endured in some instances nearly a century and a half and stand today. The contractor points to them as proof positive that the material is good. And he has improved immeasurably on the former primitive methods of handling it.

He has established by temperature tests that adobe actually is the most non-conductive building material known. A brick has registered no more than six degrees' difference between extreme February cold and extreme September heat (in Southern California). This shows the reputation of adobe for warmth in winter and coolness in summer to be founded on fact. He also has shown the material to be much stronger than ordinarily is supposed by developing a compressive strength of 400 pounds to the square inch. This enables him to dispense with the extremely thick walls of other days.

Whereas the old Dons were satisfied to plaster their walls with mud and protect this with a coating of whitewash in which had been incorporated tallow and cactus juice where the lime slaked, the 1920 builder covers them with hard cement plaster to thoroughly anchor into the walls—generally three coats—and waterproof throughout with an all-mineral compound evolved by himself and conceded by chemists to be virtually everlasting. Doubtless there are other waterproofing processes which might answer. The whitewash of the pioneers was a fair waterproofing but temporary. It had to be applied every year or two. When moisture penetrated to the mud plastering it came off. The adobe blocks, exposed to the elements, particularly rain, soon disintegrated as a rule, although some in the missions have defied the weather for decades.

The builder makes these claims for the houses now under construction: That they are everlasting, meaning that the occupants never will know the annoyance nor expense of the usual repair bills. That they are soundproof, so that howling winds, rattling roofs or other noises will not be heard within. That they are non-conductive and fireproof, cool in summer and warm in winter, and the owners can watch anything in conflagration nearby without an iota of fear for the loss of their dwellings. That they cost no more than wood—possibly even less—yet look and are as substantial as those of concrete or burned brick.

THE JAPANESE POTTERY INDUSTRY

THE war has brought many changes to the "changeless East," and especially to the land which, even before the great upheaval in world events, was a curious compound of Oriental conservatism and Occidental up-to-dateness, viz., Japan. The expansion of Japanese industries is strikingly evidenced upon the shelves of American stores and shops. How has this expansion affected the economic life of the Japanese and their industrial methods?

With respect to the world-renowned pottery industry of Japan, a partial answer to the foregoing question is found in a recent report by the commercial attaché of the American Embassy in Tokyo, Mr. James P. Abbott, published in *Commerce Reports* (Washington, D. C.).

Here we learn that the annual product of Japanese potters, valued at \$8,766,124 in 1915, increased to a value of \$22,107,042 in 1918. As to exports, it is stated that

whereas in the first half of the decade from 1909 to 1918 the export of pottery from Japan kept about the same figure, yet from the beginning of the war the annual export steadily increased until the amount for 1918 had grown to four times the figure for 1914. Before the war the United States took nearly half of Japan's production, but in 1918 this proportion had shrunk to less than one-fourth. At that, America is still one of Japan's best customers. Almost two-thirds of the total imports of decorated china, Parian, porcelain, and bisque into the United States comes from Japan. The United Kingdom, however, supplies the preponderance of decorated earthenware and crockery imports.

Japanese pottery costs more to produce than it did before the war. One item of expense that has increased most strikingly is fuel. Both the coal used in kilns of the modern type and the wood used in those of the old Japanese type now cost four times what they did in 1914.

In Rein's "Industries of Japan" and other accessible works there are ample details concerning the methods of Japanese potters and the organization of the industry. Much of this information now stands in need of revision. It seems worth while to quote here several extracts from Mr. Abbott's report in which important changes and developments of the last few years are set forth:

The bulk of the decorating pigments and the finest colors come largely from England, formerly from Germany. The decalcomania sheets, which were formerly imported almost exclusively

from Germany, are now coming principally from America. Some are being made in Japan, but it is likely that before long the domestic production will be displaced by the imported article. The costs are about three times the pre-war German price.

The great bulk of chinaware produced in Japan is made by the old methods of manufacture and to a very considerable degree is a household or community industry. For example, in the Seto district one family will be found making the models and molds. On the village streets one can see these molds being carried by hand on boards to another household where they will be used for the forming of the ware. Cups and saucers are produced in large quantities in this district, one man being able to produce by casting 2,000 cups per day; but the quality is very poor. The aggregate production of the numerous pottery villages in Japan amounts to a considerable figure, and much of it finds its way into the channels of foreign trade. Nevertheless, with the cost of living increasing in Japan by leaps and bounds and with labor costs rising in proportion, the day is not far distant when the highly organized and efficiently conducted modern pottery, with its labor-saving machinery and its ability to reduce costs by quantity production, will supersede the cottage and community system.

The Japanese have not been slow in appreciating this tendency. In Nagoya, the center of the industry in Japan, a modern pottery has been built on the most up-to-date lines. Upon entering a modern plant one is at first struck with the fact that labor is still by no means considered the first and greatest factor in costs. Every ton of material is brought to the factory by man power. There is no railroad siding. All the materials, bulky as they are in the pottery industry, such as clay, feldspar, flint, wood, and coal, are carted in small one-horse wagons, each horse being led by a man. Such materials as come in bulk are piled on the wagon in shallow traylike baskets, each containing an amount convenient for a man to carry. The second thing particularly noticeable is the large amount of hand labor employed in the breaking up and sorting of the raw materials, and also the exceedingly minute care taken in removing any foreign matter from the broken mass.

Labor is still very cheap in Japan, judged by our standards. During 1917 and 1918 the wages paid in the potteries ranged from thirty cents a day, the minimum paid to young girls, up to a dollar a day, the maximum paid to men. These wages were, however, supplemented with a "rice stipend," granted to offset the present high cost of living.

One of the newer developments in the pottery industry is the manufacture of electrical accessories in connection with the rapidly expanding electrical industry in Japan. The large high-tension insulators demanded by hydroelectric development are made both in large factories, such

as the great Morimura plant at Nagoya, and also by small individual workshops (on subcontracts) in villages.

The large pole insulators are thrown on an ordinary wheel which usually is motor driven. When shaped they are passed to a second man who turns them to size with a tool. Finally they are carefully finished by hand before drying. They are glazed in the clay and fired once. One man carrying through all the processes will throw, turn, and finish 400 insulators in a day, for which he gets about 1.70 yen (including a rice stipend).

Smaller white porcelain goods, insulators, cleats, rosettes, etc., are for the most part manufactured in Japan in the households alongside of dolls and teapots. They are molded in plaster of Paris molds, with a lavish expenditure of time and energy, from clay purchased ready for working, and are then fired in community kilns.

With practically no overhead, such small manufacturers are able to compete successfully with modern factories. In fact, one large establishment which put in an insulator factory has been undercut in price by the small independent potters to such an extent that it has almost ceased to do business.

Dolls are made in nearly all the pottery centers of Japan along with other porcelain wares of every description. Few, if any factories, of any size devote themselves to the exclusive production of such goods. The world demand for toys during the war, due to the lack of German goods, has stimulated the production of Japanese toys. A large number of "Kewpie" dolls, in particular, are now made in Japan. One establishment in Seto devotes itself almost wholly to the manufacture of kewpies, with a production of 1,000 a day.

A REAL INDUSTRIAL PARLIAMENT

UNDER the title of "The Team Spirit in Industry," Mr. Malcolm Sparkes contributes some account of the constitution and aims of the Industrial Council for the Building Industry (Building Trades Parliament) to the *English Review*.

The Building Trades Parliament ranks in official records as an ordinary Whitley Industrial Council; but it differs in many points from the forty or more Industrial Councils set up as a consequence of the Whitley Report. First, the scheme originated in the industry itself *before* the publication of the report, instead of being imported ready-made from a State Department. In the second place, it is purely a labor idea—"a great constructive proposal laid before the building trades employers by the twelve principal trade unions of the building industry, and adopted on its merits." Thirdly, it is based, first and foremost, on a principle of mutual good will.

The Building Trades Parliament consists of 132 members; sixty-six elected by the twenty-two trade unions of the building industry, approximately in proportion to their numerical strength, and sixty-six elected by the seventeen associations of building trades employers, roughly *pro rata* with the number of operatives normally employed by their members. The chairman is a member himself, and therefore has a vote, but not a casting vote. No representatives are appointed by the state—the whole plan being essentially industrial self-government.

It is the only Industrial Council that has omitted the word "joint" from its title; has set out to "realize the organic unity of the industry as a great national service," and has the courage to take decisions by the majority of the whole Council, instead of requiring a majority of the

Council on both sides, which is the ordinary Whitley Council practice. This is a most fundamental matter. The Whitley Councils, as at present constituted, have actually recognized, as permanent, the very barrier between the two existing "sides" in industry that the Industrial Parliament scheme was designed to break and which the Building Trades Council, with notable courage and imagination, has already broken, at any rate to some extent.

In regard to strikes:

Another feature in which the Building Trades Parliament is unique is its absolute exclusion of disputes. Its function is constructive and nothing but constructive—it is there to build the new industrial order and for nothing else. Disputes must be dealt with, as heretofore, by the Building Trades Conciliation and Demarcation Boards (which are somewhat similar to the newly-constituted American Board of Jurisdictional Awards) or by any other methods that may be thought to be advisable, not for a moment excluding strikes. Under no circumstances can the Building Trades Parliament arbitrate; but although it cannot touch disputes it can always bring forward constructive measures to remove their underlying cause.

Besides industrial control and the status of labor, its scope includes scientific management and reduction of costs; apprenticeship, technical training and research; safety and welfare methods; closer association between industry and art; and unemployment.

They propose that the overhanging fear of unemployment, which has had such a demoralizing effect, both on the character of the craftsman and the quality of his work, shall be completely and finally removed, in order that he may wholeheartedly give of his best. To secure this they recommend that the industry should establish unemployment pay for the whole of its trade-union

personnel, and that the necessary funds should be raised, as a first charge on production, by means of a weekly percentage on the wages bills, to be paid by each employer to a joint committee of employers and operatives. Although collected by a joint committee, the unemployment pay is to be distributed by the trade-unions, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Building Trades Parliament, the scale varying from full wages for a man with a wife and four children, under sixteen, down to half wages for a single man.

"Owner-managers" are to be paid salaries

"commensurate with their ability and subject to periodical revision by a joint committee." Surplus earnings of the industry are to be publicly declared every year, and devoted to such purposes as a development fund, for education, research, and superannuation schemes. Last, but by no means least from the public standpoint, "the adjustment of prices in conference with the elected representatives of the community is also foreshadowed."

WESTERN AUSTRALIA—A LAND OF PROMISE

THE Agent-General for Western Australia, Mr. J. D. Connolly, contributes to the *Empire Review* (February) a review of the prospects of commercial, agricultural, and industrial development in Western Australia, which is the largest and by nature the richest of the Australian States. He quotes from a report by the Imperial Trade Correspondent at Perth, written early in 1919, which mentions among new industries that have grown up during the war,

Woolscouring and fellmongering, lime and cement, glass manufacturing, and tile and pottery making, while others were projected, such as alkali works, the briquetting of coal and the extraction of oils and varnishes from the grasstree (blackboy), of which vast quantities are available in the state. In connection with the glass-making and pottery enterprises it should be stated that recent tests have proved that supplies of the finest sands for the manufacture of the best quality of glassware are readily available, while exhaustive experiments have resulted in the discovery of clays highly suitable for the manufacture of tiles and pottery formerly imported from abroad.

"There is satisfaction in knowing," he writes, "that the war created no artificial prosperity in Western Australia, and that its ending serves not to dislocate but to stimulate industry." The people of Western Australia, while recognizing the enormous value of their primary industries, are keenly alive to the importance of laying the foundation of a great manufacturing state whose output in secondary industries will keep pace with its primary production.

It is a principle of governmental administration in Australia that the state should aid and encourage enterprise and development in any direction calculated to promote

the material welfare of the people. This is true of Western Australia.

Among other activities with which the Department of Industries has been associated may be mentioned deep-sea fishing, in connection with which that department (acting with the Repatriation Department) assisted returned soldiers to make a start at Esperance; a scheme for carrying out trawling experiments in the neighborhood of Albany; the manufacture of cardboard from waste paper; the construction of a railway from Lake Clifton to Waroone for the service of new cement works; the manufacture of water-gas direct from coal without going through the coke process; the procuring of tortoise-shell from a species of turtle, known as hawke's bill, which is found on the northwest coast of Western Australia; the "farming" of turtles for consumption—another northwest coast industry, in which, by the way, a number of English investors are interested.

The whaling industry also calls for special mention because, among other reasons, it offers one of the most advantageous and opportune outlets for British maritime and commercial enterprise which has been practically monopolized by the Norwegians hitherto. The facts, briefly, are these: In 1912 three Norwegian companies which had turned their attention to the whale fisheries of Western Australia, having obtained licenses from the Western Australian Government, set up shore stations—one at Frenchman's Bay (Albany), another on the northwest coast, while a third company, which operated on a smaller scale, "fished" about Cape Naturaliste. During the season 1913-16, inclusive, the total output was over 5,000,000 gallons of oil and about 1500 tons of fertilizer, of a total value of £450,000. The licenses of these companies have now expired or been surrendered, but the shore stations and factories remain in charge of caretakers at the places named. The northwestern area is said to be a "hump-back" field solely, but both "hump-backs" and sperm whales are obtainable in the season off Albany.

Western Australia offers immense possibilities for expansion of industry and trade.

THE NEW BOOKS

AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY

Leonard Wood. Conservator of Americanism. By Eric Fisher Wood. George H. Doran Company. 351 pp. Ill.

This is the third biography of General Wood to make its appearance within the past six months. The public interest in the personality of the great American, whose name is frequently mentioned in connection with the Republican nomination for the Presidency, may be in part responsible for the publication of these volumes at this time. Mr. Eric Fisher Wood (who is not a relative of the General) states, however, that the idea of writing a life of Leonard Wood first took shape in his mind as early as 1914, before General Wood had been seriously considered for the Presidency. The author at that time was in the American diplomatic service in Europe, and was impressed by the high regard in which the European official classes seemed to hold General Wood as an administrator. At that time, he says, "they considered Theodore Roosevelt and Leonard Wood the two most notable living Americans." Mr. Wood's book deals with every phase of his hero's career and treats with especial fullness the facts regarding his ancestry, boyhood and youth. The chapters relating to General Wood's administrative record in Cuba and the Philippines are of peculiar interest in connection with the claims now made on his behalf for the Presidential nomination. Joseph Hamblen Sears and William Herbert Hobbs have also written readable sketches of General Wood's life and public services.

George von Lengerke Meyer. By M. A. DeWolfe Howe. Dodd, Mead & Company. 556 pp. Ill.

A decade ago George von L. Meyer had a distinguished part in American public life. He had been Ambassador to Italy and to Russia, had filled the office of Postmaster-General under President Roosevelt, and was Secretary of the Navy in President Taft's Cabinet. He was known as one of our most skilled and successful diplomats, and in the cabinets of two Presidents he won a reputation as an able and efficient administrator. The biography now published is largely based on a diary that he kept during the period of his public life and on important letters never before made public. The record includes personal conversations with the Russian Czar, the German Kaiser, and other leading figures of the time. For many years Mr. Meyer was an intimate friend of Theodore Roosevelt.

Life of Walter Quintin Gresham: 1832-1895. By Matilda Gresham. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Company. Two vols. 875 pp.

An unusual career, even for America, known as the land of eccentricities in public life, is

summed up in these two sizable volumes. Soldier, lawyer, judge, statesman, Walter Q. Gresham seems never to have known an idle moment in the sixty-three years of his life. He had a distinguished record in the Civil War, enlisting as a private, and, after successive promotions for gallantry, receiving his discharge as a Major-General of Volunteers in 1865. After fifteen years of service at the bar and on the bench he was made a member of President Arthur's cabinet, and ten years later, because of disagreement with the Republican party on the tariff question, became a Democrat and was appointed Secretary of State in President Cleveland's second administration. He died in 1895. This biography, written by his widow, throws much light on the politics of the entire period from the middle of the nineteenth century to its closing years.

John Brown, Soldier of Fortune. By Hill Peebles Wilson. Boston: The Cornhill Company. 450 pp. Ill.

The motives and acts of John Brown, the man who in the Civil War era was hailed by millions as a martyr to the cause of anti-slavery, are subjected in this volume to a relentless criticism. In early life the author, who was himself a contemporary of Brown, joined in the chorus of eulogy. It appears that he did not change his favorable opinion of Brown's character until 1898, when on making an investigation of historical data "he found to his surprise and disgust that the history of Brown's career contained nothing to justify the public estimate of him." Although Mr. Wilson makes a skillful and forcible presentation of the documentary evidence that he has adduced, to support his iconoclastic plea, it is not likely that he will make many converts. The prevailing estimate of Brown as a hero has become a part of the national tradition and, whether its basis in fact be sound or not, it cannot easily be overthrown.

John Marshall and the Constitution. By Edward S. Corwin. New Haven: Yale University Press. 242 pp.

Those who wish to have a briefer account of Justice Marshall's career than is to be found in Mr. Beveridge's admirable work will find in this single volume an excellent statement of the salient facts in Marshall's life, together with a good brief discussion of his relation to the great constitutional questions that occupied the attention of the country in his time and for many succeeding years. One chapter is devoted to Jefferson's war on the judiciary and another to the trial of Aaron Burr. This volume appears in the "Chronicles of America" series, to which we have frequently referred in these pages. Paper, printing, and illustration are of the best.

THE WAR AND ITS LESSONS

Some Personal Impressions. By Take Jonescu. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 292 pp.

One will search in vain in English and American books of reference for the name of Take Jonescu. Yet it may be doubted whether any statesman on the Continent of Europe at the outbreak of the Great War was better informed as to the underlying motives and personalities involved in the conflict than the former premier of Rumania. He had been for years in personal touch with every leading statesman and ruler of the Central Powers, and besides was then, and has since remained, in close and intimate relations with the leaders of the Entente. This book gives some of his personal experiences and interviews with European statesmen. It is remarkable for the light that it throws on the machinery that was set in motion in Austria and Germany to bring about war. Always heartily pro-Ally himself, Mr. Jonescu brought his country into the war on the side of the Entente. His book is largely an interpretation of the aims of the most enlightened eastern European statesmanship.

The Inside Story of Austro-German Intrigue. By Joseph Goričar and Lyman Beecher Stowe. Doubleday, Page & Co. 301 pp.

This analysis of the movements and plottings among the European powers that led to the World War is chiefly based on materials from the Austrian official archives. Dr. Goričar was for fourteen years in the Austro-Hungarian consular service, and had every opportunity to learn the plans of those in authority at Vienna. He is himself a Jugo-Slav. Naturally, therefore, he followed with keen interest the series of diplomatic incidents resulting from the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and especially the several attempts on the part of Austria to attack Serbia and thus precipitate a European conflict. As a representative of the Austrian Government in America during 1912 and '13 he was acquainted with the carefully laid plans for the mobilization of 500,000 Austro-Hungarians in this country. When the death of the Archduke in the summer of 1914 was seized upon as a pretext for war, Dr. Goričar was in no way taken by surprise. It was to him only another scene in the rapidly unfolding drama.

The Enemy Within. By Severance Johnson, James A. McCann Company. 297 pp. Ill.

Details of the disgraceful French conspiracy in which Caillaux and Bolo were the chief figures. The facts have figured largely in recent news.

A Year as a Government Agent. By Vira B. Whitehouse. Harper & Brothers. 316 pp. Ill.

During the war Switzerland was known as an international meeting-ground for all kinds of propagandists—not to use a shorter and uglier word. To this center of diplomatic intrigue there was sent an American woman with no other mission than to tell the truth about America, and America's war resources, and to see that the truth was taken up and carried into the enemy's coun-

try. The very simplicity and directness of Mrs. Whitehouse's message at first startled the diplomatic forces gathered at the Swiss capital, and after a time won interest and credence. In this book Mrs. Whitehouse tells how she encountered and overcame obstacles one by one and describes the means that she employed. In the outcome her work proved to be a brilliant success. She managed to send into Germany the facts concerning America's war preparations which the Kaiser's government had hitherto kept from the knowledge of the German people.

A Short History of Belgium. By Leon Van der Essen. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 198 pp. Ill.

For the past half-dozen years at least, none of the smaller European states has figured in the pages of contemporary history more conspicuously than Belgium. Yet to most of us the background of this plucky little nation is hardly less obscure than that of Serbia or the Ukraine. For American readers this admirable little book by a Professor of History in the University of Louvain should do much to dissolve the mystery that hangs over Belgium's past. Not content with taking 1830, the date of Belgium's beginnings as an independent kingdom, for a point of departure in telling his story, Dr. Van der Essen goes back to the time of Cæsar who, it will be recalled, declared the Belgians to be "the bravest of all the people of Gaul," and traces the fortunes of the Belgian stock through the Germanic invasions of the fourth and fifth centuries A. D., the long period of feudalism and that of the Communes, the unification of the Belgian principalities under the Dukes of Burgundy, the Spanish domination and the rule of the House of Austria, the French, and the Dutch, down to the successful revolt ninety years ago. It is a fascinating story told by a master of the facts who writes with a fine sense of proportion.

From Upton to the Meuse with the Three Hundred and Seventh. By W. Kerr Rainsford. D. Appleton & Company, 297 pp. Ill.

We are told that when the National Army was organized in the autumn of 1917 the military critics did not place great reliance on the contribution made by New York City—later to be known as the 77th Division. It was doubted whether the famous melting-pot could turn out good fighting material. In this volume Captain Rainsford makes an effective reply to all such critics and doubters. He tells the story of the 307th Regiment, which won for itself unstinted praise in the Oise-Aisne offensive and in the battle of the Meuse-Argonne. This was a sample regiment of the 77th Division, and in writing about it Captain Rainsford not only draws on his personal experience but makes use of the Division's official reports. In the course of his story Captain Rainsford gives an authentic account of Whittlesey's famous battalion, which never would admit that it was "lost," but which was certainly surrounded. Captain Rainsford himself was severely wounded in going to its aid.

A Private in the Guards. By Stephen Graham. Macmillan. 340 pp. Ill.

A book written not chiefly to describe fighting, but rather to interpret soldier life and spirit. The historic "Guard" regiments of the British Army are known to themselves as the "Bill Browns," the "Jocks," the "Taffies," the "Micks," and the "Coalies." American volunteers who enlisted in Great Britain before their own country joined the war against Germany were to be found in the guard regiments in considerable numbers. They made up one-third of the squad in which Mr. Graham trained.

The Dardanelles. By Major-General Sir C. E. Callwell. Houghton Mifflin. 361 pp. Ill.

The mortifying story of England's naval attempt and failure to force the Straits of the Dardanelles without military aid is told in detail in this volume. Major-General Callwell is an experienced veteran as well as author. In the first part of the war he was Director of Military Operations at the British War Office and later was on special service at the Dardanelles and elsewhere. This is the first authoritative account of the Dardanelles expedition and appears in the series of "Campaigns and Their Lessons."

RUSSIA, POLAND, ARMENIA, IRELAND

Open Gates to Russia. By Malcolm W. Davis. Harper & Brothers. 315 pp. Ill.

This book answers many questions of those who find in the day's news increasing grounds for the belief that America cannot long remain indifferent to the opportunities about to be opened by the reconstruction of Russia. During the past few weeks the question of trade relations with Russia has more and more absorbed the attention of the Allied nations. As a compendium of helpful information concerning Russia's immediate and permanent needs, this volume by Mr. Davis has a timely value.

Raymond Robins' Own Story. By William Hard. Harper & Brothers. 248 pp. Ill.

Only a few Americans were privileged to watch from day to day the advance of Bolshevism to absolute power in Russia and to hear at the same time from the lips of the Bolshevik leaders, Lenine and Trotsky, a complete and consistent exposition of the Bolshevik doctrine. One American who did have exactly this experience was Colonel Raymond Robins, whose narrative has been written by William Hard. Colonel Robins, it may be said in passing, was strongly opposed to socialism before he went to Russia, and according to Mr. Hard he "came back from Russia more anti-Socialist than when he went." But at the same time he was convinced that in order to combat Bolshevism successfully, Americans must understand its underlying philosophy. This is the purpose of addresses that Colonel Robins has delivered in this country, and it is the central purpose of this book. The essential truth and fairness of Colonel Robins' observations have been confirmed in a striking way by interviews recently granted by Lenine and Trotsky to a correspondent of the *New York World*.

Poland and the Poles. By A. Bruce Boswell. Dodd, Mead & Company. 313 pp. Ill.

Among the lesser nations now hoping for a new lease of life from the Treaty of Versailles none has had so fascinating or appealing a history as Poland. The persistence of Polish vigor and culture through the centuries is well described by the English writer, Mr. Boswell, who lived for five years among this interesting people. His account is brought well up to date, and includes the story of Poland's bitter experiences in the war and her national aspirations as she looks forward to reinstatement among the European powers.

Armenia and the Armenians. By Kevork Aslan. Macmillan. 138 pp.

In the urgency of the "Armenian question" of to-day we are likely to lose sight of the fact that the Armenian people have a history antedating by several centuries the Christian era itself. In this little volume an Armenian historian gives a concise account of the rise and progress of his people, including the formation of Armenian royalty, the early religious ideas and customs, the conversion to Christianity, the dawn of Armenian literature, and finally the four centuries of bondage to the Turk. Many little-known facts have been gleaned from the somewhat obscure records of this long ill-treated people. It is shown, for example, that the first Armenian newspaper was published at Madras, India, in 1794.

Ireland a Nation. By Robert Lynd. Dodd, Mead & Company. 299 pp.

In this country we have not yet become accustomed to think of the Irish question as a world problem or of Ireland as an independent nation, even in theory. This, however, is the point of view adopted in the present volume by the literary editor of the London *Daily News*. The author, however, is distinctly pro-Ally as well as pro-Irish. Because he is an Irish Nationalist, he is no less a modern Internationalist. His tribute to Irish genius in literature and art is not to be gainsaid, nor would anyone wish to belittle the sacrifices made by Irishmen in the war, whatever opinion may be held as to Ireland's rights of self-determination.

Irish Impressions. By Gilbert K. Chesterton. John Lane Company. 222 pp.

A book addressed to the English public rather than to the American. Mr. Chesterton is fully convinced that "if Ireland is not a nation, there is no such thing as a nation; France is not a nation, England is not a nation; there is no such thing as patriotism on this planet. Any Englishman, of any party, with any proposal, may well clear his mind of cant about that preliminary question."

The Soul of Ireland. By W. J. Lockington. Macmillan. 182 pp.

A Catholic priest's whole-hearted eulogy of the Irish people and of Irish ideals.

ECONOMICS

Foreign Exchange. By A. C. Whitaker. D. Appleton & Company. 646 pp.

Although written by a university professor of economics, this work is not an academic text-book. On the contrary, it has a distinctly practical purpose and will probably be more used by bankers and bank clerks than by students. It may, however, be very well employed in courses of commerce and business administration in university departments. The book has chiefly to do with the methods or proceedings and the forms and documents of foreign-trade settlements, banking and financing. Naturally in a work of this kind special attention is given to the international movement of gold and the measures taken to influence it. Such a work is greatly needed in these days of foreign-trade expansion, and the rapid growth of American banking interests abroad.

Stabilizing the Dollar. By Irving Fisher. Macmillan. 305 pp.

Many of our readers are already familiar with Professor Fisher's plan to stabilize the general price level without fixing individual prices. It has been explained in detail by Professor Fisher himself in the pages of this REVIEW. The present volume gives the complete specifications as thus far worked out. The plan has won the endorsement of eminent economists, business men, bankers and statesmen. It appears that its chief features had been anticipated by various writers, although when Professor Fisher first propounded it he was not aware of this fact. The late Simon Newcomb and Professor Alfred Marshall of England were among these anticipators. The late Alfred Russel Wallace, the naturalist, was the author of a plan radically different from Professor Fisher's, but having the same purpose in view.

The Flow of Value. By Logan Grant McPherson. The Century Company. 473 pp.

A study and analysis of the interrelations of prices, profit, and wages in the light of evolution. Mr. McPherson has great faith in the coördination of human activities as a solvent of economic problems. In this book he tries to show how and why those who produce must consume, that those who consume must produce or live upon the production of others. If we could have effective coördination in production, there would be employment and abundance for everyone. Mr. McPherson began his work in the field of economics by investigating the question of transportation. After many years in active railroad service he became lecturer on transportation at Johns Hopkins University, and in 1910, at the invitation of a committee of railroad presidents, he established the Bureau of Railway Economics, serving as the director of that organization for four years.

A Living Wage. By John A. Ryan. Macmillan. 182 pp.

A revised and abridged edition of a work that has had much influence in bringing about the enactment of minimum-wage laws and the acceptance of the principle that the laborer has a moral claim to at least a decent living wage.

The author is a priest of the Roman Catholic Church and a professor in the Catholic University of America.

Workingmen's Standard of Living in Philadelphia. By William C. Beyer, Rebekah P. Davis, and Myra Thwing. Macmillan. 125 pp.

With the general acceptance of the principle of the living wage, there comes an insistent need of data to illustrate and facilitate its application. In this little book the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia compiles the result of an intensive study of the household budget of 260 workingmen's families in that city. With price levels changing as rapidly as they are to-day, it is hard to express a workingman's standard of living in terms of dollars and cents. It is here expressed in terms of actual goods and services. It affords a ready means of finding out what income is necessary at any given time to enable a workingman's family to live in a befitting way.

Democracy Made Safe. By Paul Harris Drake. Boston: The Four Seas Company. 110 pp.

A Socialistic scheme, one of the chief features of which is the abolition of money and every form of medium of exchange as a prerequisite of further social progress.

The Unsolved Riddle of Social Justice. By Stephen Leacock. John Lane Company. 152 pp.

In this little book the Professor of Political Economy at McGill University, Montreal, attempts to estimate what is and what is not possible in social reform. He takes the middle road between socialism and laissez-faire.

The Scientific Spirit and Social Work. By Arthur James Todd. Macmillan. 212 pp.

Undoubtedly many more persons are now actively engaged in social work, so-called, than before the war. There is timeliness in this summary of the principles on which this work must be based if the ranks of social workers are to recruit a real profession in this country. Dr. Todd is Professor of Sociology and director of the training course for social and civic work in the University of Minnesota.

Labor and the Common Welfare. By Samuel Gompers. E. P. Dutton & Company. 306 pp.

A compilation of the addresses and reports made from time to time, and especially during the war, by the President of the American Federation of Labor.

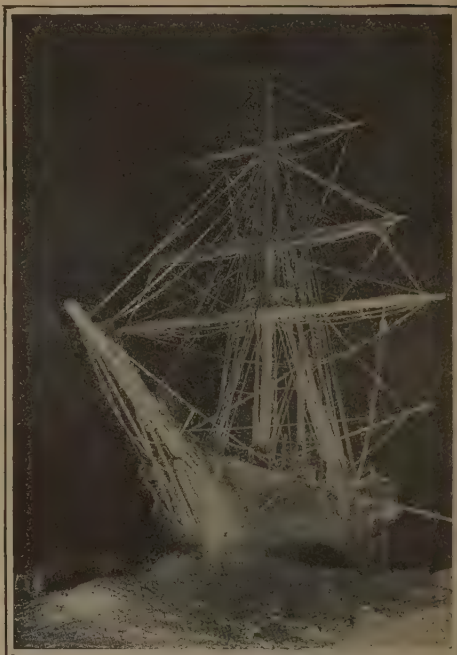
The Labor Market. By Don D. Leschmier. Macmillan. 338 pp.

The purpose of this volume is to show the necessity for a national organization to control the problem of employment. In the course of his discussion the author presents much valuable information concerning conditions of the labor market in this country and offers many suggestions to officials of employment offices, university students and teachers, legislators and the general public.

EXPLORING THE ANTARCTIC

South: the Story of Shackleton's Last Expedition, 1914-1917. By Sir Ernest Shackleton. Macmillan. 380 pp. Ill.

The South Pole has been found, as well as the North, but much remains to be done by way of defining the vast reaches of land that are vaguely known as Antarctica. With hope of crossing this South Polar continent from sea to sea, Sir Ernest Shackleton set out with a well-equipped British expedition in the fall of 1914. He failed in the main object of his quest, but the story of the adventures and sacrifices of this little band of Britishers struggling in Polar ice for a period of almost two years, and knowing nothing meanwhile of the great human struggle then going on in Europe, was well worth telling, and in this volume of nearly 400 pages it is vividly and yet modestly narrated. One of the incidents was the loss of the expedition's ship, the *Endurance*, which was crushed in the ice. Then came the almost miraculous escape of the party from the ice, the long boat journey, and at last the rescue by one of the various relief expeditions, and the return of the members to South America. The results of the expedition included many scientific observations, which are summarized in an appendix. Of the fifty-six men who went out with Shackleton three died in the Antarctic. Three were killed in battle after joining the British fighting forces on their return to Europe, and five were wounded. Four decorations were won, and several of the men were mentioned in dispatches. The illustrations are from photographs and drawings made by the explorers.



SHACKLETON'S SHIP, THE "ENDURANCE," IN THE LONG ANTARCTIC NIGHT

NATURE AND OUT-DOOR BOOKS

The Adventures of a Nature Guide. By Enos A. Mills. Doubleday, Page & Co. 271 pp. Ill.

Mr. Mills is a "nature guide" who, without carrying a gun, is continually meeting with adventure in the wilds of the Rockies. He is, in fact, developing a new profession—that of nature-guiding, "helping people to become happily acquainted with the life and wonders of wild nature." While the Government is creating national parks and wild-life reservations, why should it not provide a nature guide for each of these parks?

The Glow-Worm and Other Beetles. By J. Henri Fabre. Dodd, Mead & Co. 488 pp.

This is the second volume on beetles in the complete edition of Fabre's entomological works. It is said that this book was written especially for translation into English. It is practically the

last work that Fabre did. Apart from their scientific value, the books of this great Frenchman are written in a style that gives them all a distinctive literary character. Fabre died in 1915 at the age of ninety-two.

The Nursery-Manual. By L. H. Bailey. Macmillan. 456 pp. Ill.

A practical guide to the propagation of plants, written by the veteran horticulturist of Cornell University, Dr. L. H. Bailey. This is a new edition of the author's "Nursery-Book" which now becomes one of the set of single-volume cyclopedias, known as "The Rural Manuals."

A Little Garden the Year Round. By Gardner Teall. E. P. Dutton & Co. 227 pp. Ill.

A book of suggestions for planting and cultivating in all seasons.



THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

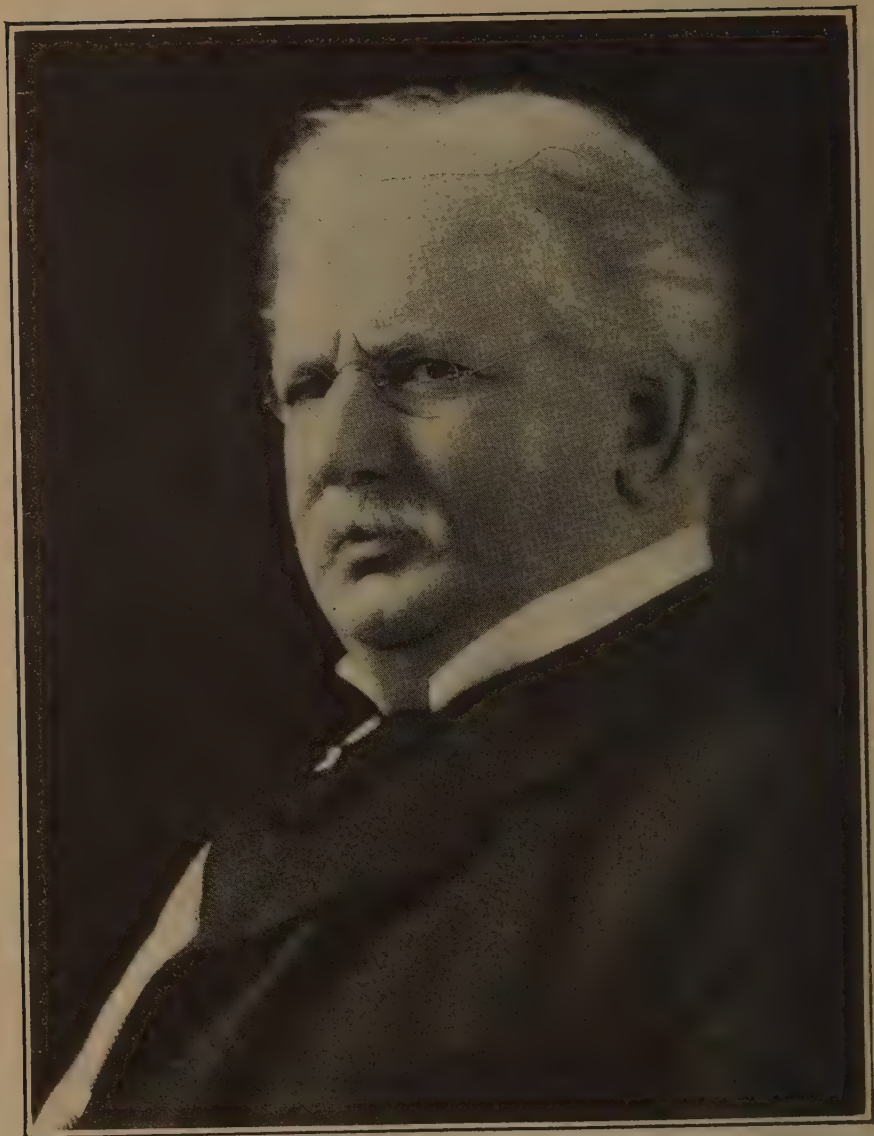
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THE LATE THEODORE N. VAIL, OF TELEPHONE FAME

Mr. Vail, who died on April 16, would have been seventy-five if he had lived until July; but the advancing years had not, until near the end, given warning that his great mental and physical powers were diminishing. He was born in Ohio in 1845, and educated in New Jersey, studying medicine for a time, but becoming a telegraph operator and then a railway mail official. With the advent of the telephone, he saw the great possibilities of that marvelous invention, and it fell to his lot to do more than any other man to build up the telephone business as an adjunct to the daily life of almost every family in the country. It was he who brought the telegraph service into cooperative relations with the local and long distance telephones; and he became the chief adviser of the Post-office Department when it assumed control of the wires as a war measure. He was a man of humane sympathies—a captain of industry, whose business genius contributed to the well-being of countless millions.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LXI

NEW YORK, MAY, 1920

No. 5

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*The Deadlock
at
Washington*

There are times when the formal movements of our government mechanism—with its fixed terms and the stately periodicity of a planetary system—are envied by foreign politicians and regarded with gratified complacency by our own people. The Constitution has served our needs for 132 years, and neither its friends nor its enemies could, at the present time, be trusted to change it in fundamental respects. Perhaps, however, at some future time it can safely be made a little more elastic, in order that the working government may respond more promptly to the forces of public opinion. The deadlock at Washington of March, 1920, must await the incoming of a new administration in March, 1921. The average duration in power of a Premier and Cabinet during the half-century of the present French Republic has been perhaps six months. Some French administrations have lasted several years and others only a few days. The average length of a British Ministry has been much greater; but the British system, like the French, responds to changes of sentiment, so that in times of stress or emergency the guidance of the ship of state may be quickly turned over from one master to another. Thus Asquith was superseded by Lloyd George, just as in France Clemenceau was substituted for Painlevé, while more recently Millerand has taken the helm, with Clemenceau retired to private life.

*Chances
Involved in
Fixed Terms*

If war had been expected by the American people in the summer and fall of 1916, it is quite possible that Mr. Roosevelt would have been made President. But when Mr. Wilson had been reelected, as the exponent of a peace policy and as head of an administration that did not much believe in military preparedness, we were without any constitutional arrangement by means of which we could

create a special kind of war government, in imitation of foreign countries, for the war period upon which we were destined so soon to enter. But all parties and factions rose to the support of Mr. Wilson, who became a war President beyond cavil. Let us suppose that Mr. Buchanan had won a second term in the election of 1860, so that upon him, instead of Mr. Lincoln, should have devolved the immense responsibilities of the presidency in a period of war. Mr. Buchanan was a sincere lover of his country and a man of great public experience. Very probably he would in the end have defended the Union stalwartly. He might, however, have failed as a war President. Nevertheless, if death or serious illness had not intervened, he would have held his place as President and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States until March 4, 1865. The country would have had to bear the consequences of its own exercise of judgment if it had accorded to Mr. Buchanan a second term.

*English and
American
Systems*

In December, 1918, taking advantage of the popular mood that had been produced by the armistice of the previous month, Mr. Lloyd George found pretexts upon which to call a general election. This, under the political conditions then existing, was quite certain to result in a great Coalition majority in support of a further lease of power for himself and his ministerial group. But now, after the lapse of less than a year and a half, the pendulum is moving decidedly in the opposite direction and it is not unlikely that within the coming year there may be another election and a change in party control and governing personnel. In the United States we have opportunity to register changes of party sentiment in our Congressional elections every two years; but our system, which

separates the executive and legislative departments and which creates a presidency clothed with unique power, gives opportunity of change once in four years with no way of shortening the period or of revoking the decision. This rigidity of mechanism chafes, at times, the impatient people who become disaffected toward the existing order of things. But there are evidently counterbalancing advantages that have been convincing enough to sustain the system through a period comprising the entire nineteenth century and the fringes of the eighteenth and the twentieth.

*Should the
President's Term
Be Lengthened?*

Furthermore, there is no serious proposal that looks to a change of our system of fixed terms. Many public men, indeed, are on record as favoring an extension of the President's four-year term to six, seven, or eight years. The reason usually given is that a presidential campaign, as we conduct it, is such a long-drawn-out and all-absorbing ordeal that the quadrennial period does not afford sufficient relief from the strain. The political parties, with their unofficial methods and their officially protected primaries, have become a part of the working mechanism of the national government, so that from first to last the quadrennial processes through which we choose a president are complex beyond anything known to the political systems of other countries. The business of electing a president is indeed burdensome; but the office itself has been clothed with so many extensions of discretion and power that a majority of thoughtful citizens would not be likely to vote in favor of lengthening the term. The people can make it eight years if they decide to accord a second period to a president of whom they approve.

*Let the
Dates
Be Changed!*

A president who is not strongly entrenched in public favor may indeed dominate his own party and secure a renomination in June; but he will be quite likely to meet his fate at the polls in November. There is no law against a third consecutive term, but the reasons against it are so overwhelming in their nature and so widely recognized that no law is necessary. We shall, then, undoubtedly keep on with our system of quadrennial elections of the chief executive, and with the existing terms for Representatives and Senators. There is, however, one constitutional change that would lessen some of the disadvantages of the system, while not affecting its

essentials. When in our States we elect governors and legislatures in November, they take office, as a rule, at the beginning of January. When, on the other hand, we elect a new national House of Representatives next November, the present House, elected in 1918, will continue to function until the 4th of March, 1921. When a new parliament is elected in England, the old parliament is never again convened. In contrast, our expiring Congress always meets for its second regular session a month after its successor has been chosen. The new Congress will not meet for thirteen months after its election, unless the new President, who is installed four months after the election, should call a special session. The dates should be so changed that as soon as possible after the November election the President-elect should take office and the Congress-elect should assemble for business.

*How
Deadlocks
Come About*

Two years ago, during the congressional campaign, President Wilson chose to give a new emphasis to the party character of American government by demanding the election of a Democratic Congress that should operate under his leadership during the second half of his last term. The country disregarded his appeal and elected a Republican majority in both House and Senate. This situation has resulted in a deadlock from which the United States has greatly suffered. The rest of the world, moreover, has been painfully injured through our inability to proceed with the international business rendered necessary by reason of the part we played in the waging of the war and in the negotiations that resulted in the armistice. With four-year presidential terms and two-year congressional terms, such deadlocks are to be expected if the President is to regard himself as a party leader and also as an initiator of legislation. President Wilson has insisted upon being the leader of the Democratic party in much more than a merely nominal fashion. He has also endeavored to shape and direct congressional policy.

*How
Majority Rule
Is Affected*

It is plain, however, that a President who insists upon his function as the leader of the Democratic party cannot very well expect to succeed in guiding and controlling the legislative policies of a Republican Congress that has come with a fresh mandate from the people in express opposition to the President.

In a country where majorities rule, the leader of the minority party cannot have everything his own way, even though he continues to occupy the White House. Mr. Wilson's logic of 1918 was good as far as it went, but it was not carried through to its final conclusions. His argument was that there ought to be working harmony between President and Congress, for the best interests of the country. Therefore, he asked the country to elect a Democratic Congress to support him. Logical consistency might have led him to say that, if the country chose to elect Republican majorities in both Houses, he would, to some extent at least, recognize the will of the country and act in such a way as to minimize the danger of deadlocks that would be detrimental to the public interest. Under such circumstances—according to European views—a President would naturally resign from office, if there were any arrangement by which his place could be filled by a leader who would work in better harmony with the newly chosen representatives of the people.

The Situation
Not
Ordinary

If the President is henceforth to be an active party leader, there must come a time—not soon, perhaps twenty or thirty years hence—when the capture of Congress by the other party may be regarded as having somewhat the

nature of a "recall." It may be suggested at least that President Wilson might have proceeded more tactfully after the country had given Republican majorities in 1918. The great work then facing him was the appointment of commissioners to represent us in Europe in the framing of the Peace Treaty. It is said that some of his closest advisers urged him to recognize the fact of the recent Republican victory in selecting the country's delegates to Paris. Unfortunately this advice was not accepted. The making of peace and the readjustments following the war constituted the principal business that pertained to the remainder of Mr. Wilson's term of office. These matters of public business were of the most profound and far-reaching importance. Partisan deadlocks were to have been avoided by forethought and care, for these were not ordinary times.

Advantages
of War-time
Coalition

Mr. Wilson's appeal for the election of a Democratic Congress placed emphasis upon partisanship at a time when the country as a whole had been supporting war policies in disregard of party lines. Mr. Lloyd George's appeal to the English voters only a few weeks later was on exactly opposite grounds. The British leader demanded further suspension of partisanship and the maintenance of the Coalition majority, so that the country might have the benefit of unity in its non-domestic policies through the critical period of peacemaking. Much of the extraordinary British success in the work at Paris and Versailles was due to the overwhelming non-partisan victory won by Lloyd George at the polls in December, 1918. The new Parliament was ready, without delay, to uphold the Prime Minister and the Cabinet. The peace treaty was immediately ratified. British activities in all parts of the world, far from being weakened or frustrated through deadlocks or disputes at London, were quickened by strong and assured support. It is only now, when foreign adjustments following the war have been largely agreed upon, that the domestic issues within the United Kingdom begin to suggest the early end of Coalition Government and the resumption of party divisions.

Difficulties
of the
Party System

If the British elections in December, 1918, had gone against Mr. Lloyd George and his program, there would have been an immediate change in the personnel of the executive gov-



GETTING RESTIVE

From the Daily Province (Vancouver, B. C.)

[This cartoon from a Western Canadian paper shows the prevailing view that President Wilson has been too intent upon his own personal responsibilities for the policies of America.]



ENTIRELY UNADOPTABLE

From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco, Cal.)

[Here we have a typical anti-Wilson cartoon on the Senate's rejection of the treaty and its return to President Wilson]

voting of appropriations. Congress, on the other hand, with its immense financial power, with the Senate's authority to reject or confirm executive appointments, and with its power over foreign affairs through its check upon the President's treaty-making functions, might readily enough be developed into a complete government on the British or European plan. Furthermore, in the last resort, the Congress has the power to impeach the President; while the President has no corresponding power to dismiss or prorogue a Congress and to call for a new election. It is not necessary to prolong these observations, but it is well to call the attention of our readers to the fact that publicists and statesmen in other countries are at this time studying the American system of government and trying to fathom the nature and the causes of a deadlock that seems to these onlookers virtually a paralysis of functioning capacity in matters of the most vital concern.

*The Treaty
Killed in the
Senate*

Europe remembers that the United States had taken the most widely advertised part in

the formulation of a great treaty of peace,—a treaty which affects in a life-and-death way the fortunes of at least a thousand million people. Now, after many months of discussion at Washington, the treaty has been rejected through processes so baffling that men of the utmost sincerity and of high intelligence are unable to agree in fixing the responsibility. Among the ablest and most disinterested supporters of the treaty in its main aspects there is a clear difference of opinion as to whether the failure to ratify it is due to President Wilson or to the Republican Senators under the leadership of Mr. Lodge. There had been a small group of Senators, mostly Republicans, with Senator Borah as their leading spokesman, who were known as "irreconcilables" in their opposition to the treaty and the League of Nations. A considerable majority of the Senate, under Mr. Lodge's leadership, was in favor of the treaty if accompanied by a resolution in which certain distinctions were made and certain so-called "reservations" were set forth. It was understood that enough Democratic Senators were ready to support the treaty (with reservations) to give more than the requisite two-thirds majority, unless this should mean a break with President Wilson. Absurd subtleties were involved in the Senate discussion of Article X, mystery enshrouded the White House position.

ernment, and also, of course, in that of the Peace delegation at Paris. Our system, in contrast to the English, makes possible a change in the Congressional majorities without a change in the executive personnel. As a result of this fact, there is danger of deadlocks that interfere with the transaction of public business and bring serious harm to the country. When a Republican President has a Democratic Congress "on his hands," or *vice versa*, it would be well for the occupant of the White House to remember that the Constitution did not contemplate any such thing as party leadership by the President. Once in the office, the President was expected to be the head not of a party but of the whole nation. He was expected to show full respect for the constitutional powers and functions of Congress, and to work as well as he could with the representatives of the people. Our practical trouble is that if a semi-hostile attitude is created between the executive and the legislative branches, we have, within certain areas of power, something like two rival governing authorities.

*Our
Rival
Authorities*

The President, with the numerous functionaries that he controls, could carry on a bureaucratic government without regard to Congress, except for the raising of taxes and the

Who
Was
Responsible?

When the final vote came, it was charged that there was an alliance between Senator Lodge and the Borah group to make the reservations still more distasteful and thus to defeat the treaty. It was similarly charged that there was an alliance between the White House forces and the Borah group, also for the purpose of defeating the treaty. It had been ascertained several months ago, following Lord Grey's return to England, that the European governments regarded the reservations as a matter of almost purely American concern, and were willing to accept them. If one should take the membership of the League to Enforce Peace, and further include many others not actively connected with societies working for the League of Nations, it would be found we have a very large body of citizens who believe that the treaty could have been ratified but for personal and partisan attitudes at Washington. But, while many of these excellent people locate the blame for such personal and partisan attitudes in the White House, there are many others equally sincere who locate the chief blame in the Senate.

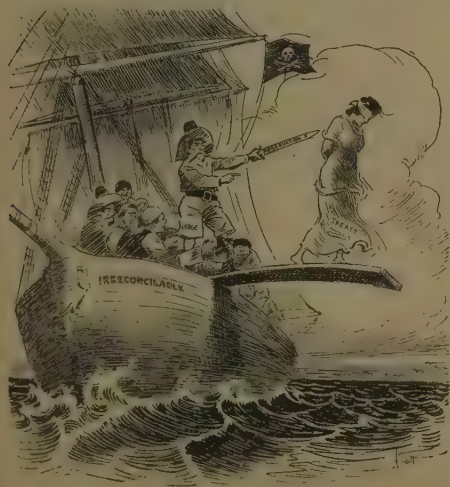
Delay
Weakened
the Treaty

One thing seems to be reasonably clear, and that is this: The treaty could have been ratified with very moderate reservations soon after it was first presented to the Senate if there had been a fortunate spirit of coöperation be-



THE ACCUSER
From the *World* (New York)

tween the two branches of the Government. But the longer the discussion went on, the more definite became the criticism of the treaty, and the larger grew the mass of those opposed to it in its original form. A second question has, therefore, arisen in addition to the first one as to the relative responsibility of the White House and the Senate. This second question relates to public opinion, apart from official sentiment and action. When Mr. Wilson brought the treaty home, its ratification was confidently expected. But the criticisms which led to the framing of reservations went far to hurt the popular prestige of the treaty as a whole. The speeches of able campaigners, like Senator Borah, Senator Johnson, Senator Reed, and others, had the greater effect because of the delays at Washington and the prejudices that were awakened by one incident after another. As a consequence, friends of the treaty were thrown upon the defensive for a number of reasons not strictly relevant.



THE BUCCANEERS

From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)

[The two cartoons on this page are typical of those which appeared in the Democratic papers supporting President Wilson and advocating the adoption of the treaty]

Armistice Was
Wilson's
Masterpiece

When President Wilson had secured the acceptance of the Fourteen Points as the basis of negotiations, with the result that they were embodied in the terms of the armistice agreement, his international statesmanship had secured an unparalleled triumph. The armistice itself, besides bringing actual peace, embodied the major points of a future settlement, including the League of Nations, disarmament, reparation, territorial adjustments with the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, and so on. Mr. Wilson had laid



© Harris & Ewing

SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH, OF IDAHO

(Mr. Borah's position with respect to the treaty has been free from ambiguity. By argument and by parliamentary tactics, he has consistently sought its defeat)

down the principles of settlement; and these had been accepted by England, France, Italy, Japan, and by Germany also. But Mr. Wilson was President of the United States, and not a diplomatic agent. It was not his function to apply the principles of the armistice to situations in detail. The elections had already apprised him that through his last two years he must deal with a Republican Senate and with a Republican House of Representatives. This meant a Republican Foreign Relations Committee in the Senate, a Republican Ways and Means Committee in the House, and the desirability of lifting foreign questions out of the atmosphere of partisanship. The principles of the armistice for which Mr. Wilson deserves so much credit would have been safe at the hands of an American peace delegation of which our only ex-President might well have been made the Chairman.

*Subsequent
Error of
Methods*

The President's great prestige was destined to needless impairment by his self-appointment as a negotiator in Europe. He could have directed affairs in a more masterful and efficient way if he had remained in the White House. Through his absence he lost his former control of affairs here at home; while,

on the other hand, after his return here he lost the power over situations abroad that he had acquired while in Paris. We are not ascribing blame nor assuming to criticize, but are merely reciting plain facts. The President had not been at pains either to use such methods or to select such agents as would have been likely to gain the prompt approval of the Senate for the finished work. He had relied upon securing the support of public opinion, rather than that of politicians, for the vindication of his efforts abroad. But the strain upon his health and strength had been too great, and illness overtook him while touring the country to win favor for his treaty by oratorical appeal. The treaty had been put upon final vote in the Senate, with the Lodge reservations, on November 10, 1919, and had fallen short of securing the necessary two-thirds vote for ratification. Soon afterward it was recalled and brought before the Senate again upon the understanding encouraged by Senator Hitchcock and other Democratic leaders that compromise reservations might be agreed upon and the treaty passed with White House approval.

*Final
Rejection
in March*

This effort was of no avail, however, and on March 19, by a vote of 49 in favor and 35 against, the treaty failed because of a lack of seven more affirmative votes to constitute the necessary two-thirds majority. These additional votes would have been readily forthcoming if such action had been favored by the President. There seems to have been some ground for the charge that the enemies of the treaty helped as much as they could to load it with unpalatable reservations (which of course were added by a simple majority vote) in order to make sure that the treaty as thus modified would fail of securing two-thirds on the final test. The last of these reservations, which was rather suddenly brought forward the day before the final vote, related to Ireland and read as follows:

In consenting to the ratification of the treaty with Germany the United States adheres to the principle of self-determination and to the resolution of sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of their own choice adopted by the Senate June 6, 1919, and declares that when such government is attained by Ireland, a consummation it is hoped is at hand, it should promptly be admitted as a member of the league of nations.

This Irish clause had been adopted by a

vote of 38 to 36 after several hours of vigorous discussion of political conditions in Ireland. Seventeen Republicans voted for it and twenty against it. Twenty-one Democrats voted for it and sixteen against it. It was not to be taken seriously as an expression on the Irish question, but rather to be regarded as a maneuver in the struggle for and against the ratification of the treaty.

*Peace
Resolutions
in Congress*

Following the rejection of the treaty in March, there was brought forward in each house of Congress a plan to end the war in the legal and technical sense by the passage of a joint resolution which should rescind the action by Congress when in the spring of 1917 it declared that a state of war existed. The resolution in the House of Representatives was brought forward by Hon. Stephen G. Porter, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House. It was proposed to pass this resolution on April 6, the third anniversary of our declaration of war. This did not prove possible, but it was actually passed by the House on April 9 by a vote of 242 to 150. As many as twenty-two Democrats voted in the affirmative with the Republicans, while one Republican and one or two Independents voted in the negative with the Democrats. Champ Clark, the former Democratic Speaker, declared that President Wilson would veto such a resolution; and the Hon. Bainbridge Colby, the new Secretary of State, was reported as having explained the President's objections to leading Democratic members of the House.

*Nature
of the
Proposal*

The resolutions provide that the date of their taking effect shall be that of the legal termination of the war. They further provide that Americans shall have such rights and advantages as they would have had if the treaty of Versailles had been ratified. Having passed the House, the resolutions were sent to the Senate and referred to the Foreign Relations Committee. Mr. Lodge was planning to report them favorably within a few days, and it was expected that the Senate would adopt them, perhaps as early as the beginning of May. It was not, on the other hand, believed in any quarter that President Wilson would accept this solution; nor was it thought likely that the necessary two-thirds vote could be secured in either House to pass the resolutions over a veto. The situation had assumed a strictly partisan form.



HON. STEPHEN G. PORTER, OF PITTSBURGH, PA.
(Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs)

*Peace
Now
"in Politics"*

Thus we are confronted again by the difficulties of a deadlock; and we are reminded of those stately and measured intervals that must elapse under our system of government before a deadlock can certainly be broken. This issue of peace is now quite certain to be involved in the presidential elections. It cannot be kept out of the nominating conventions in June. It will have a large place in the campaign that precedes the elections of a President and a new Congress in November. It may happen that the country will elect a President and a Congress emphatically opposed to President Wilson and his policies. Nevertheless, after this may have happened, President Wilson will keep firm control of the executive government, including the treaty-making power, until March 4 of next year. If a Republican Congress strong enough to override a veto should be elected in November, it could not avail to break the deadlock, because the old Congress, with its large Democratic minority, does not expire until March. As we have already remarked, there is much to be said in favor of changes that would put an end to the functioning of an old Congress after a new Congress had been chosen, and that would seat the new President within a month or two after his election.



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MR. COLEY (SECRETARY OF STATE) AND MR. MEREDITH (SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE)

(On their way to the White House to attend their first Cabinet meeting.)

President
Wants the
Business

Another alternative is for the President to change his attitude regarding party government, and to abandon the idea that the chief executive should remain the head of a party after it has lost its Congressional majorities, with its control of the committees. Another change theoretically possible is to create a Cabinet that would bear some working relation to the controlling majorities in Congress. There is no likelihood at all, however, that so radical a change as this could be brought about in the near future. President Wilson, on April 14, held the first Cabinet meeting to be called by him since September 2 of last year, a period of more than seven months. There were four members of the Cabinet who had never before attended one of these meetings. These were Mr. Colby, the new Secretary of State; Mr. Payne, Secretary of the Interior; Mr. Meredith, Secretary of Agriculture, and Mr. Alexander, Secretary of Commerce. The country was relieved and gratified that the President should be able to resume Cabinet meetings, and that he was described as in genial mood

and equal to the discussion of current problems. A few days later the Attorney-General Palmer and Labor Secretary Wilson gave the President information relating to the railroad strikes which, beginning in a seemingly sporadic way, here and there—notably in and about Chicago—had spread across the country, greatly restricting the movement of freight and in many places tying up passenger traffic.

Railroad
Strikes
Last Month

The Attorney-General doubtless had grounds for holding that the strikes were to some extent promoted by agents of disorder and revolution. There was truth, on the other hand, in the reports that many of the strikers were not in order at all, being attracted to the delays in the official treatment of the demands for higher wages that had some months ago been promised to certain classes of railway workers. Meanwhile it was discovered that the labor board which had been authorized in the new railway legislation, some weeks ago, had not yet been named. The President made haste to remedy this omission by announcing on April 15 the names of the nine members—three on behalf of the public, three for railway labor, and three for railway management. The strike leaders immediately notified this board, and other authorities at Washington, that they desired to avail themselves of the opportunity provided by it for a consideration of their grievances in accordance with provisions of the new transportation act. The act, however, requires that the grievances be presented while the men are still at work, and not subsequent to a strike.

1
The
Economic

Announcement of the President, that the board was a general strike—which, in fact, took the form of a general strike at Springfield, Illinois, and at other points and among brakemen—was collapsing rapidly after the announcement that the board was organized and would meet promptly at Washington on Monday. There was some criticism to the effect that the board was not sufficiently experienced in railway affairs, but there was general agreement to let the board make its reputation by its achievements. The nine members are as follows: For the public, R. M. Barton, G. Wallace W. Hanger, and Henry Hunt; for railway labor, Albert Phillips, A. O. Wheeler, and James J. Flanagan; for railway

management, Horace Baker, J. H. Elliot, and William L. Park. The strike seems to have had some useful results of an incidental kind, and in several ways it proved a valuable experience. It enforced the lesson that organized labor must learn to control its own forces and to keep its agreements, if it is to maintain in future the influence of its recent past. The regular leaders of the railway brotherhoods were opposed to the strike, but were not in complete control. Another useful result of the strike was the lesson to the general public that thousands of men not regularly employed on railroads must learn how to operate trains in case of need. Our large city populations must not be imperiled as regards supplies of food and fuel by reckless strikes.

The New Public Attitude

The labor leaders are to be commended for the courageous and outspoken way in which they assert their rights, fight the battles of their unions, and make their demands upon the public. They cannot object, therefore, if other classes defend their own interests with equal foresight and vigor. As long as the railway brotherhoods claim the right to strike and tie up the movement of traffic, there should be an organization of citizens many millions strong, well equipped to see that transportation goes on in case the regular workers abandon their jobs. Last month thousands of students enrolled, along with commuters and other citizens, to keep trains moving. Some classes of railway workers are underpaid, compared with the wages of common labor and with the increased cost of living. They should have just and prompt treatment in order that they may not be tempted to go on strike. It is the intention of the new transportation law that railroads shall be allowed to charge enough for their services to pay proper wages and to obtain all the capital they need at current rates in the money market. The best judges of the amount of these charges are the railway managers themselves. It is to be hoped that the Interstate Commerce Commission will acquire a broad view of the situation, and not spend months or years in reaching decisions that could better be made in a week. The public must now have its innings, hav-



MR. HERBERT HOOVER, MR. OSCAR S. STRAUS, AND MR. FRANK W. TAUSSIG

(From a snapshot taken while they were in Washington as members of the recent Industrial Conference)

ing been sufficiently victimized by the other interests.

*Seeking
Industrial
Harmony*

The President's second industrial conference, with Secretary Wilson as Chairman and Mr. Herbert Hoover as Vice-Chairman, had proceeded harmoniously and had made an interesting report which was presented to the public on March 20. This report was not quickly formulated, and it cannot be grasped in all its bearings without thoughtful study. It proposes a system of national scope for settling labor disputes to be created by Congress and the President. It must be borne in mind that the coal strike, the steel strike, and the threatened railway strikes, led to the calling of the first and second industrial conferences. Thus the proposed system, although planned upon a local and regional as well as a national basis, is to be considered chiefly in reference to large national crises. A national Industrial Board at Washington is recommended, and subordinate regional conferences are planned, with a regional public official who acts as Chairman and endeavors to settle a dispute without its going up to the national board. The plan contemplates labor organization and collective bargaining; but it admits of shop committees representing a given local industry, and

thus it does not meet the views of Mr. Gompers and the leaders of the old-line trade-unionism.

*When
Principles
Triumph*

A great many suggestions and proposals having to do with the improvement of industrial society are touched upon in the report. At the basis of it all is the idea that labor and capital ought to coöperate in a much more friendly and effective way, with resulting gains that ought to benefit both parties rather than the one or the other. These principles are already being adopted and applied in hundreds of industries; and the reading of this report will encourage the efforts of good employers to deal fairly and in a broad spirit with the men and women whom they employ, seeking the best welfare of all the men, women, and children in the neighborhood. Since the object of trade-unionism is the advancement of the workers, there should be only praise on the part of the union leaders for employers who propose to outbid unionism in actively promoting all the advantageous things that unionism stands for. Unionism has helped to make many creditable chapters of industrial history, but it should not regard itself as a crusading religion, or as destined to dominate in any class spirit. Its best triumph is to be found in the attainment of the social objects for which it had labored and maintained its existence through several generations. It has at times justly denounced the tyranny of capital, and it will do well to avoid, on its own part, the temptations that come with the sense of power.

*Labor
in
Politics*

As we have remarked in the preceding paragraph, the real triumph of organized labor is not to be found in its power to dominate, but rather in the acceptance and success of the principles of justice for workers that unionism has endeavored to propagate since its stormy beginnings in the early part of the last century. Federated unionism, with the splendid organization at Washington, has decided upon an active and aggressive part in the elections of the present year. The campaign committee of federated unionism, with Mr. Samuel Gompers at its head, has set forth an extensive list of principles and measures that it believes should be embodied in legislation. Most of the planks in this labor platform are to be commended as representing sincere efforts for social progress well within recognized constitutional lines. Some

things, like government ownership of public utilities, as advocated in this labor platform, are regarded in business circles as not so much questions of principle as of efficiency in practise. Mr. Gompers and the American Federation are not in favor of a separate labor party, although many labor unionists take a different view and are identified with a third-party movement that has already been launched.

*Scrutiny
of All
Candidates*

The method proposed by Mr. Gompers and adopted by the Federation leaders is to scrutinize the candidates of all parties, selecting for support those regarded as friendly, and marking for defeat those regarded as hostile to the interests of organized labor. This is a course that has often been pursued by other special and definite interests, in advancement of their own cause or their own object, whether selfish or unselfish in motive. The danger is that, in applying the tests and making the lists of labor's friends and labor's enemies, there will be lack of true discrimination. For example, it is said that Senator Cummins has been marked for defeat because his railroad bill as originally presented, after carefully providing for the presentation of labor grievances, set up a method of adjustment that would remove just excuse for strikes, and then forbade concerted movements to stop transportation. In times past, railroad labor was contending for certain definite things. Almost everything has been conceded in the way of remedy for old-time grievances. Above all there has been fully conceded the right to unionize, to present grievances, to have impartial investigation, and to have adjustment through arbitrators or by some similar method intended to secure justice.

*Who Are
Labor's
Enemies'?*

The proposal to prevent railroad strikes was not made in a spirit adverse to labor, but on the principle that uninterrupted transportation is a basic need of all classes, including the great body of workers in towns and cities. There was nothing personal in Senator Cummins' attitude, and he is far from being an opponent of labor. It would be better to support strong, capable, and courageous public men like Senator Cummins, in spite of some differences regarding public policy, rather than to select subservient men ready to make any required pledges in advance but not capable of useful service in high office. Labor, like

every other interest, needs honest, just, capable, and courageous men in public places. It is an interesting experiment that has been undertaken by the union leaders as regards the elections this year. It is their plan publicly to approve or disapprove of the nominees for the Presidency. It is their further plan to check-list all nominees for the United States Senate and for the House of Representatives, whether Republican or Democratic.

*How the
Method Will
Work*

Naturally, a nominee for Congress in Massachusetts or California, who is put on labor's blacklist, will appeal to the voters of his constituency for support on the ground that Mr. Gompers and the Labor leaders are invading his district and attempting to dictate in their own interest. This method has not merely been suggested by the Federation leaders, but has been already launched with superb organization, ramifying the entire country, and with millions of unionized workers who are supposed to be willing to have their political action as citizens directed by the professional heads of union labor. Carrying the labor movement into politics is perfectly legitimate, and it does not in the smallest degree affect the rights of candidates; neither does it affect the freedom of voters. It is quite as permissible to act in this way as to act through a distinct Labor Party. We are merely suggesting that the movement will be likely to gain more if it proceeds broadly than if it proceeds narrowly. Better gain "friends" by generosity than antagonize good men by calling them "enemies."

*What About
Governor
Allen?*

The attitude of organized labor toward Governor Allen of Kansas affords an instance worth considering. Henry J. Allen has in past years been known as one of the most democratic, progressive, and open-minded public men of the entire West. Surely he could never have been suspected in the past of being an "enemy of labor." Last winter, when the bituminous coal strike prevailed and the people of Kansas were in danger of freezing for lack of fuel, Governor Allen led the movement which took over on behalf of the State the temporary control and operation of coal mines. This State movement was opposed alike by the capitalists operating the mines and the unionized strikers. It was supported, however, by the people of Kansas as a whole because the issue was one of life

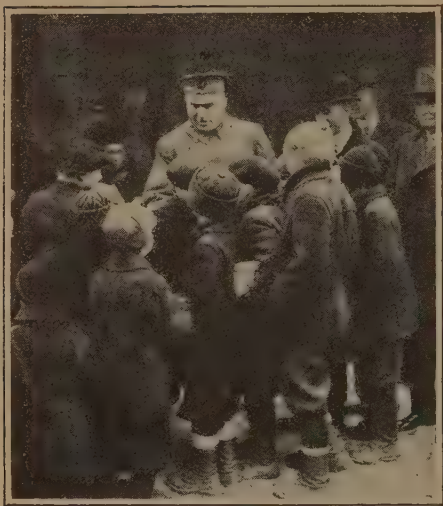
and death. Thousands of citizens volunteered to mine coal, and the strike was promptly broken. Governor Allen fully recognized the fact that the miners had grievances, and that the mining industry was badly conducted. There were always lack of a proper reserve supply of coal, lack of a proper system of distribution, and lack of reasonable continuity of employment for the miners.

*Protection for
Essential
Services*

But it came to be the prevailing view in Kansas that the processes of supplying the people with food, fuel, and transportation were so "affected with a public interest" that they ought to come under an especial form of protection. The country has now everywhere expressed itself to the effect that policemen, firemen, school teachers, and postal employees must not assert those rights to strike in support of private demands that are permitted in private occupations. In like manner, Kansas proposed that there should not be strikes that would stop the production and supply of the most vital necessities of life. This idea was embodied in a law. The law might merely have prohibited strikes in those particular industries; and, if it had stopped there, the workmen would have been quite free to drift away to other pursuits, compelling employers to pay higher wages and to meet all just requirements. But the Kansas law established the Court of Industrial Relations in order that labor in the specified necessary industries might secure the direct and immediate remedy of their grievances without having to strike or to seek other employment. As we read the law, its intentions were wholly favorable to labor.

*Kansas Law
Under Critical
Test*

Whether or not the statute is destined to provide a permanent solution for the pressing problem it was intended to meet, there was good reason for giving the plan a fair trial. It is one thing to criticize the Kansas law and to predict its failure, but it is quite a different thing to mark the very friendly and human personage who is Governor of Kansas as an "enemy" of labor. Last month a considerable strike of Kansas coal miners broke out, simultaneously with the sporadic railroad strikes. The newly established Court of Industrial Relations found itself with a critical situation on its hands very early in its career. This was wholly fortunate, because it was an open challenge of the law and a defiance of the authority of government in



GENERAL WOOD GREETING THE CHILDREN OF
ISHPEMING DURING THE MICHIGAN PRIMARY
CAMPAIGN LAST MONTH

the State. Since such an issue was likely to arise under the Kansas act, it was well to have it come promptly.

The Issue Certain to Be Met It must not be thought that a permanent adjustment is to be found solely in the submission of the striking miners to the requirements of the law. There must be sincere and intelligent efforts on the part of the mine owners and operators not merely to remedy obvious grievances, but to provide positively favorable conditions for working miners and their families, including assurance of steady employment. Much must depend upon the vigor of the new Industrial Relations Court in applying the remedies which the law places in its hands. Certain arrests were promptly made, but the strike had caused a situation admittedly difficult to deal with. Back of any such law as that which Kansas has adopted must be the force of public opinion. The people of Kansas have shown that they can mine their own coal, and that they will not allow labor disputes henceforth to imperil the town populations. In like manner, the people of Kansas are quite certain to uphold their own laws.

The Political Campaigns The railroad strikes changed the campaigning plans of General Leonard Wood in the middle of April. He is in command of the military department which has its headquarters at Chi-

cago, but he had obtained a two months' leave with permission to wear civilian dress in pursuance of his candidacy for the Republican nomination. The rapid extension and serious menace of the railway strikes led him to return to his post of military duty. He soon resumed his campaign work, although keeping in closer touch with Chicago headquarters. As the period of the preliminary campaigns grows shorter—little more than a single month remaining—we shall not attempt to make forecasts; neither can we definitely picture a situation that is subject to rapid change. The Republican primaries have shown that General Wood sustains his rank as the foremost candidate on the national plane.

*An Unpledged
Republican
Convention*

It had become evident that the Republican Convention, which meets at Chicago on June 8, would not be controlled by pledged delegates. The total membership of the Convention will be 984. It will require, therefore, 493 votes to win the nomination. Less than 250 delegates had been actually chosen up to April 10, and of these less than 100 had been instructed for Wood, while fully 100 more were supporters of Wood, although unpledged. In a number of States, which will send delegations primarily supporting some favorite son, General Wood holds the rank of second choice; and this, of course, is greatly in his favor. The Wood supporters professed to be much gratified by the result of the Illinois primaries on April 13. Governor Lowden carried the State handsomely, his two competitors being General Wood and Senator Johnson. The Lowden vote amounted to a clear majority over all; but General Wood obtained about two-thirds as many votes as Governor Lowden, and this would clearly indicate that the General is the second choice of Illinois. Politicians were looking forward with particular interest to the Ohio primaries of April 27th, those of Massachusetts and New Jersey occurring on the same date.

*Spending
Money in
Politics*

A great discussion had arisen among the supporters of the rival candidates concerning the relative amounts of money used in pushing these particular efforts. It was admitted that large sums were being expended on behalf of General Wood, but it was not for a moment intimated that money was being used on behalf of any candidate to secure support by cor-

rupt means. There were halls to be hired, travelling expenses to be met, printing bills to be paid, besides salaries of clerks and stenographers. Primary election campaigns, if really organized and pushed, can become expensive without employing any methods except those of recognized publicity. It is hard to know exactly how to define and limit such expenditures. One prominent candidate can truthfully say that the sums of money directly raised and expended on his behalf are not large. Yet it so happens that the publicity work done for that particular candidate by one series of newspapers would probably have cost more than a million dollars, if reckoned at the price of paper and printing or at regular space rates for advertising. Senator Borah, from one standpoint, and the labor leaders from another standpoint, have been calling upon the candidates to state the amounts contributed and expended in their preliminary campaigns.

*Wood's
Open
Methods*

It is wholly beneficial that there should be as little secrecy as possible about these expenditures.

But in the case of General Wood it may well be stated that nothing could be less mysterious or concealed than the methods that have been used to advance his candidacy. It has been a matter of open organization, carried on extensively, and it has therefore been expensive. The most valuable asset to General Wood by far has been the unsolicited friendliness of many Republican newspapers, and the wholly voluntary activities of many thousands of citizens who favor Leonard Wood's nomination. A forced candidacy for the office of President is always offensive to good taste. Organization work and money expenditure should follow, rather than precede, a recognized public demand. The candidacy of General Wood, like that of Governor Lowden, and also like that of Senators Johnson and Harding, has had a sufficient basis in public demand to have won its recognition in the gathering at Chicago in June, even if no money had been expended by a central campaign committee such as that which Mr. Procter heads on behalf of General Wood.

*Johnson
a Formidable
Candidate*

The candidacy of Senator Johnson has assumed a steadily growing position by reason of the popular support accorded it in several primaries. Thus in the Michigan primary of April 5, Senator Johnson carried the city of

Detroit by so overwhelming a majority as thereby to win the State, in spite of the Wood majorities in practically all of the other Congressional districts. Several reasons have been assigned for Johnson's remarkable popularity in Detroit. The main fact, however, is that his success in Michigan added immensely to his prestige as a candidate. This growth of respect for the Johnson movement was not diminished by the large vote accorded to the Senator in the city of Chicago, although he was not actively concerned in the Illinois primaries. His name will be prominent in some of the Eastern primaries; but interest in the Johnson movement is almost wholly concentrated upon California, where the test will be made on May 4. Four years ago Senator Johnson, running as a Republican candidate for the United States Senate, carried his own State of California by a majority of about 300,000, while the State was carried for the Democratic presidential electors, thus producing the unexpected and surprising result of giving President Wilson a second term. Governor Johnson, as running mate with Colonel Roosevelt on the Progressive ticket in 1912, had shown himself a powerful campaigner and had made many friends among the Republican elements that were supporting Roosevelt. Among leading Republican candidates, Johnson is the only



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SENATOR JOHNSON, WITH ONE OF HIS CAMPAIGN MANAGERS

(A photograph made in New York City during a conference with Mr. A. C. Joy)

one who has stood with the "irreconcilable" clement in the Senate against the treaty and the League of Nations. He seems to have the support of a part at least of the elements now active on behalf of the Irish demands as against the British Government.

*Hoover and
the California
Contest*

The contest in California on the 4th of May promises to be the most interesting of this year's primary elections. The old conservative Republican elements have ceased to oppose Senator Johnson, and until quite recently it was expected that he would sweep the Republican primaries of his own State with little opposition. But during the months of March and April the Hoover movement began to take on a definite political form. In January it had been launched by the New York "World" as a Democratic movement, and it had even been supposed that Senator Phelan had secured the selection of San Francisco as the meeting place of the Democratic National Convention because of his personal friendship for Mr. Hoover and his willingness to have the former Food Controller placed at the head of the Democratic ticket. Mr. Hoover himself had intimated that he was waiting to see how the parties would line up on certain questions before committing himself as an adherent of the one or the other. Gradually, however, he was brought to the position of becoming a receptive Republican candidate, and of declaring that he would neither seek nor accept a Democratic nomination.

*Nature of the
Hoover
Support*

Mr. Hoover has the reputation of being a great organizer, and of doing nothing half-heartedly. It does not appear that he has at any time sought to project himself into politics, much less to strive for the Presidency. But he will not hamper the efforts of his friends. It is plainly true that—quite outside of regular political circles—there has been an extraordinary expression of sentiment to the effect that Mr. Hoover would make a good President, for the period upon which we are now entering. Most of the people who have committed themselves to this opinion admit that they know almost nothing about Mr. Hoover's personality, career, or opinions. But, nevertheless, they are good citizens, and they are entirely satisfied to take the chances and support Hoover as embodying the kind of efficiency, ability, and character that they desire to see in the White House. This

sentiment for Hoover is widespread, is reflected in the press, and is heard among leading citizens, and the women voters are to a great extent under its sway. If there should be a protracted deadlock in the Chicago Convention, the pressure of outside opinion might result in Hoover's nomination. After all is said and done, the Republican politicians want a winning ticket that will help to carry State and local elections; and the Hoover trade-mark has a popularity that it is not likely to lose in the near future.

*Hoover Has
a World
Outlook*

Some of the most influential newspapers in California have now committed themselves to Hoover, and it is said that a great many Democrats have been enrolling as Republicans in order to participate in the great fight of May 4 between Hoover and Johnson. Mr. Hoover's occupation as a mining engineer and director in British mining enterprises in Australia, China, and elsewhere has made London his place of business and principal residence during his working career. To be a successful man in London and the British Empire is no small achievement for a young American engineer. It will not of necessity diminish his pride in his own country and his loyalty as an American citizen, but it will naturally create in his mind a habit of thinking in international rather than in local terms. Mr. Hoover's brief but intensive experience as a public personage in the war period gave him an exceptional ac-



LOOKS LIKE A REAL JOUST IS COMING OFF
From the Sun (Baltimore, Md.)



Attorney-General Palmer Ambassador John W. Davis Governor Cox of Ohio Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska
FOUR DISTINGUISHED DEMOCRATS AVAILABLE FOR THE SAN FRANCISCO NOMINATION

quaintance with affairs and conditions in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as on both sides of the Channel and the North Sea.

*Contrasts
Between the
Two Men*

Senator Johnson does not believe in America's active participation in European and Asiatic affairs. His attitude is instinctive as well as deliberate. Mr. Hoover, on the other hand, instinctively but also deliberately holds that America must ratify the treaty and coöperate with Great Britain and France in helping to maintain present peace and to secure lasting adjustments. It is said that various elements in this country, including the pro-Irish and anti-British groups, are working against Hoover as an internationalist and in favor of Johnson as a nationalist. These opposite points of view are said to be crystallizing for the coming contest in California. If Hoover should carry the State, it would greatly enhance his prospects at Chicago. If Johnson should lose his own State, his chances at Chicago would have disappeared. If, on the other hand, he should carry his own State, his position would be just what it had been before. In short, Johnson has everything to lose and little to gain in California, while Hoover has much to gain and nothing to lose.

*Democratic
Availables*

The Democratic situation is not going to be clarified this year even to a moderate extent by the primary elections. Certain rival leaders will wage contests for control of delegations, as for example Senator Hitchcock and Mr. Bryan in Nebraska; but the success of one or the other of these two leaders in the primary

on April 20th will have no important bearing upon the choice of the San Francisco Convention that meets June 28. We are publishing in this number a sketch of Mr. McAdoo and an interview with him, particularly upon problems of taxation and finance. He is making no efforts as a candidate, although his name is perhaps first among the possibilities. The Attorney-General, Mr. Palmer, is capable and well-qualified; but his official activities, particularly those under the Lever Act, have aroused opposition on the part of labor leaders. Governor Cox of Ohio is a much-praised candidate. In the Cabinet there are several men recognized as eligible besides Mr. Palmer. Secretary Houston, for example, apart from mere considerations of politics, would measure up to all the requirements of the presidential office. Mr. Meredith, the new Secretary of Agriculture, would make an attractive and popular candidate, and the Democratic convention of his own State of Iowa has endorsed him. Many thoughtful Democrats have had their eye upon the Hon. John W. Davis, now Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, as the most promising of all the dark horses. There is not a man in public life at Washington, whether Republican or Democrat, who does not hold Mr. Davis in admiration.

*The Treaty
as an
Issue*

This is a year, however, when issues as well as candidates must be considered. A few weeks ago Republican victory was regarded as a foregone conclusion almost without regard to the candidate or the platform. But the defeat

of the treaty appears likely to force the question of our foreign relationships into the campaign in a way that nobody had seemed to expect or to desire, excepting alone President Wilson and Senator Lodge. It will be necessary for both conventions to express themselves on the treaty and its defeat, and upon the League of Nations. Any attempt at evasion would be more harmful to a party than a clean-cut position pro or con. The leading Republican candidates have all expressed themselves as favoring the League of Nations and the treaty with reservations, excepting Senator Johnson. The Democratic campaign will have to be fought largely upon the record of the two Wilson administrations; and all of the well-known Democratic candidates, so far as we are aware, are in favor of the treaty and the League.

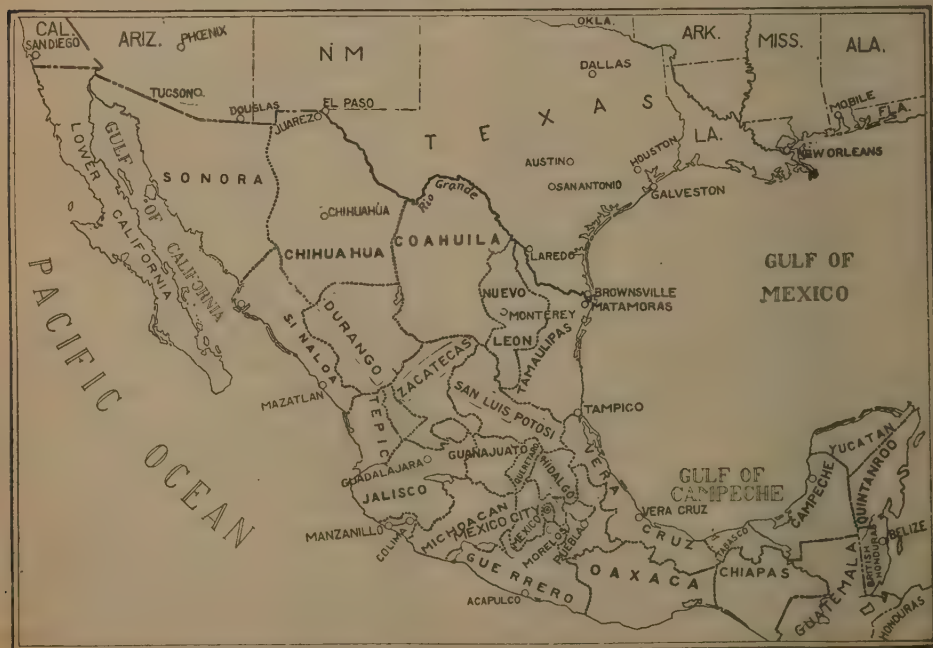
*Facts Will
Determine
Policies*

It is to be remembered that the logic of facts is quite as potent as the logic of words. The dominating fact is that America's armed intervention brought the armistice about and created situations that we cannot possibly ignore or neglect. The peace of the world is a part of our necessary business as a nation. It relates itself to the private fortune and welfare of every boy and every girl in the United States. It will make a good deal

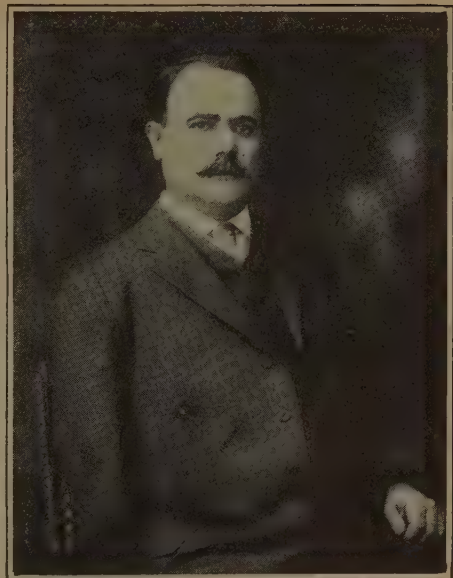
of difference, doubtless, to European countries to know that this country will join them in the League of Nations, or in an association extending the work of the Hague Conferences, for protecting civilization against disastrous wars. But, with or without such arrangements, we should be obliged to concern ourselves with the world's larger issues of war and peace henceforth and forever. Even Senator Johnson, if nominated and elected, almost certainly would hold the United States to the support of France, as against unprovoked attacks in violation of the principles of the armistice. As for various other issues, such as inflation, taxation, high cost of living, immigration, social welfare, labor, government ownership, and the like—the Republican party has been trying to promote frank study and discussion and to pave the way for a wise platform and sound public policies. And what the Republicans declare in their platform early in June will be carefully studied by the Democrats before they adopt theirs early in July.

*Politics and
War in
Mexico*

Our political differences seem slight enough when we turn to contemplate the troubles of our great neighbor south of the Rio Grande. In Mexico, presidential elections are either a complete farce, as in the days of the long in-



cumbency of President Diaz, or else they are accompanied by civil war, as in the post-Diaz period and earlier. The Mexican constitution does not allow the reelection of a president, although this rule was set aside repeatedly in the case of President Diaz. The election of President Carranza's successor occurs on July 1. Carranza naturally had expected to dictate his own successor, and practically to elect him through control of political machinery and military power. But General Obregon for some time past has been journeying from State to State in Mexico as an opposition candidate, with great success. Early last month, railroad and mining strikes in the Northern State of Sonora led to interference by President Carranza that was regarded by the Governor of Sonora and the local authorities as infringing upon the rights of the State. The State legislature voted to make armed resistance to Carranza's attempt to send troops into Sonora.



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GENERAL ALVARO OBREGON

(Leading candidate for the presidency of Mexico and foremost leader of the northern state of Sonora, now in revolt)

Sonora
in
Revolt

This occurred on April 10, and the State withdrew temporarily from the Republic of Mexico.

It was alleged that Carranza proposed to assume control of Sonora as part of a plot to hurt the candidacy of General Obregon, whose home is in that State. Meanwhile, General Obregon had been called by Carranza to the City of Mexico to appear in connection with the trial of a rebel leader accused of plotting against the Carranza Government and of favoring Obregon. It looked very much like a typical Mexican attempt to trap Obregon; but after a few days it was reported that he had eluded his enemies and escaped from the City of Mexico by automobile. This was not at once verified. Meanwhile, in the early clashes of State and Federal troops, on the boundaries between Sonora and the State of Sinaloa, and also further north between Sonora and Chihuahua, the secessionists apparently had the advantage. This does not mean an attempted break-up of Mexico, but only a powerful protest against Carranza and his methods.

Morgenthau
as
Ambassador

President Wilson several weeks ago named Mr. Henry Morgenthau as Ambassador to Mexico.

Mr. Morgenthau's services as Ambassador to Turkey in a period of great difficulty have been widely recognized; and the story of his war-time experiences at Constantinople has

been told by him in a volume that has vied in popularity with the best selling novels. Mr. Morgenthau's talents and training are of a kind that particularly well fit him to represent this country in Mexico. Nothing is so much needed south of the Rio Grande as an administration capable of meeting its obligations and of appreciating the friendship and good will of the people of the United States. In choosing to aid Germany, when almost the entire Western Hemisphere was supporting the United States and Canada in the European war, the Mexican Government was showing the worst possible judgment and was working against the true interests of the Mexican people. Sooner or later, Mexico will, we must hope, return to her former status of intimacy and quasi-alliance with the United States.

In Central
and South
America

There have been diverse disturbances in Central America in which our Government has been to some extent involved. In March, also, there was serious danger of a war between Peru and Bolivia over the old Tacna-Arica question. It was feared in Chile that the United States intended to intervene on the west coast of South America, but this of



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HENRY MORGENTHAU, NEW AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO
(With Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State, and
Frank L. Polk, under-secretary)

course was not true. The crisis seems to have been averted at the beginning of April, and our new Secretary of State, Mr. Colby, relieved the sensitiveness of Latin America by giving the most express assurances that this country had no thought of intervention or of exercising pressure of any kind. It was merely a matter of showing friendly interest with a view to persuading our neighbors to settle their differences without resorting to arms.

*Ireland an
Acute
Problem*

The British Government is never without problems of serious import to keep it busy, but the Irish question has overshadowed all the others in recent weeks. We have already referred to the new Home Rule Bill, which has been making its way through the House of Commons by great majorities and will doubtless be accepted without delay by the House of Lords. It is by no means certain, however, that the bill, when passed, can be put into effect. As our readers will remember, this measure creates a local parliament or legislature for the Protestant counties of the North of Ireland, with Belfast as the capital; and it creates a Dublin Parliament for the rest of the island. Arrangements are made for a large joint committee of the two parliaments to adjust certain matters affecting the island as a whole. The bill is elaborate, and it contemplates a future merging of the two legislatures on terms

especially favorable to the principle of home rule. The North of Ireland prefers the existing situation, which gives ample representation in the British Parliament at Westminster. The South and West of Ireland has now swung far away from ideas of home rule as supported by such leaders as Parnell and Redmond, and demands an independent Irish Republic. The Sinn Fein members of Parliament elected in December, 1918, as our readers will remember, refused to go to London and organized themselves into an Irish Parliament at Dublin with the Irish flag flying over the Dublin city hall. This assemblage, however, was broken up by the British authorities, and Ireland is now under strict military rule with ordinary civil liberties suspended. There has been a painful series of political crimes, with repression that only provokes further crimes of arson and murder.

*America
and
Ireland*

The situation is extremely puzzling and difficult, and it is not helped in any practical sense by attempts to inject it into American politics. The institutions of the United Kingdom rest upon a democratic basis. It is no more the desire of the British people to coerce the Irish than to coerce the Scotch, or the



THE KINDEST CUT OF ALL

WELSH WIZARD: "I now proceed to cut this map into two parts and place them in the hat. After a suitable interval they will be found to have come together of their own accord (aside)—at least I hope so: I've never done this trick before."

From *Punch* (London)

Welsh. In proportion to their population, the people of Ireland have had larger governing authority than the people of England. By virtue of their working alliance with the Liberals in Parliament, the Irish members were for a good many years a part of the governing majority of the United Kingdom and the British Empire. The later phases of the Irish movement have not been well understood in the United States, and nothing of value is accomplished by American legislatures, or by the United States Senate, in assuming to take sides in so difficult a controversy lying wholly beyond the range of our official cognizance. We make ourselves merely ridiculous when we affect—with obvious shallowness and insincerity—to feel a keener and more sympathetic interest in the affairs of the people of Ireland than is felt by the intelligent men and women of England and Scotland, whose sense of justice and fair play is quite as well developed as our own. We have freedom of the press and of the platform, and it is quite as permissible for us to discuss the Irish question here as it is in Canada, in Australia, or in France. But it would be in extremely bad taste for the French Senate or Chamber of Deputies to take up the Irish question officially and to pass resolutions about it.

*As to a
Philippine
Republic*

An important delegation is coming from the government at

Manila to urge at Washington

the granting of complete and immediate independence to the Philippine Islands. At present, in the international sense, the Philippines are under the sovereignty of the United States as fully as Alaska, or Hawaii, or Porto Rico. We are not likely to read in the newspapers that the British Parliament or the French Chamber of Deputies has had a debate upon the status of the Philippines, and has declared in favor of their independence in a tone reflecting upon the justice of American policy. Several years ago a Democratic Congress definitely committed this country to the early independence of the Philippines. Mr. Roosevelt and other Republican leaders, who had been concerned with the development of our Philippine policies, thereupon decided that our own interests lay nearer home, and that it would not be desirable to hold the Philippines excepting as our presence there furnished protection and helped to maintain peace and stability in the Far East. The Filipino people have been apt learners and



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GOVERNOR MCCARTHY AND SENATOR WISE, OF HAWAII

(Hon. Charles J. McCarthy [left] is head of a delegation that has been visiting Washington to secure statehood for the islands. Senator John H. Wise of Hawaii [right] is Prime Minister and most influential political leader. The delegation has awakened much friendly interest among the members of Congress)

have made great progress under American auspices. Many of their best friends fear that the time is not yet ripe for them to make their way alone.

*Status of the
Hawaiian
Islands*

So far as we can judge, they do not really expect to attain all that they seem to ask. While talking for "independence," it is probable that they would really prefer something like a protectorate, or something analogous to a "mandate" under the League of Nations. It would be a misfortune for the Philippines if Uncle Sam did not retain a naval base and coaling facilities. The people of Hawaii, far from seeking to lessen the bonds between them and the United States, desire to give them greater strength and perpetuity by having their islands advanced from the status of a Territory to that of a full member of the Union—the Forty-ninth State. This question is one about which the country at large will require information, and it will be content to await the careful study that Congress will give before taking action.

*American
and British
Navies*

It has become a part of the defense policy of the United States to maintain a strong naval base in Hawaii, as also in the West Indies. The navy of the United States now far outranks any other except that of Great Britain. Until recently it was British policy to support

what was called the two navy program; that is to say, it was regarded as necessary that the Royal Navy should be as strong as the sum total of its two principal competitors. This idea has now been expressly abandoned. Our British friends have no desire to build warships in competition with the United States. They are perfectly aware that in this new era neither their navy nor ours could be used for aggression. With grave conditions of turmoil stretching from the River Rhine across Europe and Asia to the Pacific Ocean, it is at least a source of satisfaction to intelligent people living under the British and American flags that the great salt seas are to witness no further scenes of disturbance. The British and American navies will have to share the task of policing the oceans, and this will not mean discrimination against any other flags.

*Germany
and
France*

Mr. Simonds devotes his space in our present number to a frank discussion of the situation created by the disturbances of March and April in the German districts along the Rhine. Under pretext of suppressing revolt and maintaining Berlin's authority, the German Government sent unduly large bodies of troops into the Ruhr District, which includes the Krupp's city of Essen and other manufacturing towns. France declared this a serious breach of the treaty agreements, and on brief notice occupied the city of Frankfurt and other important places beyond the Rhine in a district that had been neutralized under the treaty. The British Government complained sharply that the separate action of France was contrary to the agreements of the Allies. Mr. Simonds sympathizes with the French position and indirectly, therefore, criticizes the British attitude and, not less, the American. The crisis was indeed a far more grave one than most Americans were aware. We cannot, however, permit ourselves to take a pessimistic view regarding the alliance between the French and the British. A meeting of the Supreme Council was about to be held at San Remo, attended by the Premiers and high officials of France, Great Britain and Italy; and there was some prospect that differences of attitude and policy would be much diminished. In due time the people of the United States will be prepared to stand with the people of France and of the other English-speaking countries, constituting a firm nucleus about which to organize the world for the maintenance of

peace, the protection of human rights, and the progress of civilization.

*Five
Years
After*

In the Allies' financing of the war, there is special interest in their first great borrowing from the American people—in the early autumn of 1915—the so-called "Anglo-French Loan," which becomes due and payable this year. This initial effort to obtain money in America to defray the huge expenses of the Allied military operations was successful in spite of the volume of borrowing, which at that time seemed enormous. Five hundred millions was the sum of the loan, floated at a figure slightly below par, on five-year notes bearing $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest. In the dark days of 1916 and 1917 these notes—the joint obligations of Great Britain and France, but without collateral security such as was found necessary in subsequent issues, sold on the markets well below 90. Only two or three months ago they were quoted on the New York Stock Exchange at prices yielding the investor about 14 per cent. for the eight or nine months they have still to run. During the war there were innumerable gloomy predictions that they would never be paid. Even within the last half-year, public opinion showed an expectation that some form of refunding would be the best that the issuing governments could do next October toward paying off this debt.

*Payment
Promised
in Full*

In fact, the approaching action of Great Britain and France in the matter of the payment of these notes had come to be looked on as the most important and decisive acid-test of the real financial conditions and prospects of the leaders of the Allies. Thus, when it was announced in March from the offices of J. P. Morgan & Company, who have been Great Britain's American banking agents throughout the war, that the notes would be paid on falling due next autumn, and when, soon after, very large imports of gold began from London, the matter was of great moment to the speculative and investment markets. The sending of this gold from England was a great surprise to most Americans, who had not appreciated that Great Britain was in a position to use such quantities of the precious metal for any purpose. Up to the middle of April, more than \$50,000,000 in gold had been shipped to New York, part of which was understood to be in preparation for the payment of these "Anglo-French" notes and

part probably for reshipment to South America to settle other war-time debts. England has also been collecting American "dollar" securities to sell on the markets here to aid further in payment of the half-billion dollars due American citizens next October.

*A New
Flare-Up in
Speculation*

These gold imports and the new confidence engendered by preparations for the payment of the "Anglo-French" loan completely reversed the downward movement in American security prices which had been in full swing. Throughout March and the first week in April there were startling recoveries in the prices of American industrial stocks. The increased speculation receives a further spectacular aid from the decision of the Supreme Court that dividends payable in stock were not subject to income taxes until the stock received as dividends should be sold. At the same time a remarkable movement in sterling exchange took place, the price of pounds as expressed in dollars moving up sixty or more points to a figure above \$4.06. The extreme low price of sterling exchange last winter had been \$3.18. The violence of this movement toward the normal in the comparison of pounds with dollars was directly based on the causes just noted; but another and more enduring reason for the rise in exchange was the continued increase in the exports from Great Britain to America, with current decreases in exports from America to England. For the eight months ending March 1, the total imports to the United States exceeded by \$140,000,000 those of the entire fiscal year ending June 30, 1919.

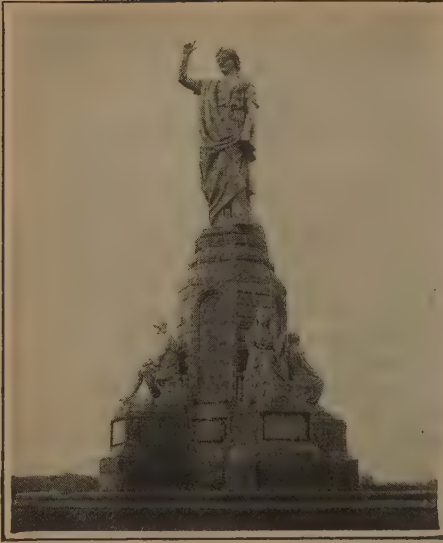
*The Railroads
Raising
Money*

Of all the distracting problems which must be solved by the management of the railroads before their return to the stockholders under the new conditions can be deemed a success, the biggest and most fundamental one is the securing of fresh capital to buy the cars, locomotives, and other equipment so desperately needed and to make extensions and improvements scarcely less necessary for economical operation and adequate service. The rebound in security prices and investment confidence noted in the preceding paragraphs quickly brought two of our greatest railways into the market for large sums of money; but the rates they have had to pay are significant and startling. The New York Central needed \$30,000,000 to buy new

cars. Though the securities offered to the public to raise this sum were in the form known as "equipment trusts," considered, probably, the safest of all known forms of railway securities, the bankers did not dare to offer the notes to investors on terms that would net less than 7 per cent. At the same time, the Pennsylvania Railroad was forced to allow investors the same rate of return, 7 per cent., on \$50,000,000 borrowed on ten-year notes. These figures mean that after the expenses of the two loan transactions were met the railroads had to pay at least $7\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. annually for the needed funds. A little over a decade only has passed since the best securities of these roads, paying $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., were sold at a premium. The new railway legislation allows the roads as a whole rates which will return $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and possibly 6 per cent., on their property investment. How a corporation can borrow money at a cost of $7\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. for the purpose of carrying on a business in which there is a hope of a return of 6 per cent., but no certainty of it, is one of the many troubles of the men who are taking up with determination the task of making the railroads pay and give good service under the new and novel conditions.

*A Poor Start
for This
Year's Crops*

The final harvests of the year generally show figures strikingly different from those indicated by the Government report published on the 8th of April; it is too early to make up any figures that could be considered a fair estimate. Some strong indications, however, can be seen as to the winter wheat crop. This crop is one of the factors of most importance in the making or unmaking of a prosperous year. The wheat sown in the previous autumn is generally counted on to furnish more than two-thirds of the entire crop. The past winter has been distinctly unfavorable, and the report of the Department of Agriculture in April was a gloomy document in the item of winter wheat. The condition reported, 75.6 per cent. of normal, is the lowest at this time of the year, with one exception, in fifty years. Furthermore, the planted area, as estimated by the Government, was only 38,700,000 acres, as against 50,400,000 the year before. With the deficiency in rainfall in the Southwest and Kansas, helped by the ravages of the Hessian fly in the States east of the Missouri River, the excellent condition of the wheat crop on the Pacific Coast is not able to prevent an



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THE NATIONAL MONUMENT TO THE FOREFATHERS
AT PLYMOUTH, MASS.

(The statue of "Faith" is mounted on a granite base surrounded by four large buttresses on which are massive monolithic figures of "Morality," "Law," "Education," and "Freedom.")

estimated falling off from last year in the total crop of 303,000,000 bushels. A further loss of acreage seeded to winter wheat is looked for, of about 4,500,000 acres, leaving but little over 32,000,000 acres for harvest, whereas the average of the past five years has been 37,000,000 acres.

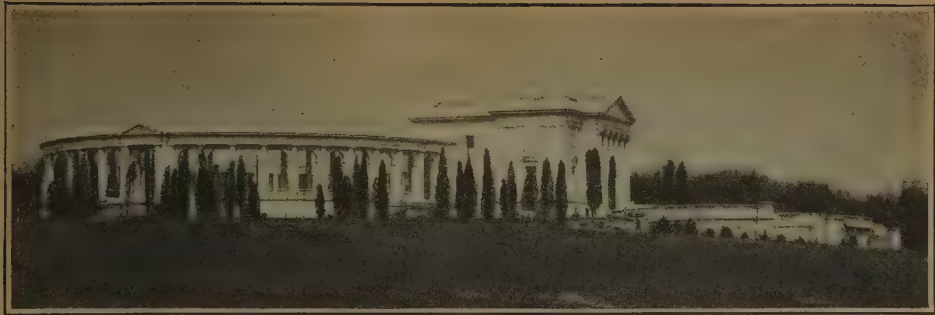
The Statistical
Position of
Wheat

The relative smallness of the acreage planted in wheat last autumn was due to a number of causes. There was no longer urgent governmental pressure on farmers to plant all they could for war reasons, and they were uncertain whether the prices would hold after the Government's guarantee is withdrawn this year. It is not difficult to sympathize with the average farmer's tendency to contract his acreage cropped. Even with the small crop of winter wheat forecast—484,000,000 bushels—there is, provided a fairly good spring wheat-crop can be harvested, no reason to look for any startling shortage so far as America is concerned. The statisticians assume a spring-wheat crop of 300,000,000 bushels, and adding in the carry-over from last summer of 150,000,000 bushels, figure on a total wheat supply of 930,000,000 bushels for 1920. Furthermore, the disbanded armies of Western Europe ought to raise this

year much more wheat than has been produced since the war began. France, Belgium, and Italy harvested, during the war, 260,000,000 bushels a year less than the normal, and, with Central Europe counted in, there must be, with the return to the farms of the millions of fighters, a very considerable increase in the European supply over the last five years.

Tercentenary
Celebrations

This year 1920 is associated in everyone's mind with the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, but the celebrations that have been planned on both sides of the Atlantic have a broader reference. They commemorate the beginnings of free institutions in America. In the cabin of the *Mayflower*, a few days before the landing of the Pilgrims, was signed the famous compact establishing civil and religious liberty, and more than a year before there had met in Virginia the first American legislative body. It is fitting that the tercentenary of two events so momentous to mankind, even though their dates did not precisely coincide, should be observed in the same series of celebrations. The whole English-speaking world has an interest in both these anniversaries. Even before the end of the World War steps had been taken in England to provide for the fitting observance of the Tercentenary. The origins of the Pilgrim movement will be celebrated at Scrooby, Boston, and Cambridge (Eng.) in May and June, while the Dutch committee, in association with British and American committees, has arranged for meetings at Amsterdam, Leyden, Delftshaven, and The Hague during July and August, to commemorate the sojourn of the Pilgrims in Holland and their departure. In August the British celebration will become general and a new *Mayflower* will sail from Southampton and Plymouth (Eng.), bearing a British and Dutch delegation to America. September will see a popular celebration at Provincetown, Mass., as the scene of the *Mayflower* compact. At Plymouth (Mass.) there will be elaborate pageants during the summer and in December the formal commemoration of the arrival of the Pilgrim Fathers. Coöperation of many American and British patriotic and religious organizations has been brought about through the efforts of the Sulgrave Institution, a society which takes its name from the manor home of George Washington's ancestors in England.



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THE ARLINGTON AMPHITHEATRE, BUILT ON AN EMINENCE OVERLOOKING THE POTOMAC RIVER NEAR WASHINGTON, NOW ALMOST FINISHED

(It cost nearly a million dollars to build and has been in construction for five years. This is a general view showing the entire structure. Of especial beauty are the approach, at the right, and the vast arena, at the left)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From March 15 to April 15, 1920)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

March 15.—In the Senate debate upon the peace treaty, the compromise reservation to Article X framed by Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) is adopted, 56 to 26.

March 16.—In the House, Mr. Smith (Rep., N. Y.) introduces a bill authorizing the War Finance Corporation to lend \$1,000,000,000 to Germany to reestablish trade relations.

March 17.—In the Senate, by vote of 25 to 39, the Lenroot foreign policy resolution, permitting freedom of action in future European disturbances, is defeated.

March 18.—The Senate adopts the reservation favoring self-determination for Ireland, introduced by Mr. Gerry (Dem., R. I.).

In the House, the Army Reorganization bill is passed, 246 to 92; it provides for 299,000 men and 17,800 officers.

March 19.—In the Senate, ratification of the Treaty of Versailles for the second time fails of the requisite two-thirds majority, the vote being 49 to 35.

March 20.—The Senate sends the rejected treaty back to the President.

March 22.—The Senate confirms the appointment of Bainbridge Colby as Secretary of State; Charles R. Crane is confirmed as Minister to China. . . . Mr. Owen (Dem., Okla.) introduces a constitutional amendment permitting a Senate majority to ratify the treaty.

March 23.—In the House, the \$425,000,000 naval appropriation bill is passed, providing \$104,000,000 for completing the 1916 construction program and authorizing an enlisted personnel of 125,000 sailors and 20,000 marines.

March 24.—The Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee recommends equipment by America of an Armenian army, the sending of marines and a warship to Batum, and steps leading to recognition of the new republic.

March 25.—The House adopts a resolution offered by Mr. Kahn (Rep., Cal.), asking the status of American troops on the Rhine.

March 26.—In the Senate, Mr. Borah (Rep., Idaho) introduces a bill to limit to \$10,000 in any one State the campaign expenditures of a candidate for the presidential nomination.

March 31.—In the House, a resolution declaring the state of war with Germany at an end is introduced by Mr. Porter (Rep., Penn.), chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

April 2.—In the House, the Ways and Means Committee votes 15 to 6 to report soldier bonus legislation, declaring against a bond issue for the necessary \$1,500,000,000 and favoring a tax on sales.

April 3.—The Senate passes a bill permitting control of discounts by the Federal Reserve Board through its twelve Reserve Banks.

April 5.—In the Senate, Mr. Wadsworth (Rep., N. Y.) calls up the Army Reorganization bill framed by the Military Affairs Committee.

April 6.—The Senate Naval Committee approves a project for an extensive navy base at San Francisco.

April 9.—The House passes the peace resolution, 242 to 150, repealing all special war time legislation and declaring the war at an end.

In the Senate, an immediate investigation of the railroad strike is unanimously ordered. . . . The Committee on Privileges and Elections orders an investigation of the 1918 Newberry-Ford campaign in Michigan. . . . The voluntary military training plan of Mr. Frelinghuysen (Rep., N. J.) is substituted for the compulsory plan, 49 to 9.

April 12.—The Senate rejects educational and vocational training (37 to 9), but provides for voluntary universal training of youths from 18 to 21 instead of 18 to 28.

April 14.—The Senate Foreign Relations Committee reports on Russian propaganda in the United States.



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MR. MCADOO ENGAGED IN HIS FAVORITE RECREATION
ON THE CALIFORNIA PLAINS

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

March 20.—United States Senator Truman N. Newberry and sixteen co-defendants are found guilty on charges involving excessive use of campaign funds, and are sentenced to imprisonment.

The President's industrial Conference makes its report, favoring shop councils and arbitration boards.

March 22.—Washington becomes the thirty-fifth State to ratify the federal woman suffrage amendment.

The joint railroad wage board is completed under Chairman E. P. White; the Interstate Commerce Commission hears capital and labor on methods of valuing railroad properties.

March 23.—The primary elections in South Dakota result in a victory for General Wood, Republican, and James W. Gerard, Democrat.

President Wilson abolishes government price-fixing on coal.

Henry Morgenthau is nominated as American Ambassador to Mexico to succeed Henry P. Fletcher, resigned.

March 27.—Philippine Supreme Court Chief Justice Arellano resigns, effective April 1.

March 30.—In New York, a joint legislative committee is appointed to arrange for raising teachers' pay.

The Judiciary Committee of the New York legislature, after hearings lasting many weeks, recommends the unseating of the five Socialist members on the ground of adherence to a disloyal party.

Herbert Hoover declares his position on the treaty is midway between the President's and that of the "irreconcilables."

March 31.—The New York legislature passes eleven rent relief bills through both houses; they take effect April 1.

April 1.—Five Socialist Assemblymen are expelled from the New York legislature.

The lower house of the Delaware legislature rejects the proposed woman suffrage amendment, 23 to 9.

April 3.—Herbert Hoover says that he will accept only a Republican nomination for the presidency.

President Wilson sends to the Senate General Harboard's report on Armenia, which recommends expulsion of Turks from Europe.

April 6.—Kansas coal strike leaders refuse to obey summonses of the Industrial Relations Court.

Senator Hiram Johnson and Mr. Herbert Hoover, on Republican and Democratic tickets, respectively, win in the Michigan primaries, but lose in New York; in Michigan, Hoover polls 22,752 as a Democrat and runs fourth on the Republican slate, with 49,461 votes.

April 9.—Kansas coal strike leaders are jailed for failure to obey summonses as witnesses before the Industrial Relations Court.

April 10.—The Attorney General orders an investigation of the railroad strike.

Four Kansas leaders of railroad switchmen are arrested for violation of the Kansas Industrial law in tying up transportation.

April 13.—The Illinois Republican primary results in victory for Governor Lowden, with General Wood running first in Chicago and second in the State at large.

April 14.—President Wilson meets with his Cabinet for the first time since September 2.

Attorney General Palmer is reported as believing the railroad strikes to be a Communist move.

The New York Senate passes a bill permitting pasteurization and sale of milk by the City of New York.

April 15.—Federal agents arrest many leaders of the railroad strike in Chicago.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

March 16.—German Ministers and Under-Secretaries refuse to obey Dr. Wolfgang Kapp's orders, and troop payments are withheld; Berlin is tied up by a general strike, called in protest against the *coup d'état*.

The Prince of Wales leaves London for Australia.

March 17.—Dr. Wolfgang Kapp resigns with General von Lüttwitz, and the revolutionary plot ends in failure; the general strike is suspended; Soviet activities are reported in some outlying districts.

March 19.—Armed workmen capture Essen, and other German cities report Spartacide uprisings with casualties.

The Mayor of Cork, Ireland, is killed by assassins.

British cabinet changes place Thomas J. McNamara as Minister of Labor, Sir Robert S. Horne as President of the Board of Trade, and Charles A. McCurdy as Minister of Food.

March 20.—President Ebert and his cabinet return to Berlin and proclaim martial law. The extreme Left demands that Gustav Noske, Dr. Heine, Chancellor Bauer, and Foreign Secretary Mueller resign.

March 23.—In Germany 50,000 "Reds" advance on Wesel after capturing Dorsten and Valsum, and heavy fighting is in progress; Thuringia is under Soviet control. . . . General von Luettwitz and Admiral von Trotha are arrested; Gustav Noske resigns from the cabinet.

The French army introduces compulsory sports, notably football.

Spanish railroads are tied up by a general strike; railroad regiments are called into service.

March 24.—Prince Feisal, King of Syria, warns the French to leave Syria by April 6, and the Arabs also order the British out of Palestine; Lloyd George declares that the Allies do not recognize the new King.

March 25.—Italian workmen and peasants strike in Naples and the provinces of Novra, Alexandria, Brexcia, and Treviso, attempting to establish Soviets; troops restore order.

March 26.—The Prussian and the German federal cabinets resign after failure to reorganize.

The Welsh local option bill passes second reading in the British House of Commons.



HON. RICHARD CRANE, MINISTER TO
CZECHOSLOVAKIA

(Young Mr. Crane has been for some months at his important post in Prague. In March his father, Charles R. Crane, was named by the President as Minister to China. It is rather an unusual situation when father and son occupy important diplomatic posts at the same time)



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HON. CHARLES R. CRANE, MINISTER TO CHINA

March 27.—Germany is found to have 12,000 field guns and 6,000 airplanes (the treaty permits her to have 204 guns and no planes). . . . Herman Müller heads a new cabinet as Premier and Foreign Minister, with 3 Socialists, 4 Democrats, and 3 Centrists.

Russian Bolsheviks capture Perekop and Novorossisk, last bases of General Denikin's Army.

The Naples general strike comes to an end.

March 28.—The French Chamber's debate on the foreign policy of Premier Millerand ends in a vote of confidence, 518 to 70.

March 29.—The Irish Home Rule bill is advanced to second reading, after spirited debate.

The French budget reported for 1920 amounts to fifty billion francs, nearly half of which is recoverable from Germany; the daily expenditure has risen from 41,000,000 francs in 1914 to 139,000,000 in 1919.

March 30.—Danish people in the streets of Copenhagen clamor for a republic; M. Liebe attempts to form a new cabinet after the resignation of Premier Zahle is demanded by King Christian.

The Irish bill is criticized by Mr. Asquith in debate as tending to partition Ireland under a costly, inexpedient, and undesirable dual parliament; he urges Irish unity as the aim of any legislation.

March 31.—After further debate by Premier Lloyd George and Sir Edward Carson, the Irish bill passes its second reading, 348 to 94.

April 1.—The Chief Secretary for Ireland, Ian McPherson, resigns; he is succeeded by Sir Hamar Greenwood.

Ruhr workmen accept the Bielefeld agreement of March 24, under which no military measures are to be taken by the Ebert government.

April 4.—Irish tax offices and records are burned at many places and wire communication is cut from Belfast; troops are concentrated as a precaution against an uprising on Easter Monday.

German Government troops, after fighting at Duisburg, clear the town of Reds.

France decides to occupy German cities as a guarantee of German troop withdrawal from the neutral zone, discounting reports of Red disorders there and fearing a Junker plot.

Danish Premier Liebe resigns; King Christian promises electoral reforms, and the general strike is called off.

Soviet Russia compels all workmen and employees to carry work books to show they are engaged in productive occupations.

Guatemala is reported in revolt against President Cabrera.

April 6.—General Wrangel succeeds General Denikin in command of anti-Soviet Russian troops; General Romanovsky, Denikin's chief of staff, is murdered.

Italian labor at Bologna orders a general strike after riots and bloodshed.

The Canadian Supreme Court abolishes the control of news-print paper as not a necessity of life.

April 7.—Turks destroy the American orphanage and the village of Harouniyi.

April 8.—The unauthorized Italian general strike started at Bologna is called off by the General Confederation of Labor.

The German Cabinet yields to demands for withdrawal of troops from the Ruhr Valley presented by Labor and Socialist parties, and coal mines resume work.

Mexican presidential politics develop alleged plots for revolutions, arrests, and a searching investigation by the War Department; General Obregon seems to be the target of Carranza activities.

April 10.—The Mexican State of Sonora, by vote in secret session of Congress, withdraws from the republic; General Obregon is held in detention at Mexico City.

The German Government notifies all States to cooperate in reducing the army to 200,000 men.

April 12.—Governor Adolfo de la Huerta of Sonora gives way to General P. Elias Calles, now dictator.

Guatemala City, under shell fire for four days, holds out in revolt against forces of President Cabrera.

April 13.—Irish prisoners, on hunger strike, get active support from Dublin's Mayor, and a general strike called by Irish Labor leaders ties up all Ireland in protest.

The Sultan's and the Nationalist's Sheik ul Islam make separate appeals for a holy war against the forces of each other.

April 14.—Sinn Fein prisoners, for ten days on hunger strike, are released by order of General Sir Nevil Macready, newly in command in Ireland.

Mexican Federal troops are defeated by Sonora rebels at El Fuerte.

Guatemalan rebels and federal forces declare an armistice after negotiations at the United States legation.

April 15.—In Dublin, the largest raid to date gathers in 100 prisoners; police officers are mysteriously murdered.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

March 16.—Allied forces occupy Constantinople without opposition.

In India, at Jamshedpur, British troops fire on a mob of strikers; 300,000 workers, in 86 strikes, have disturbed India recently.

March 18.—In Constantinople, the Allies imprison Essad Pasha, Nationalist leader, and Mohammed Pasha, former War Minister prior to 1914.

The United States requests Chile to prevent serious difficulties between Peru and Bolivia over Tacna-Arica. . . . Ambassador Robert Underwood Johnson leaves New York for Rome, to represent the United States in Italy.

March 19.—Polish troops in Volhynia capture the staff of the 2nd Brigade of the 60th Bolshevik Division.

March 21.—The Russian Bolshevik Foreign Minister notifies Finland that no further attacks will be made against that country.

March 22.—It is announced that German islands in the Pacific have been partitioned, those north of the equator to Japan, and those south thereof to Australia and New Zealand.

March 23.—Polish troops begin a spring offensive against Russian Bolsheviks in the Baltic region.

March 24.—Warsaw reports heavy fighting at many points in the 400 miles of Polish front, and the repulse of an attack on Rovno.

President Wilson, in a note to the Allies, urges putting the Turks out of Europe, giving northern Thrace to Bulgaria and Trebizond to Armenia; he favors Russian representation on any international commission controlling Constantinople and the Straits, and asks for an open door to Turkish trade and an explanation of economic clauses and concessions in the proposed Turkish treaty.

March 26.—Poland offers peace terms to Russia requiring restoration of the kingdom of 1772 and all art and other treasures, with indemnity for invasions since 1914.

March 28.—The Mexican embassy at Washington announces plans to pay foreign creditors and to establish a national bank.

March 29.—Ruhr workmen's delegates request Allied troop occupation to end disturbances between workmen and Ebert troops.

March 30.—Peru presents her apologies to Bolivia for the incidents at Lima and Mollendo.

March 31.—France refuses to consent to the German Government's request for permission to send Reichswehr troops into the Ruhr Valley, believing it unnecessary and in furtherance of a militarist plot.

April 1.—The Turkish Cabinet, headed by Salih Pasha, resigns after an Allied demand for



A SCENE NEAR THE FAMOUS BRANDENBURG GATE DURING THE GERMAN REVOLUTION

(Light artillery and machine guns were placed before the Brandenburg Gate, with counter-revolutionary troops in charge, after they had regained control of Berlin from the Kapp revolutionary forces)

official disavowal of nationalism; the Nationalist, Mustapha Kemal, occupies Ada-Babar.

April 5.—Japan agrees to enter an international consortium for financing China with a \$250,000,000 loan. . . . Japanese troops occupy Vladivostok to check the advance of Russian Social Revolutionaries.

April 6.—French troops occupy Darmstadt, Frankfort, Homburg, Hanau, and Dieburg, to protect articles 42 and 44 of the treaty; proclamations are issued by General Degoutte and workmen are disarmed.

April 7.—French troops at Frankfort fire on a mob incited by a German officer; quiet prevails.

Premier Millerand lays before the Allied Council the German note protesting against French occupation of the Rhine and pleads for support.

April 8.—Britain refuses to send troops with France into the Rhine zone, and other Allies, except Belgium, concur. . . . Germany appeals to the Supreme Council for arbitration of French occupation, but the appeal is rejected as not presented by a member nation.

Geneva reports an agreement by the Italo-Yugoslav Commission by which Italy acquires sovereignty over Fiume and holds Albazia; the Yugoslavs get Susak, the Canale della Fiumara, Porto Baross, Volosca, and Scutari.

April 9.—Germany warns France she will be held responsible for damage to persons and property arising from occupation of the neutral zone on the Rhine.

The northern Mexican State of Sonora seizes the Southern Pacific of Mexico Railroad, American-owned, to break a strike of employees.

The Salvador Congress proposes the exclusion of the United States from a proposed Latin-American arbitration court to take the place of the Pan-American Union, the Central American Court of Justice, and the International Bureau.

The Executive Council of the League of Nations meets at Paris.

April 10.—The British note on French occupa-

tion of the Rhine zone, pleading for unity among the Allies, is dispatched to Paris.

April 11.—America demands an apology and indemnity from Germany for killing Paul De Mott, of Paterson, N. J., a newspaper man, accused of participation in the Ruhr revolt, shot while escaping from a German prison.

April 12.—United States Marines land at Guatemala City to protect the legation during a revolt against President Cabrera.

April 13.—Polish troops defeat Bolsheviks at Podolia.

April 14.—The Prince of Wales enjoys surf riding at Waikiki Beach, Hawaii.

April 15.—Armenians at Hadjin, after four weeks' siege, still hold out; a messenger succeeds in getting through with an appeal for aid from the French forces.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

March 20.—The superdreadnought *Maryland* is launched at Norfolk, Va.

March 24.—Income and excess profits tax payments for the first quarter instalment amount to \$908,829,172.

March 26.—American Samoa shows an increased population of 13.9 per cent, there being 8,196 inhabitants.

The executive secretary of the Communistic Party in New York is convicted of criminal anarchy.

March 28.—Catholics in the United States and possessions are reported as numbering 27,650,204, an increase of 186,229 in a year.

Tornadoes wreck many buildings and cause over a hundred deaths in Georgia, Alabama, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio.

March 30.—Grover C. Bergdoll, millionaire draft dodger, of Philadelphia, starts a five-year term as an army prisoner under conviction of desertion.

Supreme Court prohibition arguments are completed in the last of seven separate test cases.

March 31.—The Stock Exchange forbids trading in a cornered motor stock in order to protect the "shorts."

Bituminous coal operators and miners sign a two-year agreement on the basis of the Coal Commission's award.

Four men are indicted at Washington for revealing in advance the United States Supreme Court decision in the Southern Pacific case.

Railway executives refuse to decide the question of a billion-dollar wage raise, preferring that the public have a voice through the Railway Labor Board, not yet appointed.

April 5.—Chicago railroad yards are tied up by a strike; railways declare embargoes on through freight.

April 6.—Irish women sympathizers are arrested at Washington, D. C., for picketing the British Embassy.

April 7.—The Chicago railroad yardmen's strike, unauthorized by union leaders, throws 50,000 men out of work, brings out 10,000 railroad men, and ties up twenty-five roads.

New York tenants win one year leases and rent reductions in municipal courts under the new rent profiteering laws.

April 8.—The railroad switchmen's strike spreads throughout the country.

Police Inspector Dominick Henry of New York is indicted for neglect of duty, important changes are made in the administration of the Police Department, and some detectives are indicted for perjury.

April 10.—Arthur Twining Hadley resigns as president of Yale University after twenty years of service.

The population of Minneapolis, announced as 380,498, shows a gain of 26.2 per cent. since 1910.

April 12.—The New York Methodist Episcopal Conference lifts its ban on dancing, card-playing, and theater-going.

April 13.—Volunteer citizens in the New York commuting zone run "indignation specials" to keep up transportation service.

Dr. James Rowland Angell is elected president of the Carnegie Corporation.

April 15.—Elevator operators in New York skyscrapers strike for higher wages; teamsters strike and win wage increases.

The "outlaw" strike of railway workers virtually comes to an end in the New York district, the men failing to win definite assurances.

OBITUARY

March 16.—Kenneth A. J. Mackenzie, a distinguished surgeon, of Portland, Ore., 60. . . . Gen. Stephen M. Weld, Wareham, Mass., G. A. R., financier, 78. . . . Eduard Bonzognio, of Milan, famous Italian music publisher.

March 17.—William Henry Lippincott, noted American painter, 71. . . . Arthur Henry Bullen, British scholar, 63.

March 18.—Col. George W. Carter, of Ripon, Wis., veteran of the Civil War, 81.

March 19.—Rev. Walton W. Battershall, Protestant Episcopal archdeacon of Albany (N. Y.),

80. . . . Edward Roullier, artist, 62. . . . Moriz Benedikt, of Vienna, a noted journalist, 72.

March 20.—William Loring Andrews, author and bibliophile, 82.

March 22.—Brig.-Gen. Charles Bird, U. S. A., retired, 81.

March 24.—William J. Browning, Representative in Congress from Camden, N. J., 70. . . . Mrs. Humphry Ward, famous English novelist, 69 (see page 543). . . . Frederick Herreshoff, amateur golfer, 31. . . . Dean H. Martyn Hart, rector of St. John's Cathedral, Denver, 82. . . . Caleb Thomas Winchester, professor of English Literature at Wesleyan University, 73.

March 26.—William T. Smedley, artist, 62. . . . Julius Hauser, ex-Treasurer of New York, 66.

March 27.—Clinton Ross, author, 57. . . . Ivan Knudsen, Swedish engineer. . . . Samuel Colman, landscape painter and member of the National Academy, 88.

March 28.—Rev. Dr. Francis N. Peloubet, of Auburndale, Mass., author of widely used famous Sunday School lessons, 89. . . . Elmer Apperson, a pioneer automobile manufacturer, 58.

March 31.—Edwin Warfield, ex-Governor of Maryland, 72. . . . Alexander McKinny, former Collector of Internal Revenue, 61.

April 1.—Dr. William Martin, U. S. N., retired, yellow fever expert, 71. . . . Rev. George J. Krim, S.J., educator, 50.

April 2.—Eugene Delano, New York banker, 76. . . . Rev. Donald MacDougal, founder of the *Caledonian Magazine*, 65.

April 3.—Homer N. Bartlett, composer, 75.

April 4.—Jacob Reese Reese, merchant, 89. . . . Patrick D. Tyrrell, bodyguard of President Lincoln, 99.

April 6.—Laurent Honoré Marqueste, French sculptor, 72.

April 7.—Edward Harold Mott, humorist, 75. . . . Brig.-Gen. Jonathan P. Cilley, of Rockland, Me., G. A. R., 85.

April 8.—John Alfred Brashear, scientist, 80 (see page 501). . . . Col. John Nelson Partridge, of New York, 82.

April 9.—Charles Towlinson Griffes, composer, 36. . . . Mrs. Marie E. Richards, Gettysburg, Pa., pioneer woman lawyer. . . . John W. Crockett, ex-Treasurer of Arkansas, 60.

April 10.—Robert Treat Spice, educator, of Bloomfield, N. J., 73. . . . Judge Richard S. Tuthill, of Chicago, pioneer advocate of juvenile courts, 78.

April 11.—Ferdinand Roybet, French artist, 80.

April 12.—Capt. Charles H. Freeman, G. A. R., of Corning, N. Y. . . . Louisa Dowager Viscountess Wolseley, English agriculturist and author, 72. . . . Most Rev. John Baptist Crozier, Primate of all Ireland, 67.

April 14.—Roger C. Sullivan, the Chicago Democratic political leader, 59.

April 15.—Theodore N. Vail, a pioneer in telegraph and telephone industries and originator of railway mail, 75 (see frontispiece).

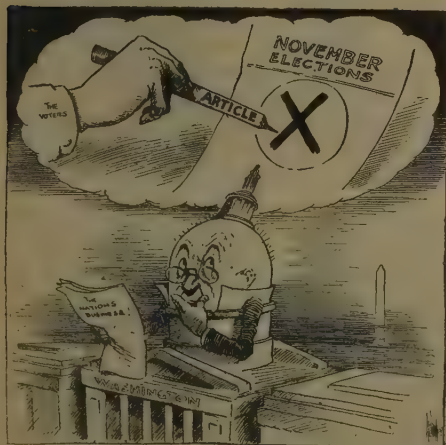
TOPICS OF THE HOUR IN CARTOONS



MR. MCADOO, MYSTERY OF THE WAITING-ROOM
From the Tribune (New York)

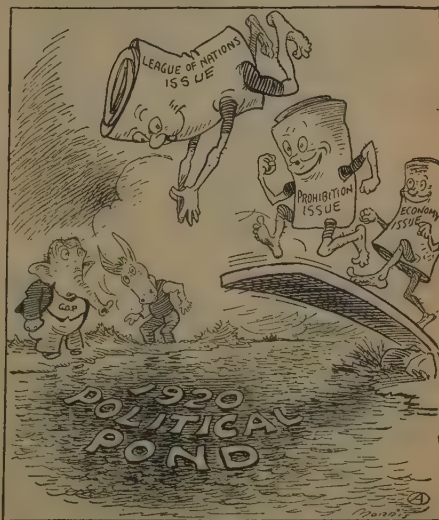


THE DEMOCRATIC DONKEY HELD AT THE POST
From the Star (St. Louis, Mo.)



A NEW "ARTICLE X" ENGAGES THE UNDIVIDED
ATTENTION OF WASHINGTON
From the Dispatch (Columbus, Ohio)

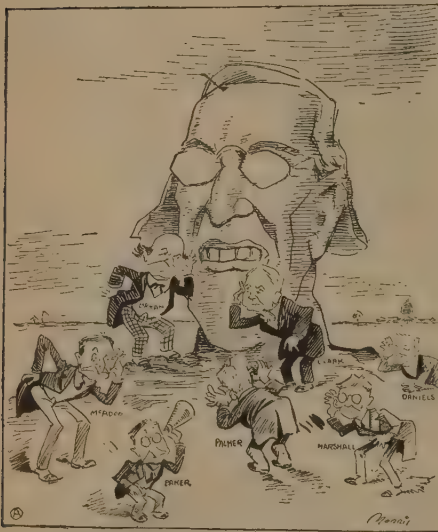
[Besides the Presidential affair, the seat of every Representative and of one-third the membership of the Senate will be filled in November]



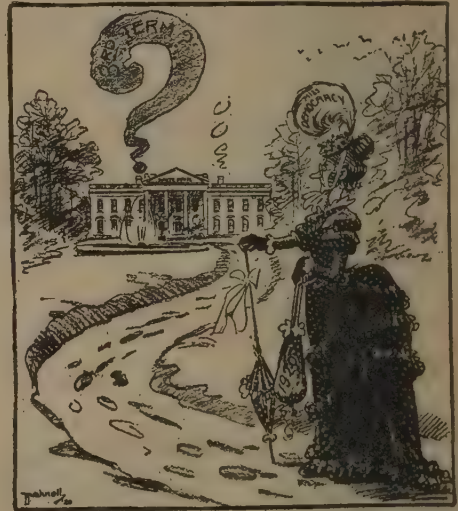
DIVING IN
From the Spokesman Review (Spokane, Wash.)



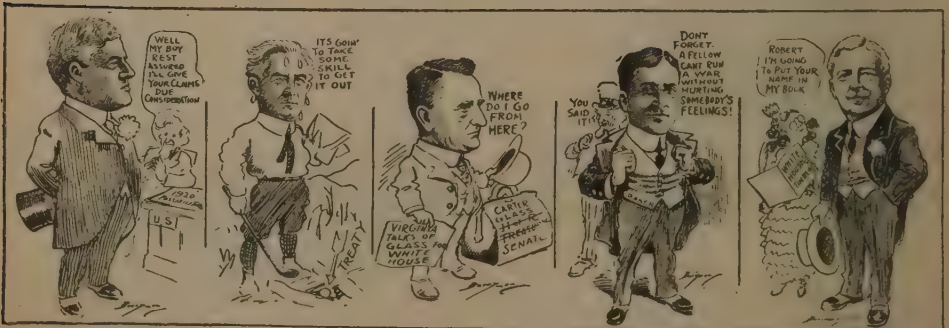
SOME PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES, AS SEEN BY THE CARTOONIST OF THE "LIBERATOR" (NEW YORK)—
"A JOURNAL OF REVOLUTIONARY PROGRESS"



ARE YOU IN THE RACE, WOODROW?
From the Citizen (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



"WHO HAS A BETTER RIGHT TO KNOW WHAT HIS
INTENTIONS ARE?"
From the Central Press Association (Cleveland, Ohio)



Attorney-General Palmer Senator Hitchcock Senator Glass Secretary Baker Ex-Secretary Lansing
A GALAXY OF DEMOCRATIC "POSSIBILITIES", FROM THE PEN OF MR. BERRYMAN, CARTOONIST OF THE
"EVENING STAR" (WASHINGTON, D. C.)



A LEAP YEAR PROPOSAL THAT FAILED
From the Star (St. Louis, Mo.)



AN UNWELCOME PASSENGER
From the Star (St. Louis, Mo.)



UNANIMOUS FOR HOOVER
From the World (New York)



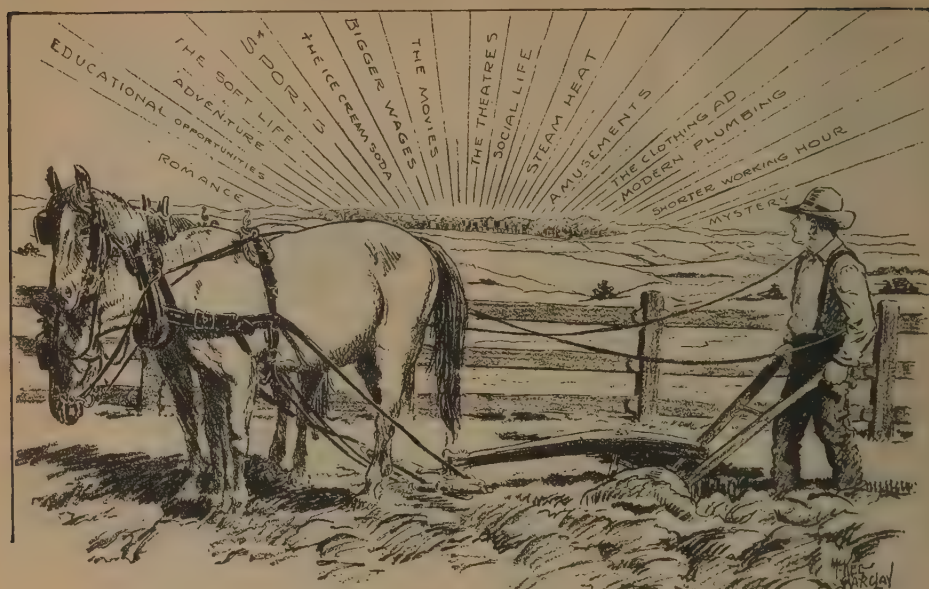
THE REPUBLICAN ELEPHANT: "OH, HERBERT!"
HOOVER: "BUT WITH RESERVATIONS, MY DEAR!"
From the Citizen (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



THE PEACE TREATY BABES IN THE WOODS
From the Journal (Sioux City, Iowa)

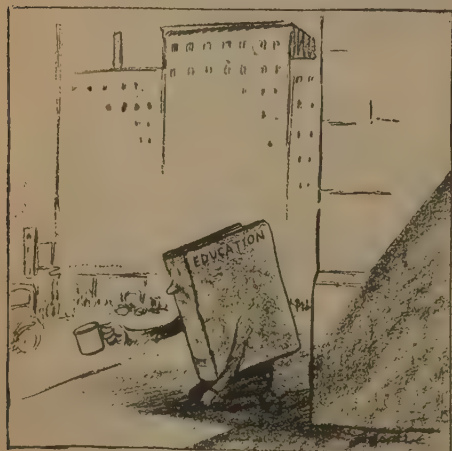


EMBARRASSING
From the News (Chicago, Ill.)



DAY DREAMS—From the Sun (Baltimore, Md.)

In more than one section there has been noted a movement of farm workers to the cities, where larger wages, with shorter hours, may be had. Needless to say, a large part of what the farm laborer dreams will be his portion as a town-dweller can never be realized. It is not strange, though, that even the school-teacher thinks longingly of the factory at times.

IS SHE GOING TO JOIN THE HIRED MAN?
From the Daily Drovers Journal (Chicago)IN THE RICHEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD
From the Post-Dispatch (St. Louis, Mo.)COME ON, SONNIE, THAT'S ONLY YER TEACHER!
From the Plain Dealer (Cleveland, Ohio)



WHY BREAK THE SAFE WHEN YOU KNOW THE COMBINATION?

From the American (Baltimore, Md.)



BUSINESS AS USUAL

From the News (Chicago, Ill.)



THE FALSE DAWN

From the World (New York)



HOW THE STRIKE HITS THE FARMER; OR THE WAY LABOR-FARMER COALITION WORKS

From the Daily Drovers' Journal (Chicago, Ill.)



THE CALL!

From the Evening World (New York) ©



WHY THE COST OF LIVING STAYS UP

From the Times (Los Angeles, Cal.)



GREAT SCOTT!! AM I BREAKING OUT WITH CAPITAL-ITIS?

From the Spokesman Review (Spokane, Wash.)



SWEDEN AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
 JOHN BULL (to Mrs. Sweden): "Put your neck in this and I'll lift you up!"
 From *Naggen* (Stockholm, Sweden)

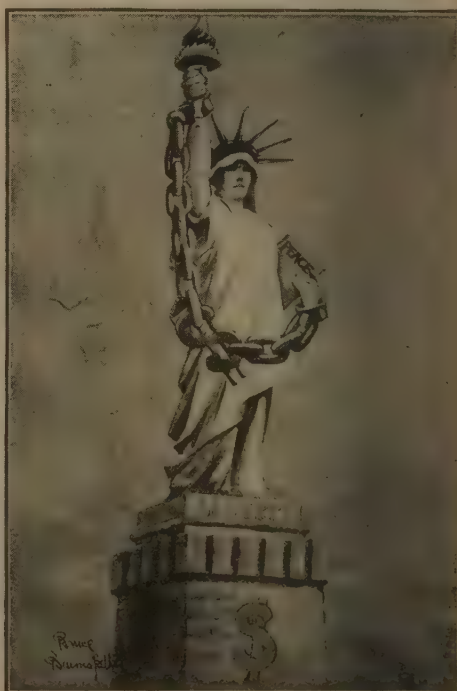


IN THE GIANTS' DEN
 Norway joins the League of Nations
 From *Karikaturen* (Christiania, Norway)

On this page cartoonists of three neutral European countries give expression to views regarding the League of Nations.



THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AS THE PENDULUM OF THE CLOCK OF THE FUTURE
 UNCLE SAM: "Don't mess with the pendulum, or you may break the clock."
 From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich, Switzerland)



"HANDCUFFED"
 By Bairnsfather in the *Bystander* (London)



WHOSE TURN NEXT?—From *Harvey's Weekly* (New York)

The German cartoon reproduced below draws attention to the fact that Lloyd George, alone, of the "Big Four" who framed the peace treaty, remains on a pedestal. Orlando and Clemenceau have passed from their premierships, while President

Wilson has in effect been repudiated by the Senate. The Polish cartoon depicts a pessimistic feeling among Poles when German authority was withdrawn from the port of Danzig, under peace treaty provisions, and government by commission substituted.



FALLEN IDOLS OF VERSAILLES

"O wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursels as ithers see us."
—Burns

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)



"POLISH" DANZIG

PORTER: "What a giant!"
ENGLAND: "Lord of Albion, come to take part in the council with Poles and Germans for the government of Danzig."

PORTER: "But you won't be able to sit in a chair."
ENGLAND: "Not in one chair—I shall sit in all three!"

From *Mucha* (Warsaw, Poland)

MR. McADOO—ON SOME VITAL PROBLEMS

An Interview with the ex-secretary of the Treasury in Which He Discusses Financial Questions

BY HENRY WYSHAM LANIER

"There is nothing in the world which gives me as much satisfaction as to grapple with a thing that people say is impossible, and put it over."—WILLIAM G. McADOO.

AS Secretary of the Treasury and Director-General of Railroads, William G. McAdoo had a unique experience in handling some of the tremendous new problems the War has thrust upon us. He has definite convictions on many of the most vital matters now awaiting decision—though it must be stated most emphatically that this does not pretend to be a complete and reasoned study of the complex financial questions involved. In fact the suggestions presented are predicated upon the consummation by the United States of a sane working arrangement with the rest of the world which will release the general energies for beneficial productivity, which will reduce the vast waste of armaments. Obviously if this country should by playing a lone hand be forced to pour out increasingly hundreds of millions a year for military and naval protection—reduction of taxes is an idle dream.

Assuming peace and some such international coöperation, the ex-Secretary says that:

We can wisely reduce taxes somewhat for the next two years.

We can and should correct existing inequalities in taxation.

We should modify the excess-profits tax.

We can save money at Washington—if we put the right man there with a Congress that will work with him.

We can properly ease up on Europe and ourselves by funding the interest on our foreign loans.

Mr. McAdoo is a striking personality. Tall and wiry (he carries no "excess baggage," being an inch over six feet with a weight of 160 pounds), his rather deep-set

blue eyes look at you with a level steadiness that has in it a suggestion of the old Georgia Indian-fighter who was his great-grandfather. He shows constantly a mind intensely alive, to which a difficulty is a welcome challenge.

Yet this aggressive mental energy operates amid a kind of balanced ease which we associate with the Southern temperament. He has that polite personal interest toward the person he happens to be talking to which few men can preserve unless their time has a minimum of urgent calls upon it. His face frequently breaks into deeply-lined smiles, as he makes a point of forceful, homely humor—in the same kind of sane, fun-loving perspective that characterized Abraham Lincoln. I do not mean that Mr. McAdoo is a Lincoln: I do mean that his point of view exhibits markedly that refreshing "horse sense," with the consequent quick perception of humorous incongruity of which Lincoln was the illuminated example, and which we like to think of as typically American.

He rarely seems hurried; never nervous, though it would be hard to find a man of more alert nerves. I watched him sitting in his law office on the fourteenth floor of a downtown New York building, where between the city cañon walls one glimpses the busy windswept harbor—listening patiently to an interminable talker over the telephone, while visitors waited beside his desk and in the outer room, secretaries and partners opened doors seeking needed consultations, important letters and papers were piled in front of him (and incidentally he was hourly awaiting the announcement of a new daughter); and his voice did not sharpen or grow tense in the least, nor did his courteous attention to the interrupter become frayed. His only external expression was a smiling aside remark that apparently "this fellow never would stop talking." When at last he

could get free, he quietly resumed his discussion of large questions.

A small matter. But anyone who had seen a successful New York lawyer and man of affairs under such pressure was forced to recognize a quite remarkable power of controlled application; of unusual activity unusually well in hand; of notable capacity that always seemed to have a reserve ensuring calm and stability.

This particular quality seemed to add largely to the interest which the ex-Secretary's record gives to his ideas on some crucial matters now confronting the country.

For one large fact must by this time have impressed its reality and significance upon every thoughtful man: America is no more through with the War than is a man through with a capital operation when he has been sewed up—even left the hospital and paid his surgeon's bill.

Hardly a day passes without some insistent reminder that we face the necessity of profound readjustments in finance, in business, in industrial, political, and social life, in every nerve and muscle fibre of the body politic.

No true American doubts for an instant that we shall make these readjustments, that we shall remove all obstructions to the free and healthful circulation of the nation's vital energy; yet obviously it is a time when there is peculiar need for the best thought of any man who has proved his adequacy amid these new and complex problems. The merest glance at what was accomplished here during the War, and the men who directed this prodigious effort, would surely pick out William G. McAdoo as a person well worth listening to. He is, of course, one of the men most frequently mentioned as a possible Democratic choice this year. He has announced that no campaign is being made for him, no money being spent in his behalf. That he feels a sense of power to handle large national affairs which could make him welcome a nomination is, I suppose, self-evident. The wonder would be if it were otherwise.

Just imagine yourself Secretary of the United States Treasury during that momentous period from 1913 to 1919. Recall the imminence of financial panic that summer of 1913, and again on that fateful August day the next year. Visualize that first conference with the representatives of our new allies in April, 1917—when it presently became evident the money situation was so bad

that these gentlemen had to be urged to lay all the facts on the table, and America must speedily advance thousands of millions in addition to her own outlay. Consider that our Treasury actually had to provide in these three years over *forty-three billion dollars*, more than the total expenditures for all the preceding 127 years of our national existence.

Doubtless you would feel that the bald fact of having successfully handled such an emergency spoke for itself.

Well, Mr. McAdoo met his responsibility more than half way. He went over the heads of the financial experts to the American people. Being assured by them that it was impossible to sell more than \$500,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000 of bonds, and these only through the established banking channels, he conceived, organized, and conducted the Liberty Loan campaigns, in the first four of which an army of two million volunteers sold 18 billions of bonds to 50 million individual subscribers (the fourth loan by itself had 21 million). He himself made speeches in nearly every city in the United States. It was an unparalleled achievement—and there is no question as to who furnished the idea and the impetus. We all remember, too, what a vast influence these campaigns had in arousing and unifying the nation to put forth its uttermost strength.

As Director-General of Railroads

There was a full-sized man's job here. But presently, in the very height of the war effort, the Government was forced to take over the railroads. Mr. McAdoo suddenly had added to his load the task of directing two million men and 250,000 miles of roads, on which depended the whole effectiveness of our contribution of food, men, and munitions. The separate transportation systems had broken down under the strain; equipment was short; the workers were threateningly dissatisfied; for good measure, a succession of crippling blizzards came along at that precise time. And the Prime Ministers of France, Great Britain, and Italy were sending word that we were nearly a million tons behind our food promises for December and January, that rations in the Italian army had been reduced twice, in the French army once; in short that the war was lost, and starvation confronted millions of civilians, unless the American railroads could do more than what had proved impossible.

They did it—partly by violating a basic

law of ordinary railroad management: rushing trains of empty cars from the East to the West and rushing them back across the continent loaded with the necessary food supplies. The public never guessed that, with the exception of fuel and paper, the entire commerce was held up for more than two weeks so that food could have the right of way.

Practically all the criticisms of the railroads during the war have been on the false idea that they were, or could be, then run for profit or public convenience. They were run to win the war: and the more one studies the inside history, the more justified becomes Director-General McAdoo's vigorous claim that the two hundred million dollars spent on railroad operation for the year 1918 "produced greater results than any like amount of money expended by the Government throughout the entire period of the War."

Here again was a task seemingly large enough to absorb all of a man's energies. However, in addition to being Secretary of the Treasury, and Director-General of Railroads, McAdoo organized the Federal Reserve Banking System and was Chairman of the Board; initiated the Farm Loan system and the War Finance Corporation, the War Risk Insurance Bureau and the Pan-American Financial Conference; was chief of the National Health Service, in charge of the Bureau of Printing and Engraving, of the regulation of National Banks, Collection of Customs, Internal Revenue, and carried a host of minor related responsibilities.

It really seems almost incredible that any one man could be physically equal to the labor involved in such a list at such a time.

To begin with, McAdoo displayed exceptional skill in judging men and in building his organizations.

"I had," he declares, "the finest set of capable and live lieutenants and subordinates that any man could want in public life."

Then, he concentrated his entire powers on his work. As he himself puts it, it meant "pursuing a life of real self-abnegation in the highest sense. You must deny yourself all social pleasures and opportunity for



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FORMER SECRETARY WILLIAM G. McADOO

diversion, even the opportunity for exercise; and not only on week-days, but every day."

His personal schedule was simple enough:

"After the railroads were turned over to me, I separated the two jobs completely. The office of the Secretary was, of course, in the Treasury Building. That of the Director-General of Railroads was in the Interstate Commerce Building. In the former I was Secretary of the Treasury alone. I spent the morning there, the afternoons at the Railroad Office, and never allowed the business of one to conflict with the other. So my mind was involved always with the particular problems of the work I was doing.

"Usually I got home about eight p. m., sometimes seven, had dinner as quietly as possible, and then always worked till twelve o'clock. Two large parcels, one from the Treasury, the other from the railroads, invariably followed me to the house, each containing important matters to be passed upon.

"These were put in memorandum form and accompanied by the supporting documents, so that if I was not convinced I could go back to the sources. Hundreds of de-

cisions were made on these memoranda with a simple O. K. or 'approved' or 'disapproved.' In other matters, where memorandum and documents did not satisfy me, they were marked 'for discussion' and gone through at the office next day, when decision was made if possible.

"Though working till midnight, I stayed in bed eight hours out of the twenty-four, whether I could sleep or not. I took that much rest in bed, even though I worked part of it—for there were always paper, pad, pencil and watch beside me, and often I'd get through a lot in this way."

He never took a vacation, not even a Sunday off. When it was necessary to be away from Washington, work went along so that everything was kept going just as if he were at his office. On inspection trips over the railroads, an office car contained secretaries and stenographers who were kept busy. The Liberty Loan tours were harder than the regular routine.

Admiral Gleason, his health director, gave him up, declaring he was the only man he knew who had consistently broken all the laws of health for six years and still lived to tell the tale. It should be noted, however, that Mr. McAdoo lived with great regularity, ate moderately, never had the habit of any sort of stimulants, and had the rare quality of being able to ponder a problem in absorbed intensity, night and day, without ever "worrying" about it.

And finally, though declaring that "one gets trained down to these things," he admits that toward the end of the term he could discern a lack of freshness in his mental attack—though this speedily returned when he got at his favorite diversion of riding a cow pony out in the Western mountains.

On the face of such a performance (following the ten years when against every obstacle he put through the Hudson Tunnels and Terminal Buildings), there would be a natural temptation to build up a picture of a superman. Nothing could be further from the truth. The thing that first strikes you about the man is his human quality: he always sees the human factor in any question, however large. I have no doubt he makes plenty of mistakes—and retrieves them, before it's too late, by his shrewd common sense, amazing energy, and real pleasure in tackling a "tough proposition."

These natural qualities, by the way, had good training in his boyhood. Brought up in the war-devastated region of Middle

Georgia (1863-1877), he knew that real poverty where every member of the family has to contribute his or her utmost just to keep things going. Anything from dish washing to farm chores fell to the youngster's lot.

Views on Public Finance

If all this seems somewhat remote from questions of technical finance, it may be remarked that the correct solution of most of our problems can come only from a view which includes both specialized knowledge and experience, *and* the human factors which are always present, often as they are ignored.

We got to discussing the subject which is in the minds of most substantial Americans at present—taxes and Government expenses.

Mr. McAdoo is convinced that it would be for the country's good to make a substantial reduction in the annual tax burden.

Of course, we've had our war and it must be paid for. On June 30, 1916, our national debt was under one billion. The highest point it had ever reached was in 1866 when the interest-bearing obligations reached \$2,332,331,208. On the 30th of last June it stood at nearly twenty-five and a half billions—and still going up. That means a larger annual payment for interest alone than all our Government expenses used to amount to.

Obviously there are three important questions involved in reducing taxes:

(1) What percentage of the war cost shall we pass on to future generations?

(2) What existing Government outlays can we properly cut off?

(3) Can we avoid huge military costs through general reduction of armaments?

There is no scientific rule by which these can be settled. It is a question of policy, of judgment as to what we can afford, of whether a given percentage paid now will check the forward movement of industry—which is the most important material consideration both for us and for those who come after.

McAdoo believes we could pass on somewhat more than has been funded, and suggests saving, say, \$1,500,000,000 in taxes for the next two years by issuing bonds. From his experience he is confident that these could be sold; and there would be just so much easing up on industry during this critical period of readjustment; and the less taxes industry must bear, the lower will be the cost of the product to the consumer. The establishment of a sinking fund to retire

the debt could be deferred for two years.

Further, he feels there might well be revision of the present distribution of taxation. Favoring heavy taxation on wealth, but not beyond the point where this is "hurtful to enterprise," he declares the man "with a moderate income is being taxed too high." Even the incomes from \$50,000 down are still paying a higher percentage, relatively speaking, than those which run into yearly millions. And while the true line is hard to draw, he feels that common sense, courage and a sense of justice can make definite improvements here.

With the best of management, "the people on whom income taxes fall have got to bear a large amount of taxation from now on. Straight income taxes are about the only form that cannot be passed on to the consumer."

He has also rather precise ideas about the much-discussed excess profits tax:

"Of course, the object of taxation is too big and vital to admit of more than superficial observations within the limits of a short interview. I cannot discuss it, therefore, satisfactorily here, but I may say that I think the graded excess profits taxes are bad, whereas a flat or fixed one seems to me wise.

"We have a 20 per cent. tax up to a certain amount and a 40 per cent. tax above a certain amount. Take any manufacturer: he is trying to get enough profit to produce a fixed return on his investment. Suppose he says: 'I ought to make enough to cover all the risks of the business, depreciation, etc., and net 25 per cent.' When he goes to fix his prices, not knowing the volume of business he will do, he can't be certain whether he is going to come within the 20 per cent. or 40 per cent. tax class at the end of the year. So he naturally takes the 40 per cent. figure to be safe, and that goes into the price the consumer has to pay. Whereas, with a flat tax—20 per cent., 30 per cent., or whatever it may be—he knows that is a definite factor and at least does not add an unreal charge to the public.

"I do not think well of a general sales tax; it is a consumption tax. A consumption tax hits the man with a large family very much harder than the man with a small family, and it is generally the poor who have the largest families. There are some consumption taxes we can afford to pay—on luxuries, for instance.

"Nor do I think it is feasible to concentrate entirely on income taxes. The welfare

of all the people of the country must be considered, and you reach the point in taxing a man's earnings where you destroy initiative and constructive enterprise. For instance, if you were considering new undertakings which would increase your earnings, and the income tax on the increased return would be 70 per cent., you would say, 'I'll stop where I am, because the 30 per cent. left to me does not justify the risk and effort. You would not engage in anything new.' That is occurring to some extent now, and in time its effects will be increasingly felt."

Any easing of the present burden must, Mr. McAdoo agrees, be accompanied by a rigid check on waste in public spending.

"If by passing more of our debt along, we are going to encourage extravagance in the State, municipal, and federal governments, we had better not do it. Extravagance has got to be stopped. This is more essential now than ever before. It is necessary to practice rigid economy, but we must not cut down on essential things like education, public-health service, and government agencies which deal with the human side of our problems. I do not know of any economy more false than not to pay our teachers enough to keep the public schools going. We must pay the skilled teacher and the skilled expert in sanitation and public-health matters enough to keep him on the job. I am glad to see the awakening to the necessity of keeping alive and making more militant and powerful the great spiritual forces of the country, which have been engulfed in the recrudescence of bitter partisan passions that are submerging America's finer spirit and best aspirations. Only by reviving the spiritual forces of the country can we keep America in the right path. I am glad to see that the churches have undertaken the raising of great funds. Ministers have been the most underpaid class except teachers. No nation can long survive the extinction of its spiritual forces.

"We must realize that a large part of what seems swollen and needless at Washington is the necessary aftermath of the war. It will take time and intelligent work to produce the necessary contraction, but economies certainly can be gradually brought about. An intelligent study under normal conditions might do much toward making these departments more homogeneous. But the Executive is constantly hampered by Congress when it is opposed to him politically. If we have an Executive in Washing-

ton backed up by a working majority of both branches of the Congress, enabling him to carry forward definite policies, a great many things of value can be achieved.

"Still, we must recognize that, as the result of this war, the expenditures of the Government have got to be on a much greater scale for years to come. The liquidation of the war debts is bound to be carried over a considerable period of time. At the present rate the Court of Claims cannot pass upon all claims arising from the war in twenty-five years. We ought to dispatch these matters as quickly as possible, because, with so many uncertain factors; it is impossible to know just what the expenditures of the Government are going to be.

"We must have either a Democratic Administration all through or a Republican Administration all through, so that responsibility must be fixed in the coming election."

As to a budget system, the ex-Secretary agrees heartily in the idea, but insists that the one being considered at Washington will not get us far.

"We shall never have a budget system in this country that is worth a continental unless the power of Congress to make general appropriations is curbed effectively. We might get some relief through a departmental budget system which put upon the Secretary of the Treasury the power of reviewing all the departmental estimates, and submitting a budget to Congress with the President's approval. But so long as the Congress is free to create as many other obligations as it pleases—such as public-building 'pork barrels,' river and harbor bills—no genuine reform is possible. It is difficult to get reform along this line. I doubt if Congress will ever surrender any part of its power over appropriations. This country does not need a purely business administration."

Both Mr. McAdoo's temperament and experience lead him to emphasize the prime need of fairness in questions of labor:

"I met every class of railroad labor during the war to give them the Government's point of view, and with a view toward doing for them what they were entitled to and should have. I hope those people understand that I tried to be just to them. They did a great job on the railroads during the war. If we had not given these people proper consideration and a scale of wages we could not have expected to keep them on the railroads. Even if we did not want to be just, the protection and self-interest of the country

made it essential. I preferred to put it on the ground of justice. You cannot get anywhere in this world without justice. Suppose you could keep a man from leaving his job by law; you cannot control the quality of his work, you cannot make him work at all. That is absurd, un-American. You cannot get efficiency by compulsion, but only by contentment.

"We might as well face that fact first as last. In the future it must be the test of statesmanship that it shall bring about social justice and make unnecessary violent paroxysms within the industrial fabric. It is the bitter truth that in the past labor has rarely, if ever, secured any improvement without the strike. The fact that labor has this power makes its just exercise a matter of supreme importance. It should never be exercised in such a tyrannical way as to imperil the life and health of the community, and resort to it should always be deferred where it affects those vital industries on which the life and health of the community depend, until every effort has been exhausted through instrumentalities created voluntarily or by law to satisfy the situation."

Finally, as to the billions owed us by European countries, Mr. McAdoo said:

"I feel this way: If our Government would only rise to the heights of noble purpose which took us into the war, and ratify promptly the Peace Treaty so that we could contribute to the prompt reestablishment of order in Europe (which we could do astonishingly through a League of Nations), so that the peoples of Europe could get down again to the maximum of productive effort, their recuperative powers would astonish the world. Their powers are very much greater than pessimists admit.

"The debt they owe us involves in interest payments something like \$500,000,000 a year. If they could pay us interest we could reduce our annual budget correspondingly. As long as they do not pay, we have got to tax our own people \$500,000,000 per year to relieve the people of Europe of this amount. My suggestion is that we sell short-time bonds for a period of two years to cover this deferred interest instead of taking it out of our people by immediate taxation. In the meantime Europe would recuperate. When she begins paying the interest on her debt to us we shall not have to carry that load any further. It would be rational to take that course; it would give us as well as Europe some relief."

THE "PEACE" CRISIS OF APRIL

The German Challenge in the Ruhr Region and the Attitudes of Britain and France

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE ANNIVERSARY

WITH the current month we have arrived at the first anniversary of the formulation and presentation to the Germans of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. While the actual signing was delayed for a number of weeks, we have been in reality, since May, 1919, living under the jurisdiction of the Treaty of Versailles—nominally, at all events. The moment is, therefore, appropriate for a backward look and such a look is the more suitable since there has just arrived the first great crisis under the treaty, the crisis which raises the question as to whether the treaty will survive the first anniversary or be relegated to that waste-paper basket which has received so many solemn covenants, become "scraps of paper."

In the precipitation of this crisis two circumstances have played a major part, namely, the refusal of the United States to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and the similar refusal of the British to associate themselves with the French in applying it. The consequence has been to imperil that alliance which defeated Germany, to eliminate America from Europe, and to impel the British on a course which leads to a similar withdrawal from the continent. To-day France, loyally but not impressively aided by Belgium, stands where she stood in July, 1914, face to face with a hostile Germany, but lacking, this time, the powerful assurance of a Russian alliance.

What, then, is the cause of this strange transformation, this incipient disintegration of the association of powers, called the Entente, whose structure was cemented by the blood of common victories and defeats and dignified by the aspirations it represented for millions of men and women, aspirations which looked toward the destruction of the German military power and the vindication of the doctrines which we in the west called by the name of democracy?

Truly such a disintegration would be comprehensible had the German task been accomplished. Alliances rarely survive the realization of the ends for which they were made. But has the German task been accomplished? Obviously not, since the German army remains in the hands of the old order and through the German army the old order continues to control the German Government, although instead of a Kaiser we have an Ebert and instead of a Bethmann-Hollweg we have had a Bauer and have a Mueller.

What, then, is the cause of the approximate collapse of the alliance of western nations? Manifestly the differences which were first disclosed at Paris, when the Peace Conference assembled, and have steadily grown with each succeeding week and month. At Paris, America, Britain, Italy and France from the very outset pursued different objectives, while the domestic political conditions in each country presently enforced a complete subordination of foreign policy to domestic and parochial, even personal political considerations.

At Paris, Mr. Wilson proposed peace under the Fourteen Points. To his mind this peace would be one of conciliation, provided only the principles he advocated were adopted, and provided there should be created a League of Nations to administer the peace terms. Before accepting this platform of Mr. Wilson, the British amended it in such a fashion that no principle would or could interfere with the obtaining of what the British regarded as their legitimate rewards for their sacrifices in the war, namely the destruction of the German war fleet, the seizure of the German merchant marine and the possession of the German colonies.

Mr. Wilson accepted all these conditions and then, assured of British support, undertook to compel the Continental nations to modify their claims, which in reality never reached the real magnitude of the British. The result was initial chaos, presently par-

tially restricted by a series of compromises. Subjected to British and American pressure the French consented to modify their own program of security, provided France were assured the aid of Britain and America in case of a German attack: Italy simply left the Peace Conference. Japan obtained her will by threatening to leave.

Thus, in effect, Britain obtained her maximum demands without difficulty, thanks to American consent. America obtained what she desired (what the President desired) which was the chance to impose an American solution on the peace conference. Japan realized her demands by virtue of her threat. Italy quit the peace conference altogether and declined to subject her claims to outside reduction. Only the French stayed, submitting to the exactions of the British and the Americans, and taking in exchange the guarantee of the President and Lloyd George that their nations would come to the aid of France in case of a fresh German aggression.

But at the very outset it was clear that, having allowed her allies to reduce her claims, although they maintained their own in full vigor, France would be bound to insist that she receive all of her restricted share. Above all, since the French view of what was necessary for French security had been rather rudely dealt with, the French were bound to look to the Anglo-French insurance as of utmost importance. Therefore, when the United States Senate formally and on two occasions rejected the Treaty of Versailles, while failing even to consider the Anglo-French Treaty, the French were brought to the realization that they had made concessions only to find that they would have no guarantee of their safety.

France was thus, by the course of events in America, brought to the grim realization that she must stand alone again and Germany would have to fear no certainty of Allied intervention if she chose to renew the age-long contest along the Rhine. Thus France would be in a far worse situation than she faced in 1914, for then she had a sure Russian ally, and a well-founded basis of hope alike for British aid and benevolent neutrality on the Italian side. To put the thing bluntly, Britain and America had persuaded France to lay aside certain precautions, on the assurance that French armies would be supported by American and British; but having made her sacrifices, France saw promptly that there was no guarantee that the promised support would arrive.

The situation in France has become the decisive circumstance of the present crisis, and therefore it is essential to recognize its real origins. They go back to the Peace Conference. They arise from the policy of President Wilson, in seeking a peace upon conditions formulated by himself and accepted by the British, aside from those reservations made before the armistice and affecting "the freedom of the seas." In effect, Britain and America promised to go on Germany's note, provided France would not insist upon immediate and extreme payment; but the United States having so far failed to honor Mr. Wilson's signature, Lloyd George's had no value, save if that of Mr. Wilson were honored by his own country. The French situation is obvious.

II. THE BRITISH ASPECT

But if the refusal of the United States to perform its part, as promised by the President, deprived the French of the guarantees for security which they had sought justly in the peace settlement, the course of the British had an equally fatal consequence. Almost from the outset of the peace negotiations there was a party in England which looked to a settlement which should spare the Germans, even though France and the rest of Britain's allies were sacrificed.

This group belonged to two extremes, the idealists and the materialists. The idealists conceived that if Germany were not punished, if the peace terms were made sufficiently light, Germany would harbor no desire for revenge and would no longer be a menace to world peace. The materialists on the contrary cared nothing for Utopian considerations. They saw in Germany the best customer left in the world. They saw in Germany, fallen into disorder, the gravest obstacle to a restoration of trade, not alone in Germany but also in Central Europe.

But by an odd coincidence the actual desires of these two widely divergent groups were the same. Both desired favorable terms for Germany and both were hostile to France, because France as a result of her sufferings and losses in the war sought large reparations and as a consequence of her history demanded guarantees for her future protection. The result was a considerable British campaign for reducing the bill which was to be tendered to Germany at Versailles.

When the bill actually tendered became

known, then these same groups in Britain burst into full-throated denunciation of the treaty, of the French, of their own government, and of President Wilson. Then followed, as a logical extension, a demand for the modification of the treaty as it had been agreed upon—a modification which, in effect, amounted to a demand that France should abandon the more considerable portion of her claims for reparation and security, and that the United States, by consenting to cancel the debts due it from the Allied nations, should actually reduce the German burden by \$10,000,000,000.

The most striking exposition of this view was made by Keynes in his notable book. Keynes' proposal was that the United States should pay in money, the French in money and in security, while the Poles and all the other small races were to make equally great sacrifices. Only the British were to be permitted to keep their share, viz.: the colonies and the merchant marine—the naval marine being already under water. These modifications would accomplish two things; (1) they would placate the German, (2) they would insure the prompt restoration of German industry and thus open the German markets to the British. The idealists claimed that this was a step toward world peace and conciliation. The materialists argued it was the one escape from Bolshevism, economic ruin, the destruction of western civilization.

But note the effect of the proposed policy. France, already deprived of security by the American course, was now to be deprived of reparation for her terrible devastations. Actually the costs of the German war were to be apportioned between the French and the Americans, one to pay by the cancellation of the Allied loans, the other by the surrender of liens on German mines and claims upon Germany for reparation. As may be gathered, this proposal found great support in Britain, for it served British interests in every kind of way.

But it was equally inevitable that it should find less support in the United States, where the proposal to cancel debts met with amazed silence or contemptuous disregard, and in France, where the reduction of French claims for reparation spelled national ruin. As a consequence there were carried on in Britain two kinds of propaganda, attack upon the United States as mercenary, upon France as militaristic. This campaign was ignored, practically unperceived, in America,

but in France its full significance was promptly appreciated.

Thus in less than a year France found herself deprived of all pledges for military support, and faced by an aggressive attack in the matter of reparations, an attack coming from an ally who had profited far more and suffered far less than France in the war. Henceforth France felt that she would be compelled to defend the Treaty of Versailles, so far as her interests were concerned, not alone from German assault but also from British attack. That part of the treaty which insured security was gone, as a result of American action. That part which promised reparation was in danger as a consequence of British attack. What this situation would mean to the Germans the French clearly perceived. In this emergency France went through an election, the result of which was to disclose an almost unanimous national will to save the treaty, to preserve French interests in the document, and to resist British attempts to amend it to the advantage of Britain and Germany alike.

III. THE GERMAN ASPECT

We come now logically to the German aspect. What was Germany doing in the time when the alliance which defeated her was disintegrating? In the first place the defeat of the German armies and the demands of President Wilson had led to a more or less insincere change in control in Germany. The Kaiser and Ludendorff, the symbols of autocracy and of militarism, had been removed. A sort of tentative revolution had been begun, and there were called into power men who like Ebert and Bauer represented the Socialistic party, but represented that wing of the Socialists which had resolutely supported the militarists and the Junkers throughout the war.

Such a performance was totally unsatisfactory to the real opponents of the old régime, the men who had dared to speak out against it during the war. These men, together with the elements of disorder inevitably found in a country which has passed through a long period of trial culminating in a shattering defeat, precipitated a real revolution, which in December, 1918, and January, 1919, seemed to threaten the whole German edifice.

In this emergency Ebert and Bauer turned to the old militaristic group, to the officers of the old army, to suppress the real revolu-

tion. This course at once disposed of the freedom of the Ebert group. They became henceforth the creatures of the army they had invoked to save themselves from revolution. The army leaders, on their part, proceeded to suppress the revolution with a brutality quite in keeping with their Belgian exploits. The murders of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg are among the most shameful incidents in the history of any so-called civilized nation, and the assassination of Kurt Eisner was no less flagrant.

Thus the revolution was suppressed, a semblance of order was achieved, and Germans hoped that the appearance of a real revolution would deceive the western nations into granting favorable peace terms. On the whole this hope was not realized. The terms of the treaty of peace were materially modified in German interests at Paris, but the final document carried with it provisions which struck the German masses and militarists alike with profound amazement and horror. The horror was the greater because the militarists had artfully propagated the legend that the German army had not been defeated, could have prolonged the war indefinitely, and that the armistice had been merely consent to negotiate on the basis of the Fourteen Points.

Still Germany had to sign. For the moment refusal was unthinkable, since the British, French and Americans remained, superficially at least, united in a determination to enforce the treaty terms; and Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George, having drawn up the document, were bound to take German refusal as a personal as well as a national affront. Germany must then sign; but in signing, her purpose was at once to evade fulfilment, to seek every pretext for delay and chicane, and to work and hope for the division among her enemies which would give her the desired chance to escape once for all from the consequences of her defeat.

It followed logically that the outburst of criticism in Britain over the terms of the treaty, coming from the directions I have indicated, exactly encouraged German purpose. British denunciations of the terms of the treaty, so far as these terms gave France or Poland anything at Germany's expense, were seized upon by the Germans; who joined hands with their old foes, the British, in a campaign of propaganda against French militarism, chauvinism, inhumanity.

Now what followed can be summarized briefly. From the moment the treaty be-

came effective Germany pursued a policy of evasion. She did not reduce her armies; she did not provide France with the coal which had been assured to replace the French coal supply made unavailable by German devastations. She refused to surrender her war criminals. This last circumstance is worthy of note. Originally it had been Britain and not France which insisted upon this point. Lloyd George had won a campaign on the issue "Hang the Kaiser," and he went to Paris to demand that his pledge be embodied in the treaty. But when it was embodied he lost interest, as British enthusiasm for punishment cooled.

France, on the contrary, without interest in the provision, urged its application, as a circumstance in maintaining the treaty. She saw with apprehension German policy of evasion becoming more and more successful, and rightly divined that Allied failure to enforce this conspicuous demand would serve to encourage German resistance to compliance with the far more important provisions covering reparation and disarmament.

In sum, for many months there went forward a process of disintegration among the Allies, and of increasing German evasion. The United States Senate killed the peace treaty, while the British campaign for its modification at French expense encouraged the German policy and the inevitable crisis arrived.

IV. THE KAPP COUNTER-REVOLUTION

The crisis took the form of a counter-revolution engineered by the more or less conspicuous tools of the old military crowd, while the real leaders waited in the background. Possessed of the army, assured of the support of the officers, the old elements suddenly proclaimed the end of the Ebert-Bauer régime, set up a ministry of their own and called in the troops to take charge of Berlin.

Without resistance the Ebert-Bauer group fled, disappearing with hardly more than a protest. The thing was almost unbelievably successful, if it were achieved without collusion. Still, having fled, the Ebert-Bauer Government proclaimed a general strike and the result was a situation in which the military crowd suddenly found themselves stayed. Unmistakably the hour had not come to take control openly, so the Kapp

group withdrew and the Ebert Government returned to Berlin.

But having returned, it had to choose between making terms with its old allies, the militarists, and the Socialist and radical elements, whose response to the demand for support and for a general strike had saved it. Unhesitatingly the Ebert Government flung itself back into the arms of the militarists, and licensed the Ludendorff party to proceed to the crushing of the democratic and radical groups which, particularly in the Ruhr Basin, resisted the Ebert Government and demanded either a new government or an active campaign by the existing government against the men responsible for the counter-revolution.

To be sure, not immediately but under pressure and with a certain regard for decent appearances, Ebert did get rid of Bauer and of Noske, whose responsibility for the recent events was notorious. But in calling Mueller to succeed Bauer, Ebert did not in the least undertake to break the domination of the Junkers over the army. On the contrary, the army was commissioned to invade the Ruhr regions, and proceed by a campaign of terrorism to suppress precisely those elements whose service in rallying to the Ebert Government had saved it, apparently against its own will, and balked the Kapp counter-revolution.

A more amazing policy it would be hard to imagine. Saved by the general strike, the Ebert Government proceeded to turn its saviors over to the tender mercies of precisely the men and purposes which had sought to procure its overturn. In estimating the meaning of the German revolution of April, this circumstance must always be kept in mind.

But at this stage two circumstances became important. To send troops to the Ruhr region was actually to violate the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, which expressly forbade German invasion of the neutralized district that had been created as one of the guarantees of French security against German invasion. In the second place, the hour had arrived when, under the terms of the treaty, Germany must radically reduce her military establishment.

Germany's first move was to ask permission to disregard the treaty. America and Britain were quite ready to grant this permission. To neither of them did a destruction of the neutralized district carry the smallest peril. Moreover they accepted at

face value the German plea that it was a necessary campaign against Bolshevism, a step to restore order in Germany and thus to open the way for economic integration.

But the French, as was their obvious right, declined to consent to such a course, because they saw clearly that it amounted to another invasion of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, another step in the direction of destroying it, and a step which had for France the gravest possible consequences. Moreover, the French challenged the German claim that it was necessary to make such a military campaign, insisting that the Ruhr conditions did not warrant it.

Now it is important to recognize that the law was with the French. The treaty made certain clear prohibitions. It made them a detail in insuring French security, and with the approval of the whole Peace Conference. For Germany to send troops into this region, against French protest, was then to violate the treaty, quite as clearly as sending troops into Belgium amounted to violation of the treaty guaranteeing Belgian soil. In refusing consent, the French were following exactly the course of the Belgians, when they declined to waive the treaty guaranteeing their own existence, and as an alternative took up arms to resist the Germans in August, 1914.

Even the Germans hesitated in the face of the facts; but they finally compromised by sending the troops and denying, for the moment, that they had been sent, following the old familiar German method, which was practised so often during and before the World War.

V. THE CRISIS

Once the troops were sent, there arrived the crisis toward which events had been tending for many, many months. In effect, Germany had said to France, "We know that your allies have deserted you, we know that you stand alone, and we believe that you do not dare to act alone. You see what all your provisions of the Treaty of Versailles are worth. You see how much we care for them."

The French, moreover, perceived with utmost clarity that if they did not meet this challenge there was an end of all hope of enforcing the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. If Germany could once successfully disregard the treaty in the vital matter of the Rhine barrier, alleging that she was

compelled to do it because of domestic disorders, she would never lack a similar pretext. Had she not found herself, in August, 1914, compelled, as a matter of "necessity which knew no law," to invade Belgium?

For the French, then, there was the alternative, to act alone or to abandon the whole treaty. France chose to act alone. She moved troops into the cities of Frankfurt and Darmstadt, and served notice upon Germany and upon the world that the troops would remain until the Germans evacuated the Ruhr regions and thus placed themselves once more under the jurisdiction of the Treaty of Versailles. That France would take this course was quite apparent for many days before, since all Frenchmen were united in the determination to save the treaty, as the sole possible means of saving France herself.

But if the German maneuver had led to an action on the part of France which the Germans, at the least, had not foreseen, it had, by contrast, succeeded entirely in all other respects. It resulted in the public disclosure in baffling fashion of a schism in the Entente. If America remained silent, with unmistakable disapproval of French action only a little covered by this official reticence, Lloyd George, ignoring his own Foreign Office and following the example of Mr. Wilson, issued through his private secretary a minatory denunciation of French action and sent to Paris the grim statement that, if the French continued to act alone, Britain would recall her representative in the Ambassadors' Council, the last surviving representative of the Supreme Council of Paris; and the end of Anglo-French association would thus arrive.

And so, less than a year after the agreement upon the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, the association of nations which had won the war and written the treaty seemed on the very edge of disappearance. The Germans, challenging France by a direct, undisputed violation of the Treaty of Versailles, had driven the French to take a step which evoked open and official disapproval in London and called forth criticism, not sympathy or cooperation, in Washington and Rome. Only Belgium, which like France has a common frontier with the Germans, rallied to the support of France, since the destruction of the neutral zone brought German armies as near to Liège as to Verdun.

In Britain, the press and the public men who had advocated the support of France at

the moment of German attack in 1914, the men who had supported the war and insisted upon its being carried to victory, cried out in alarm at British policy. But the press which had advocated that Britain stay out of the struggle, and rung the changes upon the commercial profits incidental to neutrality, now acclaimed the course of Lloyd George; and both defended the Germans and denounced the French.

On neither side was there any concealment of the fact that the Georgian course had imperiled the Entente with France, which had subsisted for more than a decade and a half, ripened into close coöperation and in the course of the war developed into an alliance which had been responsible for the salvation of the world through the defeat of Germany. On neither side was there any concealment of the fact that the moment had come when the British Government must find some common basis for agreement with the French which would recognize more generously the existing British policy, as well as French conceptions of what was necessary for security, or risk an open break which would deprive the Anglo-French Entente of all vitality.

VI. THE CASE OF FRANCE

In this crisis, I would have my readers see the French situation freed from the fog created by sentimental misapprehension. In the first place, the Prime Minister, Millerand, is as far from being a militarist as the eminent Mr. Baker, who presides in our own State, War and Navy Building. In the second place, the Parliament upon which he depends has only recently been elected, long after the war, and elected upon the issue of French rehabilitation. So far from being extremely obdurate toward Germany, M. Millerand was almost upset, at the start, because he included within his ministry at least one man who had been criticised for his pacific tendencies in 1917, at the hour of the greatest stress.

In the second place, the position which M. Millerand has taken is not in advance but behind that advocated in the Chamber: He could not retain office for a single hour if he consented to withdraw French troops, or consented in the name of France to the violation of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, especially in a department which so intimately concerns French safety as that dealing with the Rhine zone.

Finally, and the point is capital, M. Millerand represents a Parliament elected upon the clear issue of the enforcement of the treaty. It is not the view of Foch and the French soldiers, primarily, which is expressed in French policy at the present moment. It is the view of the great mass of the French people, who see in the treaty the sole recompense for their enormous sacrifices in blood and treasure. Security and reparation—these are for all Frenchmen the foundation stones of a restored France.

Now what has been the course of events since the Peace Conference met, seen from French eyes? What was the Peace Conference itself? Primarily a conflict between French representatives seeking to secure France, and Anglo-Saxon representatives striving to reduce French claims, either to establish that order of world affairs which they believed would abolish war, or, as in the case of certain but by no means all British elements, so to mitigate the German terms as to serve British commercial interests—all mitigation, however, to be at French expense, for there was no British insistence upon the return to Germany of the colonies, or of the merchant marine taken by the British. Germany was to be rehabilitated, but the cost was to be borne in money by the United States, and in security and reparation by the French.

This battle in the Peace Conference resolved itself into a series of compromises. France gave up much, but in return she obtained certain promises from the nations at whose insistence she yielded. The treaty which emerged was unsatisfactory to the French people, as a whole, but they accepted it as the best obtainable, and looked to its guarantees for what had been omitted in the matter of more direct recognitions of French claims for security.

But, even before the treaty was signed, the British and the Americans took their armies home and disbanded them. France was left mounting guard upon the Rhine with only a handful of British and American troops. Moreover, not only did American and British armies go out of existence, thus eliminating the possibility of prompt support to France, if she were attacked by the Germans again, but the American Senate, by rejecting the treaty, abolished the obligation implied in it, and contained in the corollary document of insurance, of military assistance to France.

This was the first step. Next came the

agitation in Great Britain, in which Keynes' book played so considerable a part, for revision downward of the treaty terms, which would have reduced the amount of French reparation at the precise moment when the American Senate's course had deprived the French of the most important single benefit under the treaty—namely, security against German aggression. Finally, there followed the German invasion of the Ruhr district, in defiance of the treaty, and the denial of British support for the counter measures proposed by the French.

The French press and the French leaders saw in this British policy nothing less than a revelation of a purpose to insist that Britain should have a right to approve or veto French action, even when French safety was in question. France was willing to present her case to the Allies, but manifestly unwilling to subordinate her judgment to that of Britain when she was convinced that the British estimate was mistaken and French safety was at stake. She did not assert her right to act independently on all occasions; she merely insisted upon the right to act when the issue was one of utmost importance.

The French policy expressed in the occupation of Frankfort remains unshaken in the face of many exchanges of notes. It explains the French course in the recent past, and will explain such action in those new crises which seem bound to follow now that the German has succeeded in creating at least temporary disarray in Allied ranks by his Ruhr maneuver. For him salvation seems assured if only he can keep France agitated and Britain beguiled.

VII. THE PROSPECT

There remains the single question: What for the future would be the consequences of any actual collapse of the Entente? It is quite clear at the outset that a break between France and Britain, if it is absolute, destroys the last remaining prospect of a rescue for the League of Nations. The United States and Great Britain, isolated from the Continent and necessarily separated from each other, as a consequence would cease to exercise any control or influence upon Continental affairs. Any association of nations in the sense in which we talked a year ago would disappear.

In the second place the German militarists in control of Germany to-day, having with the approval of America and Britain used

their strength to crush all opposition within Germany, would find themselves masters of the German structure as completely as before 1914. It would be for them to decide in what direction to pursue their familiar ends, whether to go east and south, demolishing Poland and absorbing the fragments of the old Hapsburg Empire, or west and crush France.

There never was, and there does not exist, any hope of eliminating militaristic control in Germany, save through a continued association of the western nations to that common end. But the association has been endangered while the German army remains under control of the Ludendorffs and their kind, and the German Government remains at the mercy of the army. The real opponents of German militarism within Germany have once more been treated to the spectacle of western nations consenting to their destruction at the hands of the militaristic element, because the western nations do not understand German conditions and are more interested in German trade than in German deliverance.

Conceivably the gravity of the crisis which has now arisen will have its sobering effect in England. British policy has now to decide unmistakably between supporting and sacrificing France. And there are still influences of real importance which oppose and will continue always to oppose so radical a transformation of British policy as is inherent in Mr. Lloyd George's virtual proposal to break with France altogether, to the permanent gain of Germany, if France refuses to see her own safety as Mr. Lloyd George sees it. On the other hand, there is no blinking the fact that Lloyd George has embarked upon a policy which, if pursued, leads straight to the complete rupture with France.

French policy will not and cannot change, because the mass of the French people are satisfied that further yielding to Germany, even on British demand, spells ruin. France will strive with such strength as she has, and it is considerable, to enforce the treaty, which the British and American representatives, together with the French, accepted, but which the American Senate has rejected and the British Prime Minister has seemed to France to ignore.

German policy, by contrast, will follow exactly the opposite policy. So long as the Germans do not feel able to challenge France in a new war, Germany will pursue a policy of evasion, adapted to catching British sup-

port, hampering French recovery, but just missing actual warfare. To-day it is a question of disarmament; and Germany has proposed a postponement. France will insist upon compliance with the treaty, but the British may demur. Then France will have to use force or consent that Germany stay armed.

To-morrow there will be a question of money payments for reparation. Again Germany will protest; again there will be considerable support for Germany in Britain. Once more the thing will take the natural course. There are other test issues. For months the Germans have failed to give France the coal promised under the treaty. Is France now to insist and use force to compel compliance, or let her economic life languish because the coal is not forthcoming?

Under the terms of the treaty, France was to evacuate the occupied regions within a fixed period, provided that Germany complied with the terms of the treaty. But if Germany evades, France can and doubtless will continue to occupy German territory, and to extend the occupation if the evasions continue. But this means only a multiplication of incidents, of collisions, of disputes. Always, moreover, one of these disputes can lead to a new war, unless France takes rigorous measures to render Germany helpless. And such measures would provoke British and Italian and even American protests, not impossible. A new war might easily involve all of the world again, because no man can measure the extent of an international disturbance.

Outside of an agreement between France and her allies of the past, to enforce the treaty or to modify it, there is no conceivable escape from the vicious situation of the present hour. But for France the present treaty represents the minimum of justice and security, the least France can accept and be safe and solvent. Therefore, French assent to modification is impossible. But particularly in the case of the British there is more and more acceptance of the view that the treaty must be modified. Neither Britain nor America has any material interest in further application of the treaty. America has lost interest; Britain seems unwilling to incur risks and expenses which will only give benefits to France.

As for Italy, she broke with France last year at Paris, when Clemenceau followed Wilson instead of Orlando in the matter of Fiume. She has not forgiven, and will not

forgive, what she regards as a desertion of an ally by France. She is rejoiced now to see France in the same position she felt that she occupied at Paris. Beyond this, she would welcome a German renaissance, whatever militaristic circumstances attended it, which would menace the Slav states, erected by the Treaty of Versailles, in the pathway of her own interests and diminish French influence, enlisted on behalf of the Slav states and of Greece, whose lands Italy occupies in part.

What has arrived is nothing new. It is the last phase in every world conflict—in every general war. Victory attained, the immediate menace eliminated, the common peril abolished, the several allies find themselves no longer united in a common cause but divided by different and even by conflicting interests. Germany remains a peril for France and Belgium; but Germany without a fleet is not a menace to Britain or to America. As for Italy, her immediate danger disappeared when Austria-Hungary collapsed; and only the Austrian issue separated her from a natural alliance with Germany.

The result is the threatened dispersion of the alliance in almost the same fashion as the alliance which conquered Napoleon collapsed a century ago. The real difference between the two situations lies in the fact that while Napoleon was left on St. Helena, the Napoleonic circumstance in Germany, namely, the military group, remains in control of the army and dominates the government. In this lies the peril of the present hour and the true misfortune of what must be regarded as a premature, if inevitable,

crumbling of the association which won the military phase of the German war but measurably failed to translate its victory into effective peace.

As I read the proofs of this article on April 15, Paris but not London reports a distinct improvement in the situation. But Paris and London agree that the main issue involved remains unsettled and will probably prove the most important topic of discussion at the momentous conference which is about to assemble at San Remo. The decisions there taken will be known to my readers before this article is printed, and forecasts are therefore futile. Yet it is well to keep in mind, in examining the San Remo gathering, that beyond all else Anglo-French policy for the future must there be agreed upon.

The first real crisis in the application of the Treaty of Versailles has had its origin in a willingness on the part of the British to see the document amended, and a decisive protest by France against such amendment. France has asked that the treaty be applied. Britain has tended to support a policy of alteration. Germany has seized upon this moment in which to violate the provisions of the treaty deliberately, and France has met violation with an extension of the occupation of German territory. What remains to be discovered is whether France and Britain can now reach a basis of agreement for the future, adopting a common policy prescribing the method and degree of enforcement of the treaty. Success in this direction means the preservation of the Entente; failure, a rapid expansion of that fissure in the Allies which the events of the past month have disclosed.



Wilde World Photos

BAGGAGE OF THE GERMAN COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY FORCES PASSING OUT OF THE BRANDENBURG GATE.

JOHN A. BRASHEAR OF PITTSBURGH

A MASTER OF PRECISION AND A FRIEND OF HUMANITY

BY HERBERT T. WADE

IN an article on "American 'Captains of Industry'" in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for April, 1902, there was listed among the foremost industrial leaders invited to meet at luncheon Prince Henry of Prussia, then on a visit to the United States, an instrument-maker and astronomer to whom the observatories and laboratories of the world were indebted for instruments of precision. To John A. Brashear, who had spent twenty-one years of a busy life in a Pittsburgh rolling mill, it is doubtful if the opportunity of meeting a prince of the blood appealed with any particular force or as a special honor, but his selection among the foremost Americans surely met with universal approval in a wide circle ranging from scientists to the newsboys of Pittsburgh, to all of whom "Uncle John" was both a friend and inspiration. But whatever the distinction, the selection has stood the test of time which has not dealt so generously with others of that group and which has diminished somewhat the esteem in which the title Captain of Industry then was held.

Accordingly Doctor Brashear's death on April 8 produced a sincere feeling of grief that was far from confined to his own city and associates and also drew attention to the remarkable career of a man whose scientific achievements were only exceeded by the love and esteem in which he was held by all who knew him. At the time of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, when asked to nominate the foremost citizen of Pennsylvania, Governor Brumbaugh without hesitation selected Doctor Brashear for that honor, while official and unofficial Pittsburgh unquestionably would have acclaimed him as its first citizen.

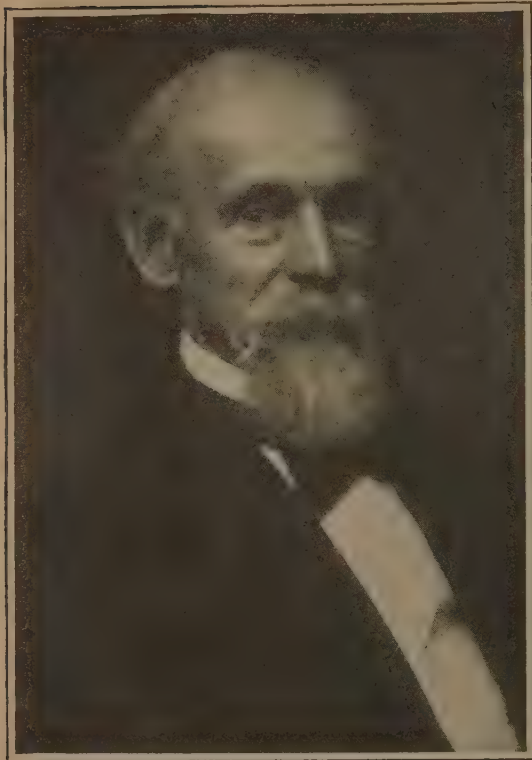
In American civic life this unofficial honor when bestowed comes only to those who have done very much and say what is distinctly worth while. Such indeed was John A. Brashear, whose career is worthy of study not only by the rising generation, but by

many in university circles, especially those who believe that only in elaborate organization and formalism can come achievements in the advancement of science and in human betterment. Honored with many degrees and membership in learned societies, Doctor Brashear was a product not of the university but of the machine shop and home study, and his individualism never was subordinated to artificial and impersonal restraints.

Born at Brownsville, Pa., November 24, 1840, of sturdy American parents, John A. Brashear attended the public schools of that town until sixteen years of age, when he was apprenticed to learn the pattern-maker's trade. At the age of eight came his introduction to astronomy, when he was permitted to view the heavens through a telescope that one Squire Wampler was exhibiting at a charge of five cents a look.

This telescope, it may be said in passing, had its object glass fashioned from a piece of glass saved from the Pittsburgh fire of 1845 and was typical of the equipment used by a large number of amateur astronomers who flourished at a time when interest in the stars was more general than in these later days. Possibly the elaborate observatory equipment and lack of sympathy for the amateur in science have tended to discourage that individual in astronomy as in other fields. The glimpse of the stars so impressed the young boy that the interest thus stimulated remained with him his entire life and early developed an ambition as later expressed that "whenever an opportunity offered, or if I could make one, I would have a place where all who loved the stars could enjoy them." This ambition, it is interesting to state, was fulfilled at the Allegheny Observatory, where a special large telescope and lecture room some years ago were set apart for the use of the public.

From the pattern shop Young Brashear entered a rolling mill as millwright at a time



DR. JOHN A. BRASHEAR

when Pittsburgh was not a place of eight-hour work or eight-hour thought, and when men who worked in the mills sought to use their minds in discovering ways to increase production and their own self-development. With Brashear it was the study of physics and astronomy that called, and, married at the age of 22, he found in his wife an eager and helpful companion in his scientific tastes. These soon developed the desire to build and own a telescope, and accordingly a small shop was installed at the simple home where after work hours the young machinist and his wife would repair and spend their evenings. Here not only were the tubes and mountings finished, but lenses were ground, polished and tested. Three years were required to grind and finish a 5-inch object glass for this first telescope, and then it was taken to Dr. S. P. Langley, Director of the Allegheny Observatory, to determine precisely its faults and correction.

Two years of work on a mirror for a larger and reflecting telescope unfortunately came to naught when it was broken, but the discouragement was only temporary and the

work was resumed. By this time frequent visits to the observatory had developed on the part of Dr. Langley an appreciation of Brashear's talents and mechanical skill, while William Thaw, who was a patron of the observatory, sought out the author of notes and letters on popular astronomy that appeared in the newspapers over the initials "J. A. B."

It is reported that Mr. Thaw said, "Young man, I have learned more astronomy from your letters to the papers than I have from a great many books," and this might be pondered by those who deprecate "newspaper science." The interest of Dr. Langley and Mr. Thaw led to Brashear establishing an instrument shop near the observatory in 1880, and this graduate of the rolling mill became connected with an observatory whose acting director he was destined to be in 1898-1900 and with the University of Western Pennsylvania, now University of Pittsburgh, of which he was acting chancellor from 1901-1904. The shop near the observatory soon began to figure in international science. Here it was that Langley, then working on the bolometer to measure the radiation in the infra-

red spectrum, was able not only to have repaired and refinished his prisms and lenses of rock salt, hitherto made and refinished only in Paris, but to have new apparatus of ever greater accuracy and finish built under his own direction by one with whom he became a constant associate. Even in Langley's ideas on a flying machine was Brashear frequently consulted.

For Professor Pickering, of Harvard, a large quartz prism for the spectroscope was made. For Professor Hale, then of the Kenwood Observatory, Chicago, was built the spectroheliograph which made possible the study of the solar prominences and led to valuable knowledge of the composition and nature of the sun, while shortly afterward was constructed a similar instrument for Professor Deslandres, of Paris, who straightway initiated special researches in this field. The Mills spectroscope for Lick Observatory, apparatus for Lowell at Flagstaff, and Keeler at Allegheny, were built, as work in astrophysics advanced.

For Rowland at Johns Hopkins the metallic reflecting gratings for his spectro-

scopic studies were made and for Michelson the optical parts of the interferometer developed for the International Bureau of Weights and Measures at Sèvres, near Paris. This instrument is of primary importance, for with it was determined the world's standard of length, the prototype meter, in terms of the wave length of light. For it Dr. Brashear made optical planes and mirrors accurate to one-twentieth of a wave-length of light or less than one-millionth of an inch.

By this time Brashear's work and his position in astronomical and physical science had become firmly established and there was hardly an observatory in the world that did not possess one or more of his instruments, ranging from a complete telescope down to a simple prism, optical plane or grating. The plant gradually grew to a point where it could manufacture considerable high grade and special apparatus, and the 72-inch mirror for the reflecting telescope of the Dominion of Canada Observatory at Victoria, in British Columbia, completed in 1918, represents, perhaps, its most recent important undertaking.

To the shop and simple home in Pittsburgh came distinguished scientists from the entire world, to whom the sweet, simple, genial characters of Dr. Brashear and his wife were no less appealing than his scientific and mechanical talents. Lord Kelvin, Kayser of Bonn, Wolf of Heidelberg, Sir Robert Ball, and many others from abroad, partook of their hospitality. It fell to few men to travel as widely and know as many of the workers in science as he. His circle indeed swept a wide orbit.

In the hands of Brashear the development and manufacture of instruments of precision involved exact science to as high a degree as it did exact workmanship and practice, and in providing the tools for some of the greatest scientific work of the ages he was recognized as a collaborator rather than a mere mechanic, and his work was ungrudgingly appreciated. However scientific and however precise the task there was always the pride of craftsmanship that has distinguished so many American mechanical engineers, and while his manufacturing involved precision rather than tonnage or quantity production, his fellow engineers were no less proud of his achievements than were the scientists. In 1914 Dr. Brashear was elected president of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers.

The breadth of Dr. Brashear's interest was as extensive as his friendships, and of the many activities in which he participated one may be mentioned here as a sample. His concern in the welfare of teachers led to a millionaire friend placing in his hands a fund of \$250,000 to improve teaching conditions in Pittsburgh and an immediate result was sending seventy teachers to various summer schools. On November 24, 1915, all of Pittsburgh united to celebrate "Uncle John's" 75th birthday, and a fund generally subscribed to was presented as a token of the affection of his fellow citizens. Of him Charles M. Schwab once wrote, "It seems to me that of all the men of fame and achievement I have known, he is the most wonderful. His life is full of inspiration and help for every person interested in making the most of himself."



THE ALLEGHENY OBSERVATORY UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

SPIRITUALISM AND SCIENCE

A Census of Opinion among Scientists and Psychologists
on "Psychical Research", Telepathy, and the Supernatural

BY JOSEPH JASTROW

(Professor of Psychology, University of Wisconsin)

LEADERSHIP implies social responsibility. From this function men of science are not exempt. It is their obligation to make knowledge accessible, to interpret as well as to extend its message. Public thinking must bear the impress of the scientific quality. The distinction between truth and error, the protection from half-truths and specious counterfeits is, in many aspects, a charge upon the scientific mind. Through the ministration of science, the sources of knowledge are kept pure. Civilization is maintained in its progressive orbit by the vigor of the intellectual instincts, by training in the severe discipline of experiment and observation in the physical and mental relations. A scientific habit of mind, a sanity of outlook, a consistency of interpretation, a profound respect for the meaning of natural law, are the benefits which such training seeks to confer. The social mission of science includes the duty to allay unrest, to correct misleading tendencies, whenever and wherever they appear.

Among the evidences of intellectual upheaval following the catastrophe of the world war, the revival of mystic and superstitious tendencies is notable. It is a phase of the general instability issuing from the proved insecurity of the social, political and educational institutions upon which the enlightened twentieth century had pinned its faith. The strongholds of reason have had to resist the fierce assaults of passion and prejudice, leaving the issue in doubt. While in its practical applications to the instruments of destruction, and in the maintenance of a war régime, science has emerged with a magnified prestige in its attempt to subject to reason the organized forces of desire and will, its reputation is damaged, its occupation questioned. A by-product of this intellectual and spiritual depreciation—significant despite its marginal place—is the revival of, or, better, the lapse back to a belief

in spirit-agency and in unrecognized forces, as they appeal to strong personal interests.

For the American situation the resurrection of the occult has been stimulated by the popular platform appeal of a distinguished physicist from across the friendly seas. His prestige has released tendencies that have always found a favorable culture-bed in the American soil; it has invited the more hesitant adherents of the occult to an avowal under respectable patronage.

Psychical Research—How Related to Science

The preparation for such a campaign in behalf of a belief in spirit-agency dates back to the foundation (London, 1882) of the Society for Psychical Research. This society is responsible for a formidable body of publications, which pursue a program and reveal a trend. In these investigations the scientific and extra-scientific (or occult) interests contend for supremacy. The standards and technique of scientific evidence have influenced, but by no means wholly determined, the problems and methods and animus of the movement; the conclusions depart widely from such standards. Psychical researches may be credited (the most careful of them) with the intention to bring to the study of obscure and complex phenomena the complete resources of modern science. It is also conceded that the conduct of the enterprise reflects the presence, though not the adequate functioning, of a logical conscience.

By its program, "Psychical Research" was committed to keep abreast of the advances of psychology in all phases bearing upon its peculiarly selected group of problems. There is no reason why this domain of research should not have been incorporated within the generous boundaries of modern psychology; in that event the distinctive name would have meant only a certain content and

range of problems, not a bent and a bias. The fact is unmistakable that the development and the support of its enormously popular appeal has a different source. This type of investigation is occult only in so far as it is supported by the "occult" type of interest. By historical affiliation and anthropological tradition the term "occult" is appropriate. The pedigree of Psychical Research, however altered its modern procedure, cannot be ignored.

The situation thus resulting is unfortunate, indeed anomalous. We can with difficulty think ourselves back to the days when chemistry was still fettered by its alchemistic affiliations, or when the vocation of astronomer carried the obligation to cast horoscopes. Psychology is less fortunate; to many of its devotees the misfortune seems also an injustice. That *psychological* powers should mean one thing, and *psychic* powers mean another, is deplorable; especially as the two meanings are irreconcilable. The one not only encroaches upon, but in so far as it secures a foothold, impeaches the sovereignty of the other.

A Questionnaire

The situation must be frankly faced. The public should know how psychologists, whose authority is thus questioned, view the claims of the Psychic Researchers presenting a brief for the supernatural. The interests of all scientific men are involved. The invasion of the supernatural affects equally the allied and associated sciences; it is only because the evidence advanced requires a psychological interpretation that the issue is brought to the jurisdiction of that court for trial. To secure the desired information, I addressed a circular letter to certain members of the American Psychological Association and to the entire membership of the National Academy of Sciences (about 150). Among the former I selected those who were primarily psychologists, and added representatives of related pursuits (education, psychiatry, philosophy) who had strong psychological interests, until half of the list (about 175) was canvassed. The present conclusions are based upon 150 replies—by 80 psychologists and by 70 scientists.

The census shows so decided and positive a preponderance of view that it may be accepted as the representative, indeed, nearly unanimous, verdict of psychologists and scientists alike. The failure to reply may in part be due to the conviction that the hy-

potheses in question lie so far out of the range of legitimate science as to require no consideration. An impatience or distaste for anything bordering upon the supernatural may well find its registration in the wastebasket. Indications of this attitude appear in the returns.

The circular letter reads:

In view of the strong interest in the findings of what is commonly called "Psychical Research," it is important that the public should know how men of science view such matters. Will you kindly send me a brief statement of your opinions on the following points:

(1) *What is your view of the statements made by Sir Oliver Lodge and other men of distinction in regard to the alleged proofs of communication with the spirits of the dead?*

(2) *How do you regard the using of his prestige as a physicist in behalf of a propaganda for belief in spirits?*

(3) *How do you view the evidence in favor of telepathy?*

(4) *Do you care to express yourself in regard to the effect of such beliefs on the habits of mind, regarded as a matter of social sanity?*

(5) *Will you add to your answers any other considerations which you think important in their bearing upon the general problem presented?*

In addition I should be glad to know whether the following expresses your views with sufficient accuracy to enable you to give it your endorsement:

"The present revival in the belief in spirits proceeds largely upon the ancient and natural tendency to favor such beliefs. It is a striking example of the will to believe, in which an emotional prejudice obscures the weakness of the evidence. So far as concerns the physical phenomena, they have been uniformly shown to be the result of fraud. They are generally practiced by mediums of doubtful reputation, and the performances have been duplicated by ingenious tricks. There is little connection between the inability of the observer to determine how the effects are produced and the inference that they are due to the control of supernatural forces. The psychical phenomena are more complex. Most of them are of the nature of the revelation of the private details apparently unknown to the medium. There is reason to conclude that such revelations may be ascribed to the accredited formulae of psychology, including subconscious indications, automatism of a dissociated personality, as well as to shrewd 'fishing' and reading of slight indications furnished by the sitters. The common tendency to herald the results of 'Psychical Research' as of like status with the accepted principles of science is pernicious and should be checked. In the interest of such a movement a clear statement of views of representative men of science is desirable."

It is my intention to use the results of this inquiry in order to make clear to the public the actual state of opinion among men of science in general and among psychologists in particular. I urgently request that you send me a reply with

the utmost promptness. Will you indicate what portions of this reply you *do not care to have cited in print*? In addition to a general summary of the statistics of my replies, I intend to print a selected set of answers to show the several types of opinion that prevail.¹

The Answers in a Nutshell

The general paragraph was framed for the benefit of those who would not take the trouble to phrase their views, but would be willing to indicate their endorsement of a statement that expressed their convictions fairly well. The result follows:

	Endorsed	Endorsed with Reservations	Endorsed by Implication	Not Competent to Answer	No Answer	Not Endorsed
Psychologists	67	3	4	0	2	4
Scientists	44	4	8	3	8	3

The reservations apply sometimes to the wording, sometimes to part of the statements. The implication was in all cases clear; yet specifically the question was not answered. Only four psychologists and six scientists approve the paragraph without answering other questions, while four other scientists substantially do so. The non-approval may vary from a position which holds the matter open, to a position mildly or strongly favoring the "Psychic Research" conclusions.

To summarize, disregarding fine distinctions: 130 endorse the statement of the paragraph; 13 do not reply; 7 do not endorse it. Expressed conservatively, this means that nearly 90 per cent of men of science hold a view distinctly opposed to any belief in spirit-agency or other power not recognized by accredited psychological principles; they regard the evidence submitted in support of such view as wholly inadequate and culpably uncritical.

Question 1 relates specifically to the evi-

¹The correspondence suggests three changes in the wording: (1) In Question 2, read: "If in your opinion Sir Oliver Lodge is using his prestige," etc., "how do you regard the matter?" (2) In the general paragraph insert "logical" between "little" and "connection." (3) The charge of fraud in "physical phenomena" applies to table-lifting and the moving of objects by mediums; it does not refer to the established place of involuntary (and in so far sincere) movements as a part explanation. Few correspondents were troubled by these ambiguities. There was some misunderstanding of a sentence for which the correspondents were responsible. It is plainly stated that the opposition relates to placing the results of "Psychical Research" and "the accepted principles of science" upon the same plane of evidence. There is no suggestion that such investigations should be opposed. In my opinion they should be encouraged for their psychological value. A correspondent expresses the point: "It is decidedly important that there be a wide separation between the status of so-called psychical research and that of real scientific investigation."

dence for spirit-agency and spirit-communication. The results may be classified thus:

	No Proof	Not Competent to Judge	No Answer	Favorably Impressed
Psychologists	66	8	5	1
Scientists	54	7	7	2

Question 3 invites a similar opinion in regard to telepathy. The replies are:

	No Proof	Not Competent to Judge	No Answer	An Open Question	Favorably Inclined
Psychologists	65	2	8	3	2
Scientists	38	2	23	5	2

To the vast majority of the correspondents the evidence for spirit-communication is totally unconvincing. The same applies to the hypothesis of telepathy, except that more decline to answer. The hesitation is intelligible. The evidence is technical in part; but there is also the temperamental factor. Some men require the confidence of a strong conviction and a fairly final statement before venturing an answer; others are prepared to register an opinion when the preponderance of probability and evidence is clear. Some men are more influenced by the inconsistency of the hypothesis with the findings of science; others rely upon the definite results of evidence to refute the alleged proofs. Both tendencies favor the conclusion that a natural explanation for the phenomena presented is so much more securely and rationally supported as to render the other hypotheses unnecessary and irrelevant. Many question whether either hypothesis has established a right to a hearing.

It is difficult to indicate the precise position of the small number of replies that incline to consider favorably the evidence for agencies or forces as yet unrecognized by science. The difficulty is increased by the expressed desire of some of the correspondents that their views be cited entirely or not at all. It may be recorded that one who regards the evidence for spirit-communication as unconvincing regards that for telepathy as positive rather than negative, and looks to the laboratory for a decision.

Some of the statements urge the importance of keeping an open mind on the issue, and maintain that the evidence in favor of

obscure forces cannot be brushed aside; the same expression occurs among those who agree with the majority opinion. Another correspondent does not as yet place confidence in the statements of Sir Oliver Lodge, but is perfectly open-minded on the issue, while he regards the evidence for telepathy as least conclusive. Yet another states that his opinion is not fully formed, that he is impressed by the evidence, by the men who support it, also by the more complex phenomena, such as cross-correspondence, and that he is strongly opposed to the dogmatic attitude of intolerance which many of his fellow-scientists assume on this issue. Another, who does not object to partial citation, says: "I should think all of us would agree that spirit-communication and telepathy were matters of discussion. Probably I differ from you decidedly in thinking that in the present condition of the problem neither of them should be regarded as either established or disproved, but as open questions."

More reserved opinions by men who regard the actual evidence as unconvincing are such as these: "I am on this subject an agnostic. I don't know. I must look for more evidence, but it will have to be very strong." Another, while very skeptical of the evidence, adds: "I am not prepared to say that there may not be psychic and ultra-material phenomena which are not subject to the ordinary laws of matter and energy."

The minority statements are uniformly cautious and refrain from endorsement of the detailed revelations appearing in the writings of convinced believers in spirit-agency and telepathy. Among the psychologists Professor William McDougall gives *Psychical Research* a place in the body of psychological interpretation. Of the evidence for spirit-agency he says that though impressive, it is not yet such as to "produce conviction in the mind of any impartial inquirer." Of telepathy he says that the evidence is such as "to compel the assent of any competent person who studies it impartially." To which may be opposed Professor Titchener's statement: "No scientifically minded psychologist believes in telepathy." The best summary of opinion on the telepathic and related issues appears in Professor Coover's most important volume: "Experiments in *Psychical Research*," Stanford University, 1917.

Both of the statements just cited appeared before the work of Professor Coover was published.

Nature of the Evidence for Telepathy

The issue in regard to telepathy is peculiarly decisive because it is a field open to experimental determination. The elaborate and careful work of Professor J. E. Coover at Stanford University tested the hypothesis by means of thousands of experiments and proved that the proportion of correct "transfers" did not exceed those accounted for by chance; that there was no higher percentage of correct guesses when a vivid imagery and an impression of correctness were present than when they were absent; that those who regarded themselves as possessed of unusual "psychic" powers (sometimes actually obtaining spirit-messages during the experiments) were no more successful in transferring the impressions than were ordinary subjects. Some of the experiments of the Society for Psychical Research showing transfer of thought were by detection and others by confession shown to be due to the use of collusion and shrewd reading of slight indications. Other favorable experiments show lax conditions and defective interpretations. This set of facts has naturally a strong influence upon men of scientific habit, with confidence in rigid laboratory methods and a strong suspicion of séance-room or dilettante looseness of condition and the unwarranted interpretation of prepossession.

The second and fourth questions relate to social obligations and effects. The more personal question is less important; it is an issue of propriety upon which opinions will naturally differ.

Forty-four psychologists and 37 scientists deplore the mingling of "physics" and "psychics," and many of these condemn it; 18 psychologists and 15 scientists excuse it as sincere, and some of these approve it; the rest do not reply, while a few submit guarded replies not easily tabulated. The condemnation varies from a statement that the position is "deplorable," "unscientific," "in bad taste," to "rather presumptuous," "a sheer travesty," "the method of a weak cause," "decidedly unethical," "not worthy of a scholar," "would be criminal if responsible," "an academic crime and scientific scandal," "an international misfortune." On the other hand the action is spoken of as "sincere but misguided," "sincere, hence justified," "wrong to object," and the charge of such abuse of prestige is itself unwarranted. The opinion that the effect of his statements will diminish the prestige of the speaker appears

often enough to be cited. The trend of opinion is clear.

The effect of such beliefs upon the thought-habits of those who cherish them is reported upon as follows:

	Harmful	Slightly so or Indifferent	No Opinion or No Reply	Special
Psychologists	57	11	9	3
Scientists	30	8	32	0

The temper of the replies will appear in a sample of phrases: "deleterious," "public menace," "reestablishes mediævalism," "backwash of emotionalism," "prolongs superstition," "favors irrational attitude," "baleful anachronism," "detrimental but mostly psycho-pathic," "no worse than other movements," "not particularly dangerous," "effect temporary," "may work both ways." Quite a number express the view that the tendency to favor the occult is an effect and not a cause of intellectual instability; that marked tendencies toward such beliefs are associated with neurotic, enfeebled, or other abnormal states. That the encouragement of such beliefs resulting from a serious and scientific endorsement is frequently viewed with apprehension and condemnation, is abundantly clear, and will reappear emphatically in the extracts that follow.

Conclusions of Experts

It remains to illustrate, so far as a limited selection permits, the temper and tenor of individual replies. These may be presented in four groups, as they bear upon the evidence for the supernatural; upon telepathy; upon the social effects of such views; upon the general relations of science (and philosophy) and "Psychical Research":

I. AS TO THE EVIDENCE IN THE CASE

I regard the alleged proofs of communication with the spirits of the dead as evidences, not of that, nor of any other supernatural, mysterious, undiscovered agencies, but of causes, mental and physical, of the wholly "natural" order, well-established, in scientific circles well known, and, to a large extent, well understood. My conviction is based on three propositions which I believe to be true: (1) Whenever the phenomena appealed to as evidence are adequately and reliably presented they are susceptible of explanation in terms of scientifically accepted "natural" causes. (2) Even if, in some cases, they were not yet fully so explainable, nevertheless temporary ignorance of true natural causes would not constitute proof of the spirit hypothesis, or even give it any degree of probability; and the phenomena

themselves, even in such cases, if there are any, furnish no proof that spirits are the agencies producing them.

I believe that honest controversy and discussion are essential to healthy progress. Investigators in "Psychical Research" very commonly arrive at conclusions that are not scientifically sound. But if there had been no "Psychical Research" and unfettered expression of its opinions and apparent findings, the truly scientific psychology would be to-day much the poorer in its understanding of the psychology of evidence, of automatic and subconscious activities, and much else.

E. B. DELABARRE, PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY, BROWN UNIVERSITY.

The alleged proofs of communication with spirits of the dead appear to me entirely to lack cogency. Belief in these "proofs," on the contrary, appears to depend fundamentally upon a failure to appreciate the full requirements of scientific proof, and upon failure to give weight to the negative facts and arguments. This latter failure, in its turn, seems fundamentally due to a natural tendency to believe in the easy, simple and naïve explanation, and in the desire to believe in the instinctively or emotionally satisfying one.

WILLIAM S. FOSTER, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA.

It seems to me there is an insufficiency of the evidence; a triviality of the alleged communications; a really materialistic and ungrounded basis of the conception of "etheral bodies," etc.

MARY WHITON CALKINS, PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY AND PSYCHOLOGY, WELLESLEY COLLEGE.

In my opinion, the only possible subject of controversy is as to whether some of the statements of mediums of good character, such as Mrs. Vernal and possibly Mrs. Piper, are entitled to any consideration. They are apparently genuine as opposed to the result of conscious fraud. To my mind, even these are explained by chance coincidences and the neglect of negative cases on the part of the observer. They have certainly made no revelations worth while, and I cannot bring myself to contemplate with great enthusiasm an eternity of the type they describe, reduced to an intelligence akin to idiocy. Scientifically they are not convincing, and ethically and esthetically they do not move my will to believe.

WALTER B. PILLSBURY, PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

Spiritism is counter to all our ground ideas in biology. Believing, as we do, in evolution, we see simple stages of all human activities (including mental activities) in lower animals. But all those activities in the lower animals cease with death. The obvious inference to an evolutionist is that the same is true in man. If man's spirit survives death, so logically does that of his dog, his horse, his cow, his cat, the mice that squeak in the walls of his barn, and the gnats and flies that sting and bite him.

WILLIAM E. CASTLE, PROFESSOR OF ANIMAL GENETICS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

While working with spiritualists I was struck forcibly by the circumstance that they remem-

bered or recorded in writing all of the results which seemed to them to be positive, and therefore interesting, and only a few, if any, of the negative, and therefore "non-essential," data. In Sir Oliver Lodge's book, "Raymond, or Life After Death," he states, as I remember, that only the more interesting results of his investigations are given. While reading his book I could not avoid becoming obsessed with the idea that some data of probable scientific interest were omitted as being non-essential.

P. F. SWINDLE, PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI.

II. AS TO TELEPATHY

The evidence in favor of telepathy seems to me fully accounted for on the basis of (a) collusion, (b) mental habits and "psychical communism," (c) conscious reading of involuntary signals, (d) unconscious reading of involuntary signals, (e) perhaps some subconscious elaboration upon subliminal stimuli. There is no *good* evidence in favor of telepathy as officially defined.

J. E. COOVER, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY, STANFORD UNIVERSITY.

I see no evidence of telepathy—a subject which abounds in false analogies. For instance, Sir Oliver Lodge, in his treatise entitled "Survival of Man," says, "Tell a secret to A in New Zealand and discover that B, in St. Petersburg, is before long aware of it: neither having traveled. How can this happen? The distance between England and India is no barrier to the sympathetic communication of intelligence in some way of which we are at present ignorant; that just as a signaling key in London causes a telegraphic instrument to respond instantaneously in Teheran, which is an every-day occurrence, so the danger of death of a distant child, or brother, or husband may be signaled without wire or clerk to the heart of a human being fitted to be the recipient of such a message." When we consider that the possibility of the communication of intelligence by electricity has resulted from the accumulation of facts, and from the application of mathematical analysis, during the last hundred years we see how false the above analogy is. There is no scientific basis, at present, in a belief in telepathy.

JOHN TROWBRIDGE, PROFESSOR OF PHYSICS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

As to telepathy, I believe it to be a complete fallacy. The record of failure when it ought to have worked is endless. Did ever a man taken prisoner in the late war "telepath" to his best and closest companions and friends information of a sudden attack or the like being prepared by his captors? If telepathy were a possibility, evolution would have in the long lapse of ages made it replace the sensory function. But are animals in danger, even up to man, able to telepath their condition to others of their tribe at a distance and so save themselves? The evolution test is a good one.

ELIHU THOMSON, ELECTRICAL INVENTOR, SWAMPSCOTT, MASS.

There is no evidence in favor of telepathy in-

terpreted in the "Psychic Research" fashion. Minds are almost incredibly sensitive to one another, and the remarkable *rapport* that often exists between them can be accounted for in terms of their hypersensitivity to the usual methods of conscious intercommunication through physical and psychological contact.

E. D. STARBUCK, PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

The alleged proofs are of a character which would be rejected in any scientific problem, important or unimportant.

KNIGHT DUNLAP, PROFESSOR OF EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

III. AS TO THE EFFECT OF VIEWS FAVORING THE SUPERNATURAL

My own view is that if Sir Oliver Lodge and other men of prominence in the scientific world had approached the problems of science in as naive an attitude as they have displayed toward the proofs of spirit communications, they would never have become prominent as scientists.

The unfortunate aspect of the case is that the weight of these great names is sufficient to unbalance the judgments of a multitude of half-educated people. It gives opportunity for the age-long hungering for miracles to assert itself. NORMAN TRIPLETT, PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY, KANSAS NORMAL SCHOOL.

This social atavism or reversion to superstition cannot but have a pernicious influence on the public mind. It tends to annul scientific thinking, economic endeavor, and moral responsibility.

J. W. BRIDGES, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY, OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY.

Human nature seems capable of developing a high degree of psychical toleration, without impairment of social sanity, for erroneous beliefs which are accepted simply as dogma or custom. Pseudo-science, however, seems to me a more pernicious influence than crass superstition.

WILLARD C. GORE, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

It seems to me clear that the effects of such beliefs differ greatly in the case of different persons. In cases under my own observation, the entertainment of the belief in the large majority of people I know is no index whatever as to "social sanity"—it exercises no important influence helpful, or harmful, on their lives, their actions, their other beliefs. In a few cases it is distinctly useful as an intellectual stimulus, or a source of comfort and satisfaction without attending deleterious effects. In still other cases it is positively harmful, as belief in magic, superstition, occultism, has always on the whole, though not necessarily in every individual case, been harmful and sterilizing.

E. B. DELABARRE, PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY, BROWN UNIVERSITY.

I make no objection to it [Lodge's position]. It shows that the opinions of a scientist are no better than those of any other man, outside the

field of his special knowledge, if outside that field he abandons the critical attitude which he maintains within it. It is well that the public should know this.

W. E. CASTLE, PROFESSOR OF ANIMAL GENETICS,
HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

I think that the portion of the mental apparatus which accepts such evidence as supernatural simply exhibits a subnormal development. I suppose we all have such undeveloped spots, if we only knew it. Habitual acceptance of such evidence would merely bring into prominence what already exists in the particular individual.

W. H. DALL, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON.

IV. AS TO THE RELATIONS OF SCIENCE AND PSYCHICAL RESEARCH

Engaged, then, with the obscure inter-actions of mechanical forces, such minds [physicists with a supernatural trend], once disengaged from the anchorage of sound balance, easily slip into the vagaries of superphysics. No other class of scientific men is so susceptible to this expression of decline, and it is well to note that men of science whose lives have been engaged in the study of evolution and composition of life in its various manifestations are not prone to indulge themselves in these dreams of the declining years.

JOHN M. CLARKE, DIRECTOR STATE MUSEUM,
ALBANY, N. Y.

I am a devout theist, and at least some of the time I believe that there is a life beyond this life, but the two ideas are not necessarily conjoined. I can be a devout theist (probably I would be classed as a pantheist) without believing that there is a life beyond this one. I might add that if one-tenth the amount of energy that is spent in futile search for evidences regarding the life to come were spent in making this life what it ought to be for ourselves and our fellows, this world would become a heaven and there would be no need of any other, because all the good influences would go forward to be continually increased. That is, I think the wrong thing is stressed. I do not see why if there is any life to come, there might not be scientific discoveries made, proving it, which would be of positive importance to the human race. However, I cannot believe that Sir Oliver Lodge has made any. It is a little curious to my mind that so many competent physicists have been so absurdly duped by various spiritualists.

What I believe, I take purely on faith. Science deals with verities, things that can be weighed and measured and verified; it does not deal in darkened rooms and hocus-pocus.

ERWIN SMITH, BUREAU OF PLANT INDUSTRY,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

In the interests of social sanity the public utterances of men of science should stress the facing of demonstrated fact, the insistence on empirical proof, rather than feature the phantasies of the neurotic, the symptoms of the hysteric, and the well-known clinical phenomena of dissociated make-up. All devices calculated to distract the

public from the obvious realities and inadequacies of the world of fact, and to substitute for the frank facing of these facts the tendency to autistic thinking and the flight into "other worlds" only encourage infantilism and regression.

H. L. HOLLINGSWORTH, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF
PSYCHOLOGY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

The present trend toward mysticism, spiritism, and the occult is directly due to the instability of mind produced by the world war. When the habits of thought slowly built up by years of looking at the world from certain definite points of view are quickly disintegrated through intense excitement or shifting of viewpoints, there is temporary instability and a return to the cause-and-effect sequences of primitive man; hence spiritism. . . . I believe the stable-minded psychologists should act as a body in opposition to this most pernicious development.

GEORGE S. SNODDY, PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY,
UNIVERSITY OF UTAH.

It is not scientific narrow-mindedness, but the conviction of the soundness and breadth and capacity of growth of the scientific method that makes me join the warning against unfounded and confusing propaganda of the residuals of passing superstition. The majority of organized churches and of the sober and systematic philosophical and scientific centers utterly repudiate these revivals of a slowly dying clinging to the "will to believe." There is no inclination to shirk investigation, but a demand that those claiming to be investigators acquire a reasonable familiarity, not only with physics and chemistry and physiology and biology, but also with the psychology of suggestion, deception, and self-deception.

ADOLF MEYER, PROFESSOR OF PSYCHIATRY, JOHNS
HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

I must confess to a lack of interest in Lodge's lecturing, as it seems, at least on the face of it, only a rehearsal in new forms of old and discredited material. I suppose I feel toward it much as a physiologist toward the fine details of a phrenological system or as an astronomer toward the latest advertised system of horoscopy.

J. F. DASHIELL, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY,
OBERLIN COLLEGE.

I have the strongest personal objection to the character of the lectures which Sir Oliver Lodge has been giving in this part of the country. I think he is doing harm, not only to science but to a large number of trusting people who have heard his lectures and who are inclined to accept his most unsettling doctrines in view of the fact that they are supposed to come from a man of science and thereby have some scientific background. . . . The only difficulty is that Sir Oliver Lodge's lectures make good newspaper copy, and so long as that is the case it will be difficult to stem the tide of his popularity.

HARVEY CUSHING, PROFESSOR OF SURGERY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

While these citations do not convey all the sorts and conditions of opinion, they carry the positive tone and quality of the preponderant view in its various phases and emphases. They make it plain that the trend toward a revival of belief in spirits and unrecognized forces is regarded as an undesirable citizen in the intellectual domain; that such conclusions claim a status to which their credentials do not admit them; that they are closely associated with outgrown and primitive habits of thinking, and in some instances bear the hall-marks of abnormality; that their encouragement delays and retards the purposes of education and the higher interests of sound thinking.

The impression must be removed that this attitude implies an opposition to the type of investigation which is proposed in the program of Psychical Research. While many believe that enough energy has been expended and sufficient sacrifices made to dismiss the case as closed, the more common view is that apart from their psychological interest the arguments advanced deserve a fair and serious treatment, if for no other reason, to allay popular unrest and correct prevalent misapprehension.

The issue has a larger significance than that attaching to the value of a body of evidence which in modern days has brought multitudes of converts to an ancient shrine. The integrity of the scientific conception is at stake. The notion pervading views of this (occult) order conceives behind and beyond the world revealed by science another realm in which established physical and mental laws do not apply. It assumes that rarely, under peculiar conditions, the chief of which is a receptive organism in the person of a susceptible medium, scattered rays from this other world will penetrate to our visible spectrum. It thus elevates the séance-room to the place of an ultra-laboratory, where alone the arcanæ of science are revealed. Still further: the revelation finds the highest significance of events resident in their personal bearing; the ordinary laws of nature are transcended by reason of the stress of human emotion.

William James, whose over-charitable sympathy with experiences thus interpreted subjected his views (and psychology in general) to an unfortunate misunderstanding, calls this attitude an abomination. It violates the fundamental decalogue of scientific principles. It violently and illogically transplants a set of phenomena to an environment

of an alien temper and a foreign purpose. The intellectual setting thus preferred as the promising one for the deliverance of supremely important revelations, bears unmistakable resemblance to the cruder functioning of primitive habits of mind. For these reasons their appeal to a well-trained twentieth-century intellect seems anomalous and in some instances carries the suspicion of abnormality.

The challenge of "Psychical Research" is not merely a matter of evidence; it is a matter of principle and procedure. In neither bearing is it tangential or remote. It questions the validity of the basal concepts of interpretation. If consistently applied, it would require the physicist to leave room in his equations expressing the laws of matter for the intervention of "psychic" forces; it would posit X-rays and clairvoyance as alternate methods of diagnosis. For it must not be forgotten that the responsible leaders of belief in spirit-agency claim for their phenomena the sanction of scientific proof. In such an amazing production as Professor Crawford's alleged demonstration of spirit mechanics, a photograph of the adolescent medium and of pressure balances and lines of force appear as equally evidential exhibits in the case.

For these cumulative reasons, the reaction of men of science to such menaces to their calling is naturally somewhat emphatic and determined. The temptation to reflect the irrelevance and assumption of the challenge in the vigor of the reply is intelligible. It is easy to misinterpret such emphasis as a dogmatic prejudice and an impatience with the disturbance of set habits of thought. It is equally easy to suggest that to refute statements of opinion by a collection of opinions is an appeal to the antiquated method of authority.

Surely if the attainment of an accredited position among the leaders of science carries any sanction, it means that such men conduct their intellectual operations by somewhat more rigid standards than obtains among the people in general, and even among educated but not technically trained persons.

To attach special weight to the conclusions of persons with special qualifications is in no sense a return to the argument of authority, but the inevitable and the common-sense practice in all issues affecting the guidance of conduct and belief. When the agreement is overwhelming, the verdict becomes decisive.

CLEVELAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

CLEVELAND is the seventh city of the United States in point of population. But it is deserving of far higher rating when measured by its contributions to the educational uplift of the country. Its methods and achievements are well worthy of study and emulation, not only by school boards directly charged with the education of future citizens, but also by "the man in the street." The record is indeed a notable one.

It will be recalled that it was the Cleveland Board of Education, a few years ago, which invoked the highest order of educational experts to survey its schools, report their findings, and recommend needed changes. The Cleveland Survey, so called, will not soon be forgotten. The results were published in several volumes, accessible not only to the people and authorities of that city but to the rest of the country as well.

Cleveland is to be congratulated on having on its Board of Education members who represent the best citizenship and intelligence of the city, having as their single purpose the greatest good to the greatest number of children. In too many of our cities, both large and small, school boards have often been regarded as stepping-stones for other political offices, to say nothing of opportunities for patronage and contracts that have not the welfare of public or pupil clearly in view.

Some three years ago the Board required the services of a new Superintendent of Schools. It made diligent inquiry among educational authorities, and chose the man most highly recommended—Dr. Frank E. Spaulding—offering him a salary far larger than that of any other school administrator. The Board then said to its new Superintendent, in effect: "We are charged by our constituents with the best service we can render the city's population of school age. We propose to justify the confidence implied in our election. We claim a fair degree of business knowledge and common sense, but we know no more of teaching as a profession than we do of law or medicine. That is to be your function and obligation."

Occupied with the main problem of educating the child, the Cleveland superintendent, on his part, has claimed no special part in directing a building program or in the business side of a school system. But he has jealously guarded his prerogatives in shaping courses of study and selecting subordinates. Such a division of responsibility minimizes friction, wasted energy, and the chance for political interference.

When Dr. Spaulding leaves his Cleveland post in September the Deputy Superintendent, R. G. Jones, will assume full charge by unanimous selection of the board.



A NEW TYPE OF ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL BUILDING IN CLEVELAND

(This is a one-story building of thirty class rooms, two large play rooms, and an auditorium—representing the latest development in economy of space. It is practically without corridors; the space usually given to corridors is turned into play-room space. The fire hazard is reduced to a minimum, as every class has a door leading directly out of doors. There is also another door leading into the building. There are both side and overhead lighting. With all these advantages the cost per pupil is from one-half to three-quarters as much, depending upon the way the building is used, as is the cost of the usual type of two- or three-story building)

DR. SPAULDING—EXPERT IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

BY CLYDE R. MILLER

As a nation, America is becoming vaguely aware that something is wrong with the schools.

"We are a nation of sixth-graders," says Dr. Frank Ellsworth Spaulding, superintendent of the Cleveland schools.

He has spent his professional life diagnosing educational systems and prescribing courses of treatment needed.

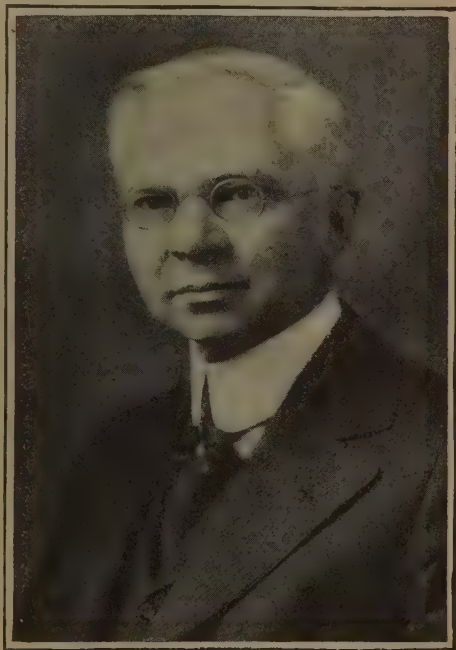
Yale University is aware that something is wrong with the public schools of America. As a university it has decided to help correct the wrong and has called Dr. Spaulding, who, starting in September, will head and organize a department of education in its graduate school.

In its early history Yale recognized its obligation to society by educating preachers. Doubtless with the same sense of obligation, Yale is now beginning to educate teachers, or, to speak more exactly, leaders of teachers. Yale hopes that its new venture—a graduate school in education—will be a potent influence in bettering common-school and high-school education in America.

The public at large is not much concerned about the nation's educational shortcomings as disclosed in the selective-service army, though examination of 1,500,000 men in the National Army, conducted and recorded by army officers assigned to such duty, revealed that approximately 25 per cent. of these men were either quite illiterate or were illiterate in the sense that they were unable to read simple English intelligently.

A Crisis in Public Education

But the public is worried. Every community knows that the ablest teachers have been leaving the schools—forced by poor pay to seek more remunerative employment than school-teaching. Every community knows that the most desirable teacher material is not attracted to the public schools. Even considerable salary increases granted in the past year or two by progressive communities are as yet failing to attract candidates for teaching positions. The current year reveals



DR. FRANK E. SPAULDING

(Born in New Hampshire, 1866; graduated from Amherst, 1889; taught school in Louisville; studied abroad in French and German universities; superintendent of schools at Ware, Mass., Passaic, N. J., Newton, Mass., Minneapolis and Cleveland; organizer of educational facilities for soldiers; now called from Cleveland to Yale University to create a department of education in the graduate school)

a decrease of 25 per cent., on the average, in normal-school attendance.

Something is wrong and a salary increase alone won't cure it. The services of the ablest diagnostician and physician to be found are needed. The causes of illiteracy must be discovered and, through a correct educational system, must be destroyed. A thousand cooks are dabbling with the Americanization broth. It is a question if they are helping as much as they are hindering. Americanization, a task for the public schools, is not being undertaken, in any considerable way, by the schools.

Besides the millions of Americans who

are illiterates, there are many more millions whose schooling is sadly insufficient to their needs and to the welfare of the nation.

Local communities and the nation itself must be converted to an educational program that will wipe out illiteracy and give to all equality of opportunity to prepare for life's vocations and life's wholesome pleasures.

Yale Moves to Analyze and Correct

The authorities of Yale University, in common with thoughtful Americans everywhere, have accepted the fact that there is a real crisis in public education—a national crisis. They decided, some months ago, to establish at Yale a department of education and to secure as a head for this department the man who could best analyze the nation's educational needs and who, with the power and influence of a great university back of him, could help to fill these needs.

They selected Frank Ellsworth Spaulding, for the past three years superintendent of the public schools of Cleveland. It was easy for Yale to find the man for the place, for he had already been named by the great majority of educational authorities in the United States as the nation's leading mind in the field of public education. When Cleveland needed a school superintendent three years ago the school board asked every prominent educational authority in the country to name the men who, in their judgment, were best qualified for the position. Most of those thus canvassed named Dr. Spaulding as their first choice.

During the war the Federal Government had two educational tasks of prime importance to perform. One involved providing educational facilities for tens of thousands of children, the sons and daughters of workers who comprised the population of the mushroom towns that grew up about great munition and ship-building plants.

The other, entrusted for a time to the Y. M. C. A., was the task of reducing illiteracy in the overseas army and of setting up a general educational system in the American Expeditionary Forces so that a goodly portion of the time between the armistice and the embarkation for America might be utilized in the study and vocational training by those soldiers who chose to do so.

Frank Ellsworth Spaulding was called for both these tasks. A full year of his three years at Cleveland was spent in Government service, thanks to the generosity and broad vision of the Cleveland Board of Education.

A Leader in the Field of Education

Who is Dr. Spaulding? What has he done? What does he stand for in public education?

Dr. Spaulding is known through his works, rather than through his words. He is not an orator. His writings—and he is the author of several volumes that are accepted as classics in the educational world—are concrete accounts of educational undertakings and accomplishments.

While superintendent of schools at Passaic, N. J., and later at Newton, Mass., with the assistance of Miss Catherine T. Bryce, now assistant superintendent at Cleveland in charge of elementary instruction, Dr. Spaulding developed methods of teaching reading and language which caused earnest and inquiring teachers in all sections of the country to marvel at the unprecedented results attained. With Miss Bryce as a co-author, he has written readers and language books, based on the teaching methods thus developed. These books, setting a new professional standard, now used throughout America, have virtually revolutionized the teaching of reading and language.

As his school text-books are founded on practical experience, so also are all of his many contributions to the literature dealing with educational policies and administration.

Nearly all of these contributions are in the form of reports which he submitted to various boards of education in cities he has served. Far from being dry statistical records, these superintendents' reports from the pen of Dr. Spaulding are interesting, vigorous analyses of educational problems, policies, and accomplishments. They are studied as text-books in nearly every American college which has a department of education.

A Progressive School Superintendent

For the past twenty-five years he has been a superintendent of schools, first at Ware, Mass., and then, successively, at Passaic, N. J.; Newton, Mass.; Minneapolis, and Cleveland.

In each one of these cities he ran the schools in keeping with the spirit of what he terms the fundamental law of public-school education: "The schools are for the children."

To make the schools serve the selfish purposes of any other class of persons is to prostitute them. No cranky school-board member, no self-seeking politician, no disgruntled teacher or clique of teachers can

make Dr. Spaulding break the fundamental law of education—the schools are for the children.

He was a pioneer in the growing movement to capitalize the experience of teachers in school administration. He was directly responsible for the creation in Minneapolis and Cleveland of educational councils by which the teachers in the public schools of those cities bear part of the responsibility of shaping policies and through which they participate in school affairs.

A clearing-house for teachers' suggestions, recommendations, and criticisms, the educational council, as developed by Dr. Spaulding, is proving to be a potent influence in the nation's most progressive school systems. Largely as a result of his encouragement, such a council has been formed in the public schools of Boston.

What Dr. Spaulding Did for Cleveland

It is interesting to know Dr. Spaulding as the people of Cleveland know him. Most of them, as is natural in a city of nearly a million souls, know him only through the newspapers. To the majority of the fathers, mothers, aunts, and uncles of the 115,000 Cleveland schoolchildren, School Superintendent Spaulding is a force, a power, a dominating idea or spirit.

They read in the city's newspapers that the superintendent wants the scope of the public-school system widened to permit part-time classes for persons now past school age who might like to return to school to fit themselves for more productive and more remunerative vocations. The papers tell of the school board's acceptance of the idea. Soon afterward there are "feature" articles relating how factory lathe operators are going to technical high school after their working hours to become skilled mechanics; telling how a mother, denied education in her youth, has become a classmate of her little girl in the sixth grade.

The people of Cleveland know that since Dr. Spaulding came to their city education has been extended to pupils of all ages and that anybody who is qualified by native or acquired ability to pursue a study may register as a student and pursue it.

A keen reporter gives his paper a front-page story—Dr. Spaulding's belief that military training must become a part of the educational program for the boys in the city's high schools. To-day thousands of Cleveland high-school boys wear the khaki

uniform and drill under the direction of United States Army officers.

In an address before the Cleveland City Club, the school superintendent declares that the schools have been far too ineffective in the matter of helping boys and girls find out what they want to do in life and of training them to do it. The junior high-school system, now comprising more than a dozen junior high schools, in which special stress is placed on vocational direction, is greatly broadened thereafter.

A Prophet Who Works with Facts

A force, a power, a dominating idea or spirit which is working in and with the public schools for the benefit of the children and of grown-ups, too—that is Dr. Spaulding as he is seen by the people through the Cleveland newspapers and through the stories which pupils and teachers bring home from the schoolroom.

He presents another picture to those who know him more intimately. To such, too, he is a force, a power, a sort of educational seer and prophet. But he has not a prophet's austerity.

Small in stature, gentle of manner, his hair turned silver-white, his blue eyes smiling behind gold-rimmed spectacles—that is the Dr. Spaulding you see at the superintendent's desk.

But watch him at work. The figure changes. He is a scientist, cold, deliberate, exact, making sure of the facts. He is an organizer, creating and leading an educational army to change facts of ignorance, facts of lack of opportunity, to facts of knowledge and opportunity.

He is a diagnostician. He works on facts.

About the first thing Dr. Spaulding did after he was elected to the Cleveland superintendency was to study the survey of the Cleveland schools. This was undertaken a few years before, at the instance of the Cleveland School Board, by a group of the outstanding education authorities.

Then, as superintendent, he caused intensive development of a department of reference and research to discover and tabulate just what the schools were accomplishing, and—what they were not accomplishing.

Facts, facts, facts—assorted, tabulated, and digested—upon such a basis he has drastically changed the city school system of Cleveland and of other places; upon such a basis he has made public assertions concerning education that, though they sometimes

seem to smack of the sensational, cannot but be accepted as correct by those who also know the facts.

An Average of Only Six Years' Schooling!

Sharing with Dr. John Erskine, of Columbia University, and President Kenyon L. Butterfield, of the Massachusetts State Agricultural College, the responsibility of creating and administering the army school system set up by the Educational Corps of the A. E. F., he viewed the overseas army as a cross-section wherein were to be seen the educational advantages and shortcomings of America.

The Educational Corps, by the way, accepting the word of the officer who commanded it, Brigadier-General R. I. Rees, boasts, as one of its accomplishments, the teaching of 50,000 illiterate soldiers how to read and write the English language.

From the cross-section afforded by the army, Dr. Spaulding turned to the Federal census reports and applied to these the principle of the higher criticism.

He said: "We are a nation of sixth-graders." He produced the facts to prove that Americans average six years of schooling; that, while millions finish grammar school and others complete high-school and college courses, an equally large number have virtually no schooling at all.

"We have long deceived ourselves with words and phrases about 'free, public, and universal education,'" he has pointed out in his recommendations for a national educational system for America, written in France, following his educational experiences with the overseas army.

"Up to the present time we have barely the beginnings, here and there, of an effective educational system."

The conviction that education is a national problem, to be handled in a national way, has been forced upon Dr. Spaulding.

This conviction he will carry with him to Yale University. His task there will be to train educational executives, leaders.

Essentials of an Improved Educational System

A national system of education is coming. Dr. Spaulding thinks—a system that will strive to attain three great objectives. As he states them, these are: first, essential elementary knowledge, training and discipline for every American; second, occupational efficiency; third, civic responsibility.

Most certainly, he points out, these objectives are not now attained.

"We are no more prepared for the great emergencies of peace that confront us," he says, "than we were prepared for the emergencies of war. Education, hasty and hectic, was our chief resource in preparing for war. Now education, deliberate, intensive and sustained, must be our basic resource in preparing for peace."

Dr. Spaulding starts in at Yale in September to organize the department of education in the graduate school.

"It is a real opportunity," he declares, "to have a part in the professional preparation of hundreds of those who will immediately determine the educational policies, ideals and plans of procedure throughout the country in the next generation."

Spaulding policies, tried and proven in Cleveland, Minneapolis, Newton, and other cities where he has been superintendent, undoubtedly will influence and, to a great degree, determine the ideals which will characterize those who are trained at Yale to be public school executives.

These policies include: definitely locating and assigning authority in a public-school system, relieving the formality and conservatism of teaching methods; appointing principals and teachers on a basis of merit rather than of service; employment of married teachers at regular salaries; special supervisors for kindergartens; psychological clinics for diagnosis of children thought to be mentally deficient and assignment of such children to special classes; intensive medical inspection; education for pupils of all ages; thorough physical training for boys and girls; courses in the household arts for girls; a bureau of reference and research in connection with every large school system; educational councils through which teachers may share and contribute to the responsibility of shaping school policies; higher standards of education and professional training for teachers and executives; salaries commensurate with the service required.

In going to Yale Dr. Spaulding is returning to his native New England. Born in New Hampshire in 1866, his early education was in the little red schoolhouse the shortcomings of which still retard education in America. He graduated from Amherst and taught school for a year or two in Louisville, Ky. Then to Leipsic, Berlin, the Sorbonne and other centers of learning in Europe for psychology, philosophy and pedagogy.



THE "ROCKEFELLER TEAM" OF BUSINESS MEN AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS WHICH HAS JUST MADE A TOUR OF THE PRINCIPAL CITIES TO PRESENT THE INTERCHURCH PROGRAM

(Left to right: William H. Foulkes, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., James M. Speers, Wilton Merle Smith, S. Earl Taylor)

CAN THE CHURCHES WORK TOGETHER?

BY LYMAN P. POWELL

AMERICA entered the war to save the world from Prussianism. When her work seemed done, it was not done. Peace has brought disappointment, disillusionment, in vast regions actual despair.

We may be worse off to-day than when we were at war. The aftermath of war makes war itself in retrospect look fair. Peace has released colossal forces war locked up. Some may be constructive; we hope so. Many of them now appear destructive. On the aching heads of those who thought they saw in the world war the glory of the coming of the Lord the hammers of destiny seem to be beating out a new planet. Men's hearts are failing them for fear. From their hoarse and husky throats goes up the awful cry, "How long, O Lord, how long!"

The gates of hell seem for the moment to prevail against all good. The Church bows her head before the storm that sweeps in cruel harshness over her. Can the church survive the storm? Can she create in the world that new moral passion for the true,

the beautiful, the good, which Herbert Hoover thinks the church alone has power to create? Can she touch the brows of millions in woe and wretchedness, in want and rags, in hunger and nakedness, and bring them to their feet in a new faith and hope and love with her ancient cry of confidence: "Arise, shine: for the light is come and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee?" Can she move out of a fractional faith, a fragmentary Christianity, a denominational separatism, and bidding all her unrelated denominations strike glad hands in comradeship, in truth place upon the lips of all Christians, no matter what their individual differences, the glorious battle cry:

"Like a mighty army
Moves the Church of God?"

Before your eyes I unroll the world map torn and tattered by the ravages of evil-minded men. The world has 1,640,000,000 people, of whom one billion are not Christians. Asia with almost a billion folk has



THE CABINET OF THE INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT, IN SESSION

(From left to right: R. E. Diffendorfer, Lyman H. Pierce, Mrs. Grace G. Farmer, Daniel E. Poling, George M. Fowles, J. Campbell White, S. Earl Taylor, William H. Foulkes, Abram E. Cory, John H. Williams, Tyler Dennett, William E. Doughy)

only a few millions even nominally Christian. Africa's 120 millions are mostly Mohammedan, and for every 33 natives who turn Christian 100 become Mohammedans committed to the extinction by the sword of all who do not cry, "There is no God but Allah, and Mahomet is his prophet."

America is still a cosmic melting pot. There are more Italians in New York City than in Rome, more Jews than in Jerusalem, and of Poles alone three to four millions in our country. The Christian Church has faced its problem of carrying the good news to the countless millions of the world, and the many millions of America, with a divided policy discarded in business, politics and war. How can it succeed in the most important of all interests of human life? Said a cultivated Hindu to me on one of the many journeys far and near: "When the Moslem comes to us we understand his message. It is always one. When the Buddhist calls us to the bo-tree we know where to go. When the Presbyterian preaches he proclaims one message, the Episcopalian another, the Methodist another, the Baptist another. How can we understand? Why don't you all preach the same message? Is there no common Christianity?"

Only now, with the survey of the Interchurch World Movement making headway, are we beginning to understand the feebleness and the futility of the Christian task, divided as we are into more than a hundred folds, not including the "Holy Rollers." And the silly process of division foolishly goes on. In one city "The Church of Christ" was not long ago established. Then some of the flock seceded and "The True Church of Christ" was set up. In a year or two some

"holier than thou" came out of the new body and built up "The Only True Church of Christ." And since I have had no news within a week or two there may be yet another effort to improve on what has gone before.

What is the matter with us after all? A visitor in a certain town which had four churches and adequately supported none, asked a pillar of one poor dying church "How's your church getting on?" "Not very well," was the reply, "but, thank the Lord, the others are not doing any better." In another town, an inquirer tried to find out what the difference was between the two ill-nourished churches and a member earnestly replied that he really did not know, but he knew the difference was very important; while in another town where there were several churches, none able to hold a service every Sunday, to the suggestion of some sort of coöperation that would ensure a resident pastor for all, a zealous member of one church replied, "Not while I have breath in my body." In a village of perhaps a hundred people, where a holy war broke out among the saints, a new church was established. The fight appeared to be a draw between the old church and the new until one meek and lowly Christian surreptitiously carried off the organ blower and the pendulum of advantage swung for awhile across the street. Then after a few years the two whose differences started the church row forgot what it was all about and one church went out of business while the other church resumed but a small measure of its old activity.

It would seem a screaming farce but for the lost opportunity to make America a bet-

ter land in which to live, but for the hopelessness many good men outside the church feel as to the stupidity and poor business sense of the Christian churches which from the everyday point of view have the best "selling" proposition in the world if they would but come together in some kind of coöperation without the sacrifice of those honorable differences of opinion out of which many denominations have developed.

The Interchurch is not a church at all. It is nothing but a medium connecting many churches and societies and endeavoring to promote among them all a spirit of work-together without weakening their strength or impairing their spiritual integrity. Its first purpose is to collect all essential facts and lay them on the table for all Christians to see. Such a world-wide survey as the Interchurch is making has never been attempted hitherto, inside the church or out. The very conception is staggering. To some it seems impossible. But the Interchurch has no interest in the merely possible. That it leaves to others.

Anyone can do the possible. It seeks for what never was found and is finding what it seeks. The mass of facts the surveys bring to light is piling each week higher. They are significant. They are fascinating. They are—in some cases—actually bewildering. No one ever dreamed that they could be. But they are what they are.

Do you know that we have found one village of 88 people with five churches? One mountain county of 5000 people with 135 churches? One State in which there is not a single church in ten counties with a population of 50,000?

Do you know that one county in a certain big State outranks all other counties in the State in the large number of the churches in its borders and also outranks all other counties in the State in its high percentage of illiteracy, illegitimacy and tuberculosis? The

failure of the church, you say. Oh, no! The explanation is that no church in that county has a resident pastor. There is no one to go in and out among the people, to point the way to better things and lead the way himself. It is simply a case of religious "absenteeism."

Do not dare imagine that this is no concern of any but the special churches in-

involved. Churches represent in the aggregate enormous sums of untaxed property, of capital locked up and given special privilege. The people of the United States have a right to demand of all such property that at least it yield a valuable moral return to the State. Else why should it be exempt from all taxation? Meditate on these things recently discovered by our rural survey in a certain Eastern district:

(1) Nine church buildings, but no regular minister in many years.

(2) A Methodist Church, but no service in three years

(3) A Christian Church, without a communion service in six years.

(4) A Presbyterian and a Methodist Church, without organization, congregation, or worship.

(5) In a nearby State a sparsely settled section of 3000 people with thirty-seven churches and half of them boarded up and idle.

(6) In a Western State one town of 4000 people and not a single church, while a town not far away with a population of 1600 has fourteen Protestant churches ranging in membership from 125 down to five.

(7) One Western State has 175 churches of one denomination without a single pastor.

Is it right for the nation or the State to allow so much property which is untaxed, permanently to go unused? What is the logic slowly evolving from the situation? What will the people whose taxation is heavier because of such exemption ultimately say? How long will the right-minded, regardless of denomination, allow such things to be?

Let us take an actual instance.

Do you know that roughly speaking one-



DR. S. EARL TAYLOR
(The directing spirit of the Interchurch
World Movement)

tenth of the adult life of the United States probably lies within a half-hour's ride of Times Square in New York City?

Do you know that within a radius of half a mile of Times Square there is a transient population of 1,500,000 a year and that 1,000,000 people go to theaters and moving-picture shows each week, while by actual count on a recent Sunday evening only 1817 people attended the less than a score of churches in that region?

Do you know that in these days of the high cost of living the average salary of ministers in most of our States is less than \$1000; in 18 States less than \$700 a year, while the milkmen of a certain city average \$1850 a year and skilled operatives in a certain industry are said to receive almost as much in a single month as the average minister in a year?

Do you know, not merely that the annual per capita Protestant contribution to ministerial support has increased in forty years only from \$4.25 to \$5.30, while the per capita wealth of the nation rose from \$870 to \$2404; but that also one minister receiving far less than a living wage had the esti-

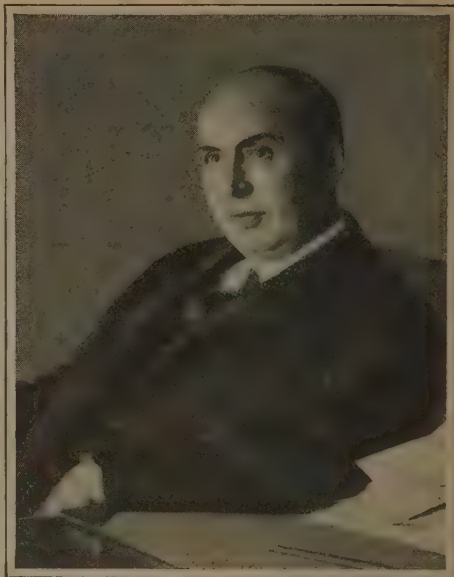
mated value of the donation his good people gave to help him out, deducted by his official board from the cash payment of his salary?

Do you think the Christian Church is dying in the face of such representative facts the Interchurch Survey is unearthing? You would better think again. The church exists to cultivate the spiritual sense of men, and John Leitch remarked the other day that



MR. W. E. DOUGHTY
(Director of the Spiritual
Resources Department)

the spiritual sense is as essential to well-being as the brain and lungs. The church has the best credit at the banks of perhaps any human institution. Men do not go deep into their pocket for a cause they think is failing. What do you think of this? One denomination alone last year raised for its forward program \$168,000,000. Eighteen others are now well along toward a total



DR. A. E. CORY
(Field marshal of the world-wide interchurch
conferences)

budget of \$325,371,593. The Interchurch Movement has planned a budget, covering five years, of \$1,320,214,551, and a group of leading financiers pronounce it not extravagant. During the current year the plan is to raise \$336,777,572.

This clearing-house for churches, called the Interchurch, is in a large sense not unlike the Stock Exchange in the financial world. It is first gathering facts, next aiding churches to achieve their highest end, and finally helping to ingather life and money and dedicate the same to the religious uses of the churches. It would release all the hidden spiritual energies of the whole world.

It exists—as Mr. Rockefeller says—to carry out the will of churches. But it is no lifeless thing. It is as organic as it is colossal. It creates public opinion by laying the world facts of religion, morality and education before the denominations it represents, bids them take off the blinders of the past, and see the task before the churches in its cosmic sweep. Waste and amputation will wither before common knowledge. Constructiveness in missionary work in industrial relations in hospitals, schools, and colleges will take the place of the haphazard. Preachers and teachers are to have in consequence a living wage and old-age pensions.

THE PUBLIC FORUM

BY ALBERT SHAW

PEOPLE of sane minds demand stability and order, and people of fatigued minds seek repose and settled equilibrium. At times the variety and the swift movement of public events, as reflected in the newspaper headlines, minister to a certain love of surprise and excitement. But when the wind seems to blow from all quarters at once, and the dust of the streets fills the eyes and chokes the air passages, most people wish for less stir and realize the advantages of calm weather. We may hope for a little less social confusion and turbulence than that which prevails in 1920; but there will come no dead standstill for the comfort of the weary, and it is better therefore to get used to the quickened pace and to abandon vain regrets for a tranquillity that can never return.

There remains no country in the world that is stable and quiet. Political and economic society is astir everywhere. Democracy of some sort has asserted itself in every land, and the problem of making democracy function in a safe, useful and orderly way is more pressing than the problem of eliminating autocracy had been in any previous period.

In short, the business of training the democracy—even in our relatively well-trained country—is the world's great unsatisfied obligation. And it is a task that will rank first for decades yet to come.

What, then, are the agencies for educating a people and making a democracy best serve the ends of human welfare and of high civilization? Obviously the agencies are numerous, but certainly most conspicuous among them are home, school, church, press, and platform. All these instruments or aspects of American life are of vast importance. For example, it would be impossible to over-estimate the part now played by the press in making every citizen a conscious part of the democratic mass.

Comparisons in such cases are not very valuable; but, for what it is worth, we may quote the opinion of certain eminent authorities who have held that the newspapers are a more vital agency of popular education than all of the schools put together. There

is, of course, no reason for setting the two things in contrast, because the one has a powerful effect upon the other, and they do not compete in the business of training and stimulating the popular intelligence.

The Function of Public Speaking

There is another agency, however, that has played a great part in the historical development of our American democracy, and that must be definitely maintained and further developed for the essential service it has yet to render. This agency is what may best be termed the Platform. The word platform has various meanings, but it has a special one defined in a foremost dictionary as "*figuratively, the function of public speaking, as that of lecturers or political speakers.*" The right of assembly and public discussion, like that of the freedom of the press, is part and parcel of the constitutional life of all English-speaking countries.

The platform as an institution has had its notable history in Great Britain, where it has long been recognized as a leading factor in the mechanism of political life, and of parliamentary and local government. It has often been said that England is governed by discussion; and the two established forms of discussion are the press and the platform, around both of which constitutional guarantees have been created.

In an earlier period, when the press was less developed and the common people did not derive much either of information or of opinion from the printed page, the pulpit as a special development of the platform had superior influence, not only in the sphere of religion and ethics, but also in that of politics and affairs. As an actual force and as a future means of service, it would be a mistake to undervalue the pulpit; although it is evident that its relative potency has declined because of the immense expansion of the press and the growth of the non-ecclesiastical platform.

There is, indeed, a marked tendency toward the revival of pulpit influence through the use of the churches on Sunday evenings and at other times as forums for

the discussion of matters that concern the welfare of the community. The clerical profession comprises a great body of men trained in public speech and devoted to the cause of social progress. One of the great objects of the present Interchurch World Movement is to increase the efficiency of the ministerial profession, and to enhance the usefulness of church property, by uniting the churches as an agency for community service, including the function of platform leadership.

The lecture as a mode of instruction is not declining, and it has gained in influence with the advent of that amazing new agency of instruction, the educational "film." In the field of politics, using the word broadly, the platform has been coexistent with the rise of modern democracy. It played a dominant part in the early period of American independence; and in every successive epoch or new phase of national life the platform orator and debater have been prominent. The issue of slavery was fought out more effectively upon the platform than upon the field of battle.

The temperance cause, culminating in the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, had been first of all a movement developed and sustained by platform effort. In like manner, the cause of woman suffrage, now approaching its final victory, has owed most of its practical success to the newly-discovered talent of women for persuasive and convincing platform speech. Organization, parade, printer's ink, various devices, have also been employed; but the platform has doubtless ranked first among the agencies that have promoted these current movements, which have as their motive the general advancement of society through the sacrifice of individual habit or prejudice.

An Auditorium in Every Community!

We have come to be a nation of town dwellers by a very rapid process of industrial evolution. Relatively speaking, the country districts seem neglected and lonesome. It is the more important, therefore, to sustain in the country districts the custom of assembly and public speech. Every rural neighborhood should have its auditorium associated with a consolidated school. The auditorium should be constantly used for instructive and entertaining lectures or political discussion, for promotion of improved agriculture and neighborhood life, for educational "movies", and for social gatherings promotive of the art of speaking.

But the cities also require places for assemblage. Town dwellers have as much reason to cultivate the habit of public discussion as have the country neighborhoods. The very conditions of life in rural districts constantly emphasize the need of coming together and talking about matters of public concern. In the crowded cities, where there is less recognized sense of need for public assemblies, the problem is even more pressing. The press sows, but the platform harvests.

In almost every State, the sentiment of a single city may turn the scale in an important election. City people indeed have the habit of reading newspapers; but they read rapidly, they are often misled by headlines, and they are apt to have their minds clogged with undigested information. They are the victims of surface impressions. Thus the people in towns and crowded industrial centers, even more than those in country places, need the kind of training in citizenship that the platform can give with special advantage.

It is marvelous how an audience made up of people who have read the papers, only to be confused and without convictions, or else to have gained prejudices without judgment, can be guided toward sound opinions by the frank and wise platform effort of a man or woman who speaks out of an abundance of knowledge and experience.

Labor Leaders as Trained Speakers

One of the most significant aspects of the trade-union movement has been its cultivation and use of the platform. Labor leaders in England and the United States are conspicuous among the people best trained in the art of public speech. A serious mistake hitherto made by the employers of labor and by representatives of an impartial public has been that they have not taken a sufficiently active part in the face-to-face discussion of industrial and social problems with the workers. They have left the field quite too clear, with the result that the wiser labor leaders are disadvantaged by certain men who have chosen to spread a propaganda of class antagonism.

A great change, seemingly, is coming about. Large industries, instead of discouraging their employees from association and assemblage and public discussion, are changing their policies, are providing attractive auditoriums, and are trying to get closer to the feelings and the real interests of the wage earners. Here, then, is a boundless field for the platform, and we are not likely



NEW YORK'S "TOWN MEETING HALL," NOW UNDER CONSTRUCTION

(A community institution designed primarily for public speaking and not for entertainments and concerts. Besides an auditorium seating 1700 persons—offered rent free when no admission is charged—provision is made for a civic organization, a political science library, and many other facilities for promoting by educational methods a finer citizenship and a better social order)

to underestimate the good results that may come from its extensive cultivation.

The Platform in a Political Campaign

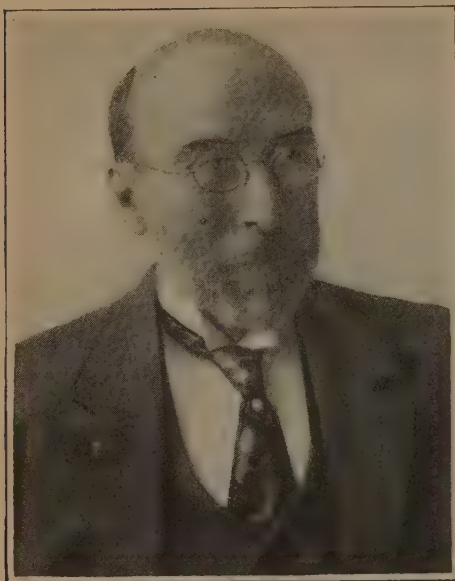
Americans are not wrong in regarding a presidential election as an affair of profound importance and an occasion for universal assemblage and discussion. While the seeking of office as a matter of purely selfish ambition is not to be praised, it is to be remembered that the highest offices demand a kind of training and experience which so fit men to bear public responsibility that those who possess them are likely to find themselves put in the position of being competitors for public honors. It is quite in accord with American tradition and method that the people should expect to see and hear the candidates, whether for the presidency or for some other high elective post. The primary system as adopted in many States has, in the very nature of the case, contributed to the larger

use of the platform as a political instrument.

It is due to such circumstances that General Wood and Governor Lowden, Senator Johnson and other recognized aspirants, have appeared on more platforms than was customary in the pre-convention canvasses of the period before presidential primaries were invented. But, under our American system, besides the candidates, we have a host of men who have been drawn into what we call "public life," and whose business and duty it is to appear on the platform or the stump and expound to audiences of citizens their views and convictions regarding current issues.

A "Town Hall" for New York

In a given city, it is possible to establish centers of instruction and influence through the power of public speech that may play a large part in the history of the community's advancement and well-being. Cooper Union



MR. ROBERT ERSKINE ELY

(Director of the League for Political Education, executive secretary of the Economic Club of New York, and director of the Civic Forum)

has made for itself such a record in New York. Single addresses, like Lincoln's Cooper Union speech, stand out boldly; but there have literally been thousands of speeches in Cooper Union that have served to form public opinion and shape the trend of municipal, economic, and political movements. Besides the occasional use of that famous hall, there is the constant educational use of it under the wise guidance of the People's Institute.

Carnegie Hall, built primarily for large musical gatherings, has also for many years past been a center of public discussion. Famous men on critical occasions have helped to shape events through utterances made in Carnegie Hall. The Madison Square Garden is much larger, and not many voices can carry to the thousands who are assembled there on special occasions. Nevertheless, some stupendous mass meetings have been held in that great room, with results that have swayed the community.

New York is now to have a new forum for the constant discussion of public affairs, which is likely to be known as the Town Hall. It is under construction in Forty-third Street in the region of hotels, theaters, and clubs, about midway between Times Square and the Grand Central Station. For many years the women of New York and vicinity have maintained a society known as

the League for Political Education. It has finished its first quarter-century. Its object is stated so felicitously that its own words should be quoted rather than paraphrased:

The League aims to promote good citizenship, social justice and general intelligence through the education and expression of public opinion mainly by means of lectures and addresses. Public questions are discussed with due regard to the different points of view. The League is non-partisan and non-sectarian.

Several thousand women belong to this society, and they have in these past years had the benefit of lectures and discussions, not merely occasional and haphazard in nature, but well planned for producing educational results.

An Efficient and Valuable Director

For many years the work of the League has been directed by Mr. Robert Erskine Ely, who has made himself one of the foremost educational and social leaders of the great metropolis. Mr. Ely's fitness for work of this kind had been demonstrated through a period of years in Boston and Cambridge before he was induced to go to New York. Meanwhile Mr. Ely has had the credit of founding and leading another organization in New York that has had a career of unflagging success, namely, the Economic Club. This is a body of business and professional men who meet about half a dozen times every season in a large hotel ballroom, where an early dinner is followed by a serious discussion of some problem of moment to the nation. As the name of the club implies, the topics presented are more generally related to the politico-economic structure of society in some phase or aspect. The average attendance at these dinners well exceeds a thousand men.

The officers and committees of the Economic Club are influential citizens who seek to provide solid and serious discussion rather than entertainment. The club sometimes brings public men for their first introduction to a New York audience. Thus the good relationships of Mr. Carter Glass with the banking world during his recent experience as Secretary of the Treasury were in no small part due to a speech made by him several years ago, when the Federal Reserve bill was pending, and when he was Chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency. The Economic Club, with its large membership of bankers and financiers, favored the plan of a central bank

rather than that of the present Federal Reserve system. Quite apart from his arguments, Mr. Glass won the personal confidence and good will of the body of New York business men by the ability, the sincerity, and the patriotism of his speech in reply to the critics of the bill who had preceded him.

This is merely an illustration of the way in which a public forum of this kind, whether in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, or elsewhere, may serve the country by establishing personal relations between men who are in positions of authority and bodies of citizens whose sentiments ought if possible to be brought into accord with lines of political or business policy.

Mr. Ely's directorship of the women's League for Political Education and the men's Economic Club has been so efficient and valuable that he has found hearty support in the plans that have taken form, under his eye, for a building that shall furnish a home for these two societies while also serving other useful ends and objects. A working civic library is to be one of the adjuncts of the new establishment; and the auditorium, which is not to be too large but which is to seat comfortably something less than two thousand people, is to be made available for all legitimate uses of platform discussion that are consistent with the main objects of men and women who seek the best welfare of the people of New York.

Not only is the function of the platform a valuable element in our national and local ordering of public affairs, but it is destined to meet in a helpful way some of the new demands of a better international understanding. National isolation is futile hence,

forth, no matter how much it might be proclaimed. Art, music, literature, social justice, commerce, medicine, and sanitation—these are all considerations that do not bother much about political boundaries. The Civic Forum, also under Mr. Ely's direction, frequently brings to New York for a single address some European leader of distinction; and many of the lecturers before the League for Political Education have been notable personages in the British or European world of literature and science. It is possible to show full devotion to one's own country without fomenting disagreeable and false prejudice against the institutions or the people of other countries with whom we ought to be in friendly relationships.

The desire everywhere to create war memorials has now expressed itself in a great number of cities, towns, and villages in the form of plans for the erection of community buildings, which will contain auditoriums for public discussion together with other facilities for community service. Memorial structures of a notable architectural character are projected for Washington, D. C., Seattle, and other cities; and New York has an ambitious project that may be realized at some future time. Most significant, however, are the hundreds of community buildings that are now planned or actually in process of erection in smaller places throughout the land. The work of our great platform speakers of an earlier day, like Beecher and Phillips and Horace Mann—a work further developed by Bishop Vincent's Chautauqua movement—is destined to be carried on more extensively than ever before, as a vital factor in the training of Americans for intelligent self-government.



VICTORY HALL—A WAR MEMORIAL BUILDING PLANNED FOR THE PEOPLE OF NEW YORK



PALAIS DES ACADÉMIES AT BRUSSELS, PLACE OF MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL UNION

AN INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF SCHOLARS

BY J. FRANKLIN JAMESON

(Director of the Department of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution)

STATESMEN and politicians will settle as they please, temporarily at any rate, the relations which shall subsist between nationalism and internationalism in the field of politics, but in the field of science and learning no one can define their mutual relations but scientists and scholars. Some scientific fields and problems are from their nature national. The leading part in studying the geology, natural history, linguistics, literature, and history of each country will, as a matter of course, be taken by the scientists and scholars of that country. But there are other tasks of learning and science that belong to the workers of all countries alike, that lend themselves readily to international coöperation, or that are international from their very nature.

Thus, all good work in international law must be pursued, partly at least, by international organization. No effective weather service, especially in a region of small countries, like Europe, can be obtained by means confined within the borders of one nation. The problems of oceanography, of terrestrial magnetism, of the study of earthquakes, call imperatively for the coöperation of scientific men of every land. No study of the Roman Empire based on the inscriptions found in a single country, or of medieval church history or modern diplomatic history based on one nation's records, or of the development

of any art founded on one nation's buildings or sculptures or music, could have any value. And even where international coöperation is not from the nature of the case indispensable there are few subjects the treatment of which will not be bettered by bringing into coöperation the learned men of various nations. So it is that, as we are accustomed to say, science and learning know no natural boundaries. Scholars and scientists of different countries constantly coöperate through private correspondence, often through exchange of published results, sometimes through discussion of common problems in international congresses. And some problems are so important or so pressing as to demand for their investigation a definite and permanent organization, through which the learning or scientific skill of many lands can be brought to bear.

The Great War furnished many examples of scientific problems so pressing as to call for the aid of every nation in solving them and solving them quickly, and so important to the very life of each nation and to the common cause that no one could think any course rational but to labor jointly, to regard the results as common property, and to make them available as speedily as possible to all the Allies. Therefore, the several national-research councils joined in forming an International Research Council. But a pro-

cedure that makes for increased efficiency in time of war is too good an acquisition to be dropped when peace comes, and now the International Research Council has been made a permanent organization, in which the scientific academies or national-research councils of the Allies and the neutral nations are alike represented by delegates, and which, by semi-annual meetings and by international committees working all the year around, will address itself to those numerous scientific problems and undertakings that can better be advanced by combined international endeavor than by the efforts of any single academy or country working alone.

But what is true of so many scientific tasks is not less true of many problems and undertakings in the field of those studies we call the humanities—history, political economy, political and social science, philosophy, archeology, and the whole range of philology. Never did war or other crisis show more clearly than this recent war has done the need of deeper knowledge of human studies, and the importance of pursuing them in a broad and cosmopolitan spirit. It was natural, therefore, that the two academies in Paris that represent such studies, the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres and the Academy of the Moral and Political Sciences, proposed to the other humanistic academies of Europe, or to the humanistic sections of the general academies, a similar union of forces, and the formation of an international organization which should secure, to these studies also, the benefits of coöperation and mutual consultation. There was immediate response, and in May, 1919, the International Union of Academies (Union Académique Internationale, "UAI") was formed.

The first meeting was held in Paris, but the regular place of meeting of this international council of scholars, as well as of the International Research Council, is to be Brussels. So, if the Belgian capital could not have its wish in being made the capital of the League of Nations, it will at least be an international capital of savants. Both of the organizations named, the International Research Council and the "UAI," will have their quarters in the stately building, formerly belonging to the Prince of Orange, which figures at the head of this article, the Palais des Académies, a building of which the principal tenant is the Royal Academy of Belgium.

A second meeting of the International

Union of Academies was held at Brussels last October, and a third is to be held in May. Already the Union is a "going concern," with representation (two delegates apiece) from the chief humanistic academies (or humanistic sections of the general academies) of France, Great Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Italy, Greece, Poland, Russia, and Japan, and with Spain, Rumania, Portugal, Poland, Finland, and Czechoslovakia soon to join. A distinguished French scholar is the president; the secretaryship falls naturally to Belgium.

But the United States has no such academy representing comprehensively in the field of learning what the National Academy of Science so abundantly represents in the field of American scientific knowledge; and yet everyone would wish that America should have her part, and do her part, in any international organization for the advancement of knowledge. But the purposes which in a European nation are subserved by a learned academy are in this country met by a set of separate national societies, each one of which cares for one of the studies embraced in the humanistic group. Accordingly, upon the initiative of the then secretary of the American Historical Association, Mr. Waldo G. Leland, representatives of these societies of specialists met at Boston last September and framed a constitution for a loose federation, having as its central organ a body to be called the American Council of Learned Societies Devoted to Humanistic Studies, or, for short, the American Council of Learned Societies. This body will select and instruct America's two delegates to the meetings of the Union Académique Internationale, and will in other ways look out for the interests and the participation of the United States in all international enterprises in history or archeology or philology or the like.

Eleven of our national societies of specialists have now entered this combination and are represented (by two members each) in the American Council of Learned Societies, which has its headquarters under the hospitable roof of the American Institute for International Education, near Columbia University.

The good services to historical or archeological or philological science which may be performed by an International Union of Academies, or which America may help forward through the American Council of Learned Societies, are too numerous to be here described.

CANADA'S PARLIAMENTARY PROBLEMS IN 1920

BY SIR PATRICK THOMAS McGRATH

(Member of the Legislative Council of Newfoundland)

CANADA'S governmental activities this spring—and perhaps for a longer period—are being conducted under conditions somewhat analogous to those under which the business of the United States was carried on during the period of President Wilson's disability. The Canadian Premier, Sir Robert Borden, has been ill for several months—not physically incapacitated, like President Wilson, but so worn out from his war-time activities and the discords of Dominion politics that his physicians have forbidden his resumption of duty for an indefinite period. No "Lansing resignation" incident is expected, however, in Canada, because the British constitutional system provides for an Acting Premier who, while so functioning, enjoys all the prerogatives of his chief, and this post is now filled by Sir George Foster, the senior member of the Cabinet and the Minister of Trade and Commerce therein.

When Premier Borden's physicians enjoined indefinite rest for him, he tendered resignation of his political leadership. But in the present chaotic condition of Canadian politics his followers were unable, or unwilling, to choose a successor; and the compromise was adopted of his taking prolonged leave of absence and the Ministry "carrying on" meanwhile under a "Deputy," eschewing large constructive or controversial measures as far as possible during his absence.

The Coalition Government Unpopular

The reason is that his present government is a Coalition one, composed of Conservatives—his original party—and "win-the-war" Liberals, who, in the critical period of the late conflict, joined him to enact and enforce conscription when the "Laurier" Liberals resisted that policy. In the resulting election the country split almost altogether on racial lines, the English-speaking provinces supporting Borden and Quebec standing by Laurier. But now, the war being over, the centripetal impulse which its necessities ap-

plied has been replaced by the centrifugal impulses of domestic politics.

The after-war unrest which is discrediting governments elsewhere is rife in Canada also. Liberals within and without the Administration who backed it at the polls are chafing under the harness to-day, and while the Union Government's name was one to conjure with in its early existence there are now few so poor as to do it reverence, although as it may continue for three years without appealing to the country again, it might easily retrieve itself meanwhile. Still its prestige just now is so low that Cabinet vacancies cannot be filled because those whose acceptance of portfolios would involve their running in by-elections, following the British practice, realize that their defeat would almost inevitably ensue, not perhaps so much from the Liberals as at the hands of the "United Farmers," the newest political force in the Dominion, who have already captured the control of Ontario Province and whose growing political strength is causing the most serious concern to the stalwarts of the two old-line political organizations.

Rise of the "Farmers"

Under these conditions the annual session of the Federal Parliament for 1920 opened at Ottawa at the end of February with Sir George Foster as temporary leader of the government, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King heading the opposition, having been chosen for that post by a convention of the Liberal party shortly before; and the "cross benches" being occupied by a third party, numerically small, but potentially menacing, partly "Farmers" and partly "withdrawees" from the regular parties. This latter group is led by Hon. Thomas Crerar, president of the Grain Growers' Association of Western Canada, a powerful industrial force in that region for years, an equally formidable political factor from recent developments, and admittedly the creation of Mr. Crerar him-

self. He had been Minister of Agriculture in the Borden Cabinet from the formation of the Union Government till toward the end of last year, when he resigned on the ground that its fiscal policy was not sufficiently favorable to the agricultural interests of the country and ought to be modified, and it seems agreed that he will head the Farmers' cohorts at the next election, becoming Premier if they succeed, as in Ontario.

Demand for a New Party

The Speech from the Throne of the Governor-General (corresponding to the President's message at the opening of Congress, but differing in that it foreshadows the actual legislation which the government will introduce instead of embodying mere recommendations) did not outline any very important enactments, conformably with the understanding that only routine measures would be undertaken during Premier Borden's absence, and doubtless also because of the universal uncertainty as to what the future may bring forth.

The Liberals, as a tactical move, called for an appeal to the country on the ground that the results of various by-elections had shown that the government no longer possessed the confidence of the people; and while the resolution was defeated by a strict party vote, it elicited widespread suggestions from the press and from leading men unconnected with politics, for the formation of a new political party composed of the best elements in the existing ones, with an infusion of industrial and commercial elements, the plea being that Canada's post-war conditions were so radically different from her prewar status that the old-time political units were incapable of properly coping with them.

A New Franchise Law

What will come of this, if anything, none can tell, but meanwhile Parliament is proceeding with its work. Its chief measure is a new franchise law, one dictated partly by post-war conditions. For the last or "win-the-war" election a special enactment was put through, repealing all previous franchise statutes and providing drastic measures for wartime elections, such as the disfranchising of all naturalized citizens of enemy origin, on the one side, and the enfranchising of the female relatives of Canadian fighting men, on the other. This measure was justified by its advocates as necessary to ensure beyond all doubt Canada's adhesion to the

principle of conscription and the unflagging prosecution of the war; while it was denounced by its opponents as a case of "loading the dice" against them. No legislative measure enacted in Canada for many years provoked such unsparing criticism and the government repealed it last session and promised a new one this year.

This measure, as this is written, has not been worked out in detail, because of the government having undertaken to accept suggestions from all quarters for its improvement, but, broadly, it will provide for manhood suffrage, for modified woman suffrage, and for a voting qualification of twelve months' residence in the Dominion and two months' in the constituency. As originally drafted it prohibited naturalization and consequent voting rights for ten years to Germans, Austrians, Bulgarians or Turks, but a substantial volume of public opinion in Canada favors wiping the slate clean, burying the animosities of the past, and harmonizing all elements now in the country or likely to enter it later, for the common good. Which side will prevail it is too early to say, but probably some middle course will be taken, because census figures show that before the war there were roundly half a million residents of Canada of "enemy" birth or extraction.

Railroad Purchase

Another constructive measure of this session is one providing the requisite machinery for making effective the acquisition of the Grand Trunk and other railway lines. The shareholders of the G. T. R. in England, where most of the stock is held, recently ratified the agreement for this transfer after a rather stormy meeting, in which the Canadian government was roundly charged with applying "highwayman" methods to the settlement of this difficulty. Enactments resulting from this comprehensive railroading experiment by Canada may have to cover many phases of the subject, but are unlikely to prove very contentious, being only the inevitable consequences of a principle and policy already adopted.

Canada's Representation at Washington

Two further steps in Canada's evolution from the status of a colony to that of something approaching a nation are planned—the first being through the devising of some method whereby she may enjoy special representation at Washington apart from the

British Embassy, and the second through a similar process whereby she herself can amend her constitution instead of appealing to the British Parliament for such power from time to time as necessary.

Diplomatic and international usage requires that all negotiations between sovereign states must be through their accredited agents, and hence, in the past, when questions affecting Canada and America have arisen, the difficulty has been overcome by having the British Ambassador at Washington or a distinguished statesman from the motherland head a delegation otherwise composed of Canadians, and the fruits of their labors being validated by the Imperial Cabinet's approval. But of late years Canada has been claiming a better status than this. During the war she maintained a Trade Mission at Washington, which, while working through the British Embassy, was virtually independent, and now the project, to which the Imperial authorities are understood to raise no objection, is that in all matters purely Canadian, such as boundaries, waterways, tariffs, fisheries and similar questions, Canada's representatives will deal directly with the United States Government, but that where the issues are such as involve the larger imperial problems or affect other parts of the Empire the negotiations shall be conducted through the British Ambassador as heretofore.

Premier Borden and other Canadian leaders take a strong stand on this point as vitally important to Canada's future status, just as they did respecting Canada's right, first, to participate in negotiating the Peace Treaty; second, to sign it; third, to ratify it through the Ottawa Parliament, and, fourth, to enjoy representation in the League of Nations on an equality with, at least, the Central and South American Republics which in no way participated in the late war.

Amending Canada's Constitution

An imperial statute, officially known as "The British North America Act," passed at London in 1867 to enable the distinct and separate British Colonies now comprising "The Dominion of Canada" to form this Federation, is Canada's Charter or Constitution. As things now stand, this measure can only be amended by the same authority which created it, the Imperial Parliament. The procedure in cases when an amendment becomes necessary is for the two Houses at Ottawa to pass a concurrent resolution pray-

ing the Imperial Parliament to amend the "B. N. A. Act" as desired; and an enactment along these lines is then passed at London and becomes law on receiving the Sovereign's assent.

It is now advocated that in future the Canadian Parliament shall have power to make such changes itself with the consent of the several Provinces; but objection to the proposal is being manifested by elements in Quebec which profess to see in this scheme a device to deprive that province of the guarantee as to language and religion written into the compact whereby French Canada passed to the British Crown more than 150 years ago. While Quebec remains hostile this plan must fail, for the Imperial Parliament will never alter the present procedure lacking her acquiescence.

Naval Defense

A new naval measure is also projected, but its details are not yet worked out. Late in March the Hon. Charles Ballantyne, Canadian Minister of Marine (who also directs naval affairs), ordered the "scrapping" of the existing Canadian naval flotilla, consisting of two declasséd British cruisers, one at Halifax for the Atlantic and one at Esquimaux for the Pacific, with various auxiliaries, yachts, trawlers, etc., procured during the war for coast defense. He explained that he did this to "clear the decks" for a new policy. Admiral Jellicoe had just completed a tour of the overseas Empire (except South Africa) to work out with the governments of Australia, New Zealand, and Canada plans for naval defense. His report suggested four alternatives for Canada, ranging in annual cost of upkeep from \$5,000,000 a year for a coast-defense, or purely local force, to one of \$25,000,000 for a naval arm proportioned to Britain's.

The presentation of this report to the Canadian Parliament provoked much bitter criticism, chiefly in the direction that the war being over and Germany powerless for evil, a Canadian navy was a waste of money; but a compromise is likely. The Imperial Government has offered Canada a free gift of effective British warcraft costing originally \$16,000,000, and Canada proposes to operate them, which will cost her \$2,500,000 a year, while as others are required in the future she will build them in her own shipyards and man them from the mercantile marine which she is now working in conjunction with her railways.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

IS AN ANGLO-AMERICAN FEDERATION POSSIBLE?

IN his article, entitled "An Anglo-American Entente," in the current number of the *Yale Review*, Professor George McLean Harper, of Princeton, argues for some form of union between the United States and the British Empire. He admits that there is no federal system now in existence which may serve as a precedent. He does not go so far as to claim that any form of combination with Great Britain as close as our own Federal Union would be practicable. The United States is not a mere confederation of sovereign States, but an indivisible nation, whose members are the different States, and "whose life, which is also their life, is organic."

As to the relation between the United Kingdom and the self-governing Dominions, Professor Harper admits that in so far as it consists in loyalty to the Crown it would be absurd to expect such a feeling to exist among Americans, while, on the other hand, the relation is too loose, because many obligations are taken for granted by the several parties to the British system, for which definite sanctions would have to be provided.

Yet in spite of the failure of example, Professor Harper is confident that England and America can find a way to unite if the will to do so is present. As a sphere of common interests and joint action, which would have to be delimited by mutual agreement, he suggests free trade within the system and an alliance, military, naval, and diplomatic, with which to face the rest of the world. Probably also there would have to be an agreement on certain principles of action, with reference to industrial problems, so that the conditions and rewards of labor should be as nearly as possible equal throughout the system. Another desirable feature would be a common monetary system. If a joint commission were empowered to deal with mat-

ters lying within the sphere of specified common interests, the sovereignty of neither party to the union would be impaired, nor would the autonomy of either be altered. This commission might meet alternately in Great Britain and America.

In such a federation, which in Professor Harper's view might in process of time become converted into a real federal state, it would be reasonable to expect the United States to become the predominant partner in the field of industry and commerce, although in all probability Great Britain would remain the intellectual center of the system.

Professor Harper enforces his plea for Anglo-American federation as a program of practical statesmanship by directing attention to one of the contingencies in European politics and economics resulting from the war. Assuming that the Bolsheviks will fail to reunite Russia, there will be a line of small and feeble nations adjoining the frontiers of eastern Germany from Switzerland to the Gulf of Finland. These countries, says Professor Harper, will form a field for German political and commercial penetration, and in a few years there may be developed a union of Central Europe which in area at least will be greater than the old combination between Germany and Austria. If a successful economic system could be maintained in connection with this union, it might quickly become powerful, and spread through Russia and Siberia to the Pacific and through the Balkans and possibly Italy to the Mediterranean. In that event, says Professor Harper, an Anglo-American union would become a necessity if we would maintain our political ideals and economic standards.

For a clear statement of the new position of Britain's self-governing Dominions, our readers are referred to the article by the Hon. N. W. Rowell, summarized on page 537.

THE ARMENIAN PATRIARCH ON THE FUTURE OF HIS COUNTRY

AN interview with the Armenian Patriarch, who is responsible for the spiritual welfare of all the Armenians in Turkey, appears in the current (April) number of the *Asiatic Review* (London).

Regarding the foreign relations of the Armenian state, the Patriarch seemed to take an optimistic view. He said that his people respected the desire of the Kurds for independence and hoped to reestablish with them the neighborly relationships of former times. He thought the Kurds had recently been subjected to "baneful external influences," from which they will now be freed. The Armenians are on the best of terms with the Persians and the Georgians.

As to the internal problems of the new state, the Patriarch said:

There will be no land question—that is one thing! The land is owned by the peasants, who are on excellent terms with the dwellers in the towns. There is no Bolshevism. Every village has its primary schools, and secondary education will be immediately taken in hand. Then the Republic of Erivan is organizing a university.

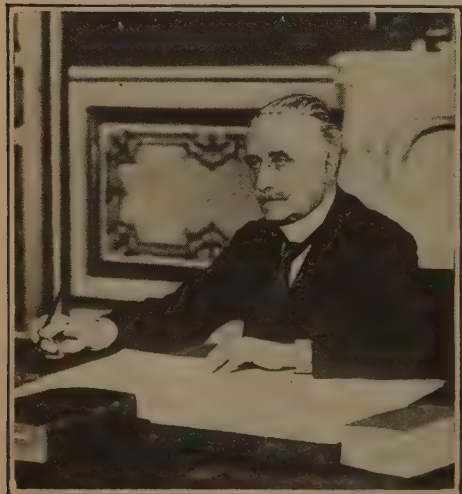
Besides there are mines—and here I should like you to say that European financial interests will be much more effectively safeguarded in an Armenian state than under the old régime. Can they not see that the civilized Armenian will have far more requirements under a settled government, and that concessions granted to Europeans will thereby become much more valuable.

This is the Patriarch's estimate of the present Armenian population:

Armenian Provinces.....	100,000
Cilicia	200,000
Constantinople	150,000
Smyrna	100,000
	550,000
Caucasus	300,000
Syria	100,000
Persia	20,000
Erivan	2,000,000
	2,420,000

Looking to the immediate future, the Patriarch voiced the prayer of his people for aid from more favored nations.

THE NEW PRESIDENT OF FRANCE



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PRESIDENT DESCHANEL AT HIS DESK

(The President of France is termed by M. Lauzanne "the prisoner of the Republic." His position is wholly different from that of the President of the United States)

SOME of the reasons why M. Paul Deschanel, in the balloting of the French Chamber, received the largest number of votes that a President of the Republic ever obtained are set forth by M. Stéphane Lauzanne, editor-in-chief of *Le Matin*, in the *North American Review* for April. Among M. Lauzanne's reasons for believing that the new President will render France useful service are the following:

His political life has been unified, upright, and successful. It depends entirely on two positions—the highest in the state—which he has occupied with equal ability and equal brilliancy: the presidency of the Commission of Foreign Affairs of the Chamber, and the presidency of the Chamber itself.

As president of the Commission of Foreign Affairs, he has always supported with unparalleled eloquence and warmth the traditional policy of France: *entente cordiale* with England, confident union with Italy, and enthusiastic affection for America. As for the Central Empires, he had his own doctrine: to detach Austria from the German alliance, to make the greatest efforts to keep the friendship of the Hapsburg empire in

order to balance it against that of the Hohenzollerns. He was among those who, in 1916, were of the opinion that the efforts of Prince Sixte de Bourbon merited encouragement. He was not among those who, in 1918, applauded when Austria-Hungary was broken up into a series of fragmentary states, all more or less opposed to each other, and threatening to fall bit by bit under the German hegemony, if ever that hegemony regain its brilliance and offer some advantage.

President of the Chamber of Deputies for more than twelve years, from his chair he has seen all the successive governments, all the political parties which have formed and which have disintegrated, all the laws which have been voted. What an accumulation of knowledge and experience for a man who becomes the first magis-

trate of state! Above all, he has shown three qualities: coolness, impartiality, and eloquence. And it happens that these three qualities are the most important—and the sole—required to be President of the Republic.

M. Lauzanne makes it clear that France has no fear of a strong and dictatorial President, because "the Parliament is there to reestablish the equilibrium of the balance and to enforce the will of the nation. What she asks of a President of the Republic, who is a prisoner of the Constitution for seven years, is that he be a well-informed adviser, a just arbiter, and the eloquent and respected representative of France."

THE DESPERATE STATE OF THE EUROPEAN EXCHANGES

AN editorial article in *The Round Table* (March), summarized by the London *Review of Reviews*, deals with the financial chaos that has made trade practically impossible throughout the greater part of Europe. The writer insists that it is imperative to secure some stability of currency conditions in all the disorganized countries. On the other hand he regards it as doubtful whether the time has yet come when any joint international scheme, which will almost certainly be necessary later on, can be undertaken.

A stable currency seems impossible for any country whose foreign trade still shows an enormous adverse balance, and whose budget makes no pretense of balancing its receipts and expenditure. To be able to maintain a sound currency a country must pay its way in the world. Therefore, from the point of view of currency, as of everything else, the productive process must first be set going again. Just as serious currency depreciation diminishes production, both industrial and agricultural, so a restoration or an increase of production is the only foundation for a return to sound currency, as indeed it is the foundation of taxation. We must deal first with the basic problem of restoring the cycle of production and exchange, though hand in hand should, of course, go an insistence on proper taxation, on the imperative necessity of the various governments balancing their budgets, and on some control over the too free creation of credit.

All the Central European countries are faced with apparently insuperable difficulties in the way of reconstruction. Even if they could resume their export trade, many of them have lost their foreign markets, and their over-seas trade has gone. Political

difficulties, and the hardening of racial differences which have been made the basis of political frontiers, have enormously increased the problem of rebuilding international trade. Capitalism, which would seem to be the only economic machinery capable of achieving a rapid reconstruction, is itself challenged by Labor in every country.

Great as have been abuses of the capitalistic system, it is doubtful whether any other system can free itself from the soulless and monotonous character of modern industrial life, which is at the bottom of nearly all the unrest, and more doubtful still whether it can produce wealth at the same rate. It is ominous, therefore, that at a time when greater saving and greater production are essential to our recuperation, the great mass of workers in all European countries, resenting bitterly the profiteering which inevitably arises from existing conditions, should be dimly contemplating the overthrow of our whole economic structure. So far are they from realizing that their very life depends on working it at full blast that they believe there exists even now in the world great stores of ready-made wealth which they ought to and can secure if they are only insistent enough and if they can utilize the machinery of the state to extract it from its present owners. In consequence, all over Europe, at a moment when government expenditure should be reduced to a minimum, clamorous demands for the extension in every sphere of government activities are pressed forward. Government expenditure thus bounds up, and, since the limits of taxation and loans are reached, further currency depreciation and a further approach towards the abyss are the result.

The situation in France and Italy is not yet so desperate as in Central Europe, but their future is extremely dark. It is quite impossible for them to continue importing

on the scale they are doing now. It is not generally recognized that a year ago these countries were able to obtain much more credit than they can to-day.

In the last year both London and New York have advanced them very considerable sums through ordinary banking and private channels. The most recent National City Bank circular states that "the present volume of trade can be accounted for only upon the theory that individual credits have been granted upon a larger scale than is generally known," and that "there is much evidence to confirm the opinion." But this cannot continue indefinitely. Most of these credits cannot be paid off, except by renewals of some sort or by raising long loans in foreign countries, the public response to which is doubtful. It will be difficult in these circumstances to secure fresh credits.

There would seem to be no alternative between an enormous, perhaps an impossible, decrease in imports from overseas or a collapse of the exchanges. The statistics published by the Supreme Economic Council show that between January and October, 1919, French imports exceeded exports by £538,000,000, and Italian imports exceeded exports by £390,000,000. A collapse of the French and Italian, as well as of the German exchange, would, of course, very seriously affect all the smaller nations of Europe as well as ourselves. British exchange is being depressed now because of European nations meeting their obligations in the United States through London, and as long as these nations have any sterling they can so use, it must continue to be depressed.

What ought to be done? The writer believes that the simple remedy of raising an immense loan in America to provide credit for Europe would be like curing a drunkard by giving him more to drink. We may kill him at once if we cut off his drink altogether, but if we go on giving him as much as he wants, he will certainly die fairly soon anyway.

It is not by easy credit-taking that the European nations can establish their equilibrium, but by the very opposite—namely, by the most painful efforts at readjustment, by diminishing their consumption of imports to the very lowest point, by buying from countries who can afford to sell to them, by getting their imports from fellow-sufferers in distress, food from Russia and Rumania, manufactures from Germany, and so on, and by taking advantage of the depreciated exchanges to increase their exports, so far as they can, outside Europe. It is essential that the real economic burden should weigh heavily on each individual. It is only by his efforts and sacrifices that the evils we are all suffering from can be remedied. An easy supply of commodities on

credit, especially if coupled with increased purchasing power from increased credit and currency, will merely confirm his optimism and his extravagance and make the evil day more evil when at last it comes.

A New York Banker's Opinions

IN the *North American Review*, Mr. Stuyvesant Fish, the well-known banker, declares that the only trouble with the exchange situation abroad is that the fall represents a premium that has to be paid in countries afflicted with over-issues of irredeemable fiat money, when they seek with such money to buy gold. Mr. Fish does not, however, favor the putting of any restriction upon the export of gold from the United States for commercial purposes, nor is he opposed to our merchants, bankers, financiers, and capitalists making loans or investments abroad, but he insists that payment must be exacted in American gold dollars and at rates of interest enough higher than those here prevailing to justify the investment of money outside of the jurisdiction of our Government.

He would encourage the making of such loans and investments by individuals. He believes that America should now begin to act as the banker of the world, but must do so prudently, in full appreciation of her responsibility to herself and to other nations.

Mr. Fish outlines three possible ways by which the various countries may extricate themselves from their present dilemma:

First: To resume specie payments, as Great Britain did in 1821 after more than twenty years of suspension, and as the United States did on January 1, 1879, after seventeen years of like experience.

Second: To flounder along for indefinite years with a depreciated currency, constantly varying in value in respect to gold, as Spain, Austria, and Russia have done.

Third: To repudiate the paper currency, as was done by the United States during our Revolutionary War in 1780.

Where paper money has fallen to a very great discount (our Continental money became worth only two cents on the dollar, before it was absolutely discarded) the best outcome probably will be to let the stuff become valuable and interesting solely as a memento of past bad times, as soon as possible. After all, this would involve merely an internal tax, and one of no very great amount, on any one individual holder, and would fall upon all in proportion to their holdings. Let us hope that the gold-paying countries of the world, among which the United States must take the lead, will work out some solution, by carefully husbanding their resources of gold and of credit based thereon, and intelligently, profitably, and liberally using them for the common good of the whole world.

THE GERMAN REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION

THE comments of the German press on the failure of the Kapp revolution indicate that the more liberal sections of public opinion were inclined to accept the result as the final overthrow of the militaristic party. Cautious writers, however, suggest that the whole series of recent events is part of an evolutionary process.

In the *Frankfurter Zeitung* regret is expressed that even after the ignominious breakdown of the military *coup* at Berlin many people have not yet learned the obvious lesson that it teaches, namely, that a policy of force is disastrous in every case.

There could have been no compromise with high treason, for although a nation might live under a conservative government, yet a government which owes its continual existence to a compromise with traitors would be so rotten that it could not endure any length of time. The Berlin crime has again called up Spartacism, a consequence which might have been expected. It can only be allayed by severe justice towards the reactionary parties of the Right. Only by this means can the suspicions of the proletariat be set at rest. Nor do they deserve consideration, for they have again plunged the nation into fearful misery. A thorough investigation is necessary. At present only those men are known who stood in the forefront, like Colonel Bauer, who has so often been the evil spirit of the German people. . . . But we must know who stood behind them, and who financed this movement.

But democracy also should learn a lesson from the *coup*. A complete reorganization of the Reichswehr is indispensable. That young, misguided officers should have been able to undo the work of anxious months, and rob the new army of the confidence of the people, is tragic. We must not allow that officers of Republican opinions should be morally ill-treated and forced out of the regiments. The unfortunate gamble of Berlin has shown how little patriotism and sense of responsibility exists in reactionary quarters. We must also take care that the civil service contains reliable men. In Silesia reaction is rampant. It is even asserted that a "White terror" prevails to a certain extent. But it would be unjust to put the whole blame on the officer caste. In many instances officers are without any political bias, but they have been trained in a Conservative spirit, and they need to be taught that the German nation can only be saved if the state is kept free from upheavals.

But let us be honest. The guilt of the traitors is great, but a large section of the German bourgeoisie is equally guilty. Their objection to high taxation, their discontent with the economic situation, have tended to an orientation towards the Right. . . . The democratic government was held responsible for all the consequences of

the war. Intrigues, abuse, ill-natured gossip were employed systematically to undermine the authority of the Government. That this Government was able to show a record of enormous work and had succeeded in creating order after months of anarchy, was in no way recognized. There was a childish idea that some other Government might conjure up a state of things as it was before the war. Instead of resentment against the old régime, there was a growing bitterness against the new state. It made these "strong men of the Right" imagine that their hour had come. They were deceived.

The same journal remarks that the victory of German democracy cannot fail to make a great impression abroad. The German people have indeed proved by their effective resistance to the militarists how seriously they take the cause of democracy.

Provided that there is a sense of justice in the world the energetic overthrow of Kapp and Lüttwitz should eventually be to the advantage of German prestige abroad. But has the world become just?

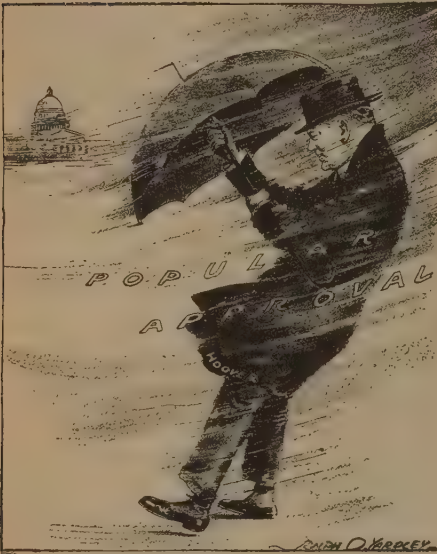
The Chauvinist quarters of France at once tried to take advantage, and called out that the hour for splitting up Germany had arrived, and with it that for the permanent annexation of the left bank of the Rhine. They deceived themselves completely. The German people desires to remain one. It has fought for its preservation . . . and is determined to put its house in order. . . . We shall bring this affair to a worthy conclusion, and take care that in future democracy will be safe in Germany.

Some part of the guilt falls on the Entente states, because the treatment they meted out to the country which they had conquered was calculated to discredit the democratic government and undermine its prestige with the nation. The maltreatment of Germany by the victorious powers simply encouraged the reactionaries.

It is the opinion of the *Berliner Tagessblatt* (March 26) that the military revolt ought to have cleansed the air like a thunder-storm.

But, unfortunately, it has not had that effect. The whole affair ought to have shown the Government the need for a complete reform of the ministry. Instead of this, only unimportant changes have been made as the result of long shilly-shallying. This has caused the trade unions to change their attitude and demand further concessions. A sincere desire for a compromise induced the Democrats to meet the trade unions as far as the nine points. But if the trade unions are out to subjugate Parliament to their will and stand for the class war of the proletariat, the truly democratic parties must unite against this violation of parliamentarism.

MR. HOOVER AS A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE



HE CANNOT HELP HIMSELF
From the *Bulletin* (San Francisco)

THE nation-wide discussion of Mr. Herbert Hoover as a possible Presidential candidate and the unusual circumstances attending the promotion of his candidacy have moved Professor Vernon Kellogg to write in the *Yale Review* concerning Mr. Hoover, not merely as an individual, but "partly as a personification of our impatience with the old, all too old, order."

In certain quarters the talk about Mr. Hoover for the Presidency, as Professor Kellogg observes, has been reluctantly recognized. He says:

There is much talk—and thought and feeling—about this remarkable man in connection with the Presidency, and there is a reluctance, a bitter reluctance, on the part of the leaders, the professional and prominent politicians, to hear this talk. For Mr. Hoover is very clearly not one of them, nor is he a man to be controlled by them. They can see him only as a probable bull in the political china-shop. They fear that all those rare relics, too fragile for robust handling, those prized porcelains of the McKinley and Cleveland dynasties, those mysterious draperies from which the illusionist-politician extracts white rabbits and full dinner pails, would get roughly handled by such a man. And the self-appointed curators of the political museum do not want their things roughly handled.

Mr. Hoover himself says that he is only

one of a group, and this may be admitted, although he happens to be, as Professor Kellogg says, an unusual one. To some, including Professor Kellogg, he seems to have been designated as the national leader in this time of transition.

The world always moves, but sometimes it moves faster than at other times. This is one of the fast times. It is particularly in such a time that we see the threadbareness, the pitiful make-believe of the old things trying to offer themselves as sufficient for the new days. And it is particularly in such a time that we, the blessed people, get impatient. And each new time we get impatient we get a little more so. Some time there will come the moment of a real disturbance of the equilibrium: the time when the new force is greater than the old inertia.

The question is, Has that time come now? Has this country, this people, in its political evolution come to that stage to which it certainly will some time come, if it has not already, when it will give its suffrages to leaders and to measures that are men and measures of to-day, not ghosts and traditions. Has the time come when nation means more than party, when independence of thought and action will outweigh inertia and be chosen in place of the inviting and selfish ease which inertia offers? There are, indeed, signs that this very remarkable state of affairs may have arrived, or is in rapid way of arriving.

To refer to Mr. Hoover again, for example, as a personification of independence and disregard of political party, and of placing common sense and thought over nonsense and echo, what does the extraordinary expression that is coming to-day from all parts of the country, all ranks of society, all interests from the "street" to the factory, of confidence in him and desire for his leadership mean if not that the people have awakened and that the force which inertia has most to fear is in process of working?

In concluding his article Professor Kellogg speaks of Mr. Hoover as a man who, as a result of meeting the call for service, had his attention taken away from the problem of producing wealth from the earth to a serious consideration of the problem of how that new wealth should be controlled and distributed to do the most good for the most people. "He goes at the new problem in the same independent, common-sense, scientific way as he did at his old ones, and finds himself suddenly in a field hitherto held sacred to men called statesmen and politicians.

"So the talk of independence and bloodless revolution which one hears is all coupled with talk of a leader; men of both parties talk of him as well as men and women of no party."

CANADA'S POSITION IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

CANADIAN opinion on the subject of participation in the League of Nations is voiced by the Honorable N. W. Rowell, President of the Privy Council, in the *Canadian Magazine* (Toronto) for April. This writer admits that such participation means a complete reversal of Canada's traditional attitude toward foreign policy and world affairs.

In the past Canadian public opinion has demanded that our governments concern themselves almost exclusively with our own domestic problems, that we should not mix in the maelstrom of European or world politics, that we should go our own way and live unto ourselves. The war has changed all this. It has shown that no one nation can live unto itself, that that which vitally affects one ultimately affects all; and whether we welcome or regret the prospect we must face the new condition and accept our share of responsibility for international coöperation and world peace.

Mr. Rowell expresses the regret of the Canadians, as neighbors of the United States, at the absence of our representatives from the meeting of the Council of the League at Paris on January 16. He also expresses Canada's hope that the United States will

become a member of the League, and that the whole weight of her influence will be thrown on the side of the great principles for which the League stands.

The inauguration of the League, with Canada as one of the original members, marks Canada's advent into the family of nations as a member of "the Britannic Commonwealth of free, self-governing States." The British Empire, says Mr. Rowell, has ceased to be an Empire in the real sense of the term, composed of one central power with lesser powers dependent on her, and has become in a very true sense a commonwealth of free, self-governing nations of equal status, though not of equal power, all owing allegiance to a common sovereign and bound together by historic ties and by a community of interest and sentiment which are the surest guarantee of its strength and permanence.

In support of this position, Mr. Rowell cites a statement made in a report of the British War Cabinet for the year 1918 and also a statement made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in September, 1919. Although Canada and the other Dominions took part in the Peace Conference, and later



A FAMILY PARTY

UNCLE SAM: "No, John, I'm not goin' in there if you take the boys with you."

JOHN B.: "It's time you did some thinking, Samuel. You've got as much reason to stick to them as I have. You've heard of the Pacific, haven't you?"

From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)

were admitted to the League of Nations with all the rights, privileges and obligations of membership, the position of the Dominions in the League has been challenged in the United States, and their right to a vote has been called in question. Mr. Rowell declares that none of the seventeen other American nations named in the Treaty, either as members of the League, or as neutrals entitled to become members, has raised any objection to the participation of Canada or the other Dominions. Nor has any nation in Europe, Asia or Africa offered such objections. Mr. Rowell contends that Canada is entitled to membership in the League and to a vote in the Assembly (1) because she is a free, self-governing nation, (2) because of her proved interest in the cause of peace and the part she has played in promoting the settlement of international disputes, and (3) because of her part in the war and her contribution for the reestablishment of world peace.

Some have likened the position of the British Empire to the United States and the position of Canada to one of the States of the American Union. No comparison could be farther from

the fact or less truly represent our constitutional position. In the United States one Government, the Federal, waged the war, called out the troops, levied the taxation, negotiated the terms of peace. Its jurisdiction extended into every State of the Union and no State had the right to question its authority. In the British Empire, on the other hand, six governments waged war, called out troops, levied taxation and negotiated the terms of peace. Great Britain had no more constitutional right to conscript men in Canada or levy taxes for the purpose of carrying on the war than had the Government of the United States or the Government of Panama. In our participation in the war the Government and the Parliament of Canada were exercising their sovereign rights. The Canadian Government and the Canadian Parliament exercised these sovereign rights in behalf of and were responsible to the Canadian people and to the Canadian people alone. A more correct comparison would be between Canada and the United States, our Federal Government corresponding with theirs and our Provincial governments to the State governments.

To the argument that Great Britain has six votes, while the United States has only one, Mr. Rowell replies that Great Britain herself has only one vote and that each of the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire has a vote in its own right as an original member of the League.

AMERICA AND THE PEACE TREATY—AN ENGLISH VIEW

WRITING on "The Hesitation of America," in the *Fortnightly Review* (March), Mr. Holford Knight sums up a number of impressions of American public opinion received by him during a recent visit to the United States. In brief, this writer is convinced that the matter at the root of America's unwillingness to ratify the Peace Treaty is simply and solely her intense dislike of the old European system of diplomacy, and her suspicion that the treaty, and even the covenant, seeks to perpetuate it. "To put the matter plainly, millions of Americans believe they have been argued (through President Wilson's failure to resist) into slavery—slavery to the hated European system, with its secret machinations ostensibly directed to 'national' objects, but used as a screen to cover economic exploitation by favored groups in the Parliaments of the great powers."

they will be put. The process of "mandates" has ceased to deceive. America is persuaded that under high-flying words these schemes are designed to promote exclusive financial interests. Personages connected with European governments are believed to be directly associated with these ventures. It is also thought that the machinery of European diplomacy (unknown to the peoples concerned) is used habitually to promote and cover these designs, and that American power and credit is to be relied upon in part to provide international protection.

The distrust is carried over to the Covenant of the League of Nations. The cardinal American objection to the present League is that it is to be used, primarily, to underwrite the revived designs of the old European diplomacy. It is certain that whatever action the American Senate may take in regard to the treaty, the territorial and political guarantees contemplated by Article X. of the League Covenant will not be assumed by America, for the reason here given. I argued with American statesmen that Article XX., abrogating understandings and obligations *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms of the Covenant, provided a safeguard against this contingent support of territorial annexations. Such efforts failed. America on no account will accept responsibility for the proposals of European Chauvinists of any nationality.

The territorial annexations offend American opinion not only by the wrongs they inflict and the revenge they excite, but by the use to which

Also, in connection with the League, the absence of any reference to the freedom of the seas, coupled with the failure of the Paris Conference to consider the reservation, "as promised in the memorandum of the Allied Powers transmitted through President Wilson to the German Government on November 5, 1918," is held to constitute a breach of what was implied in the Anglo-American discussions before America entered the war.

Nevertheless, Mr. Knight regards the present deadlock as only a temporary misfortune which will pass away. He offers

some suggestions designed to facilitate this process. First of all, the unqualified acceptance of the peace Treaty is "an idle dream."

The only way out is for America to ratify the Peace Treaty, coupled with a declaration of the principles that instrument is expected by America to operate. By this course America assumes her rightful part in the execution of the treaty while safeguarding herself from participation in, or responsibility for, arrangements she cannot accept. This carries her cooperation in the League, before which at the earliest moment those parts of the treaty to which she objects must be brought for revision. On these terms I am convinced that American aid can be assured. Otherwise her abstention is certain.

SHALL THE TURK STAY?

THE decision of the Supreme Council to allow the Turk to remain in Constantinople has aroused a storm of protest. Writing in *The New Europe* for February 19, Mr. Arnold J. Toynbee makes a vigorous attack upon this policy, asserting that the decision "insures the Turk the recovery, sooner or later, of that full political sovereignty and military control over the Straits which he enjoyed before the war; that is, of opening or closing at his pleasure an economic highway, the assured and permanent freedom of which is essential for the economic reconstruction of the Danube countries and Russia; in fact for half the Continent of Europe." He blames, principally, the Indian Government for having persuaded Mr. Lloyd George:

only avenue of trade is through the Straits—not on any of these pressing European grounds, but in order to gratify a remote Moslem community at a delicate stage in the constitutional development of an Asiatic dependency of the British Empire.

Napoleon accused us of being the enemies of Europe, the Germans echoed his indictment, and now the Constantinople decision has gone far toward transforming an extravagance into sober truth. Since the Armistice, and still more since the virtual withdrawal of America from the settlement, the casting vote has been in our hands; and in this vital question of the Straits, which affects the economic future of half Europe, and which ought to have been settled for Europe's general good, we have used our power irresponsibly, with no eye to European interests but simply with regard to the passing expediences of our Indian policy. If errors of policy like

It is no secret that the battle over the destiny of Constantinople has been fought, not between the British and French governments, but between two factions in the British Government, whom we may call respectively the "Europeans" and the "Orientalists," and that the "Orientalists" have won. In other words, Mr. Montagu has persuaded Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Lloyd George the Supreme Council, to settle the question of Constantinople and the Straits, not on the merits of the case, not with reference to the wishes of the local population, not with any consideration for the stricken countries of Eastern Europe which must revive their international trade or perish, and whose



"— WHO LAUGHS LAST ! —"

From the *Star* (London)

this are repeated, a conflict between Great Britain and a united Europe will be inevitable.

In the succeeding issue of *The New Europe* the same writer develops his onslaught under the title of "Mr. Montagu's pound of flesh." He pauses, however, to ask the question, What, in the Supreme Council's interpretation, does "Constantinople" mean?

It can be interpreted in three senses: (i) as the actual city of Stambul, confined to the peninsula between the Golden Horn and the Sea of Marmora, and bounded landwards by the famous triple wall; or (ii) as the entire urban area of Greater Constantinople, extending beyond the Golden Horn to Pera and Galata and beyond the Bosphorus to Scutari and Haidar Pasha on the Asiatic shore; or (iii) as the Vilayet of Constantinople, the metropolitan province of the Ottoman Empire, which includes not only Stambul and its European and Asiatic suburbs, but the entire length of the Bosphorus and a strip of territory along each shore of it from the Marmora right up to the Black Sea.

Mr. Toynbee believes that, under Mr. Montagu's influence, the Supreme Council intended to leave the Turk master of Constantinople in its widest sense; that is, master of the entire Vilayet. He recapitulates his reasons for rejecting this interpretation absolutely. The second interpretation is also put out of court by the same objections, since "it would leave Turkey in full control of one entrance to the Bosphorus and therefore, in effect, of the whole passage." "The first interpretation alone, which limits 'Constantinople' to Stambul, is conceivably compatible with the secure and permanent freedom of the sea passage which skirts the Pharos and Seraglio point." And this alternative

"would satisfy any reasonable claims that can be put forward either by the Turkish nation or by the Moslem community in India." Stambul, moreover, contains everything in Constantinople that is valued by Turkish or Moslem sentiment.

But let us avoid misconceptions; if the destiny of Stambul were to be decided by sentiment, it would be awarded not to the Turks or Moslems, but to the Greeks. Greek emperors ruled in the imperial palace for eleven centuries before a Turkish sultan set foot there, and the Caliphs of Islam (or, rather, of one sect in Islam) have sojourned there only for four centuries—since 1517 A.D. The great Caliphs, who in a literal sense were Commanders of the Faithful and exercised political sovereignty over the whole Islamic community, reigned at Damascus and Bagdad: and Constantinople was the capital of their mightiest Christian contemporaries, the very Greek sovereigns who built Aya Sofia and the other magnificent churches in Stambul which are mosques to-day. Sentiment and history would assign Stambul to Greece, and though Mr. Venizelos, with rare statesmanship, forebore to claim it when he laid the Greek case before the Conference last year, he waived his title in favor of an international administration, and on the understanding that the city would in no circumstances be left to the Turk.

The question to be decided is whether the retention of the Sultan in Stambul (as an enclave) is compatible with the security of the Vilayet placed under an international commission, and with the permanent freedom of the Straits. . . . If "experts" decide that it is so, well and good. If, on the other hand, the Turk, under this arrangement, would be able to exercise any sort of power over the Straits, "out this sovereignty must go, bag and baggage, to Anatolia."

JUDAISM AND BOLSHEVISM

IN the *Revue Mondiale* Lieut.-Col. D'Aubigny writes with soldierly brevity, and fresh first-hand knowledge, on "The Jews and the Future of Bolshevism." The two subjects are almost wholly separate. It is easy to disprove the allegation that it is the Jews who have led Russia to the general destruction of the men of superior intelligence and of property rights. Criminals are of all races. No people is responsible for its renegades. The 3 to 4 per cent. of persecuted Hebrews in the Russian nation have not led the masses. Trotzky and a few others are apostate Jews. Lenine is of the Russian nobility. The roster of most

familiar family names reveals many racial stocks, but a majority of true Russians, including many generals, police officials, detectives, of the Czar's régime, and many professional criminals from the common prisons.

The relatively narrow limits where Jews have been congregated—the Polish Republic, Lithuania, White Russia, Ukraine—have most resolutely opposed Bolshevism. The capital, whence they were always excluded, and the great plains from Moscow eastward, are its chief support. But the massacres, confiscations, autocratic violence, have also followed the track of the Czaristic reaction-

ists, like Denikene and Kolchak. Like the terrors of the French Revolution, they are national, racial; in fact, the reaction from the long repressions, extortions and brutish ignorance forced on the race through the centuries of the imperial régime—though that reaction brings as yet no promise to the peo-

ple of political, social or individual justice.

Religious bigotry of the narrowest type has aided the cause of the Reds. Thus in October, 1919, the convention of Christian Evangelists in Petrograd voted to join the Bolshevik communists, to bring about the triumph of their common ideal, communism.

THE REMARKABLE AND RAPID RECOVERY OF BELGIUM

LIKE everyone else in the Allied Nations, the editors of the *London Review of Reviews* have asked these questions: How has Belgium effected so rapid an industrial recovery, and what steps has she actually taken to put her house in order? At least partial answers to these questions may be found in two articles in the English reviews for March.

The first of these, entitled "The Recovery of Belgium," is written by M. Emile Cammaerts, and appears in the *Contemporary*. During the first weeks after the Armistice there was a disposition among Belgians not to worry themselves unduly about the future; they still regarded themselves as the all-deserving heroes of 1914, to whom immense credits would be opened, and unlimited supplies sent, by a grateful Britain and America. Necessarily there followed a period of disillusion. Her Allies were over-occupied with their internal difficulties; scarcely any raw material arrived at Antwerp or Ghent; and the cost of living rose substantially. To make matters worse, Belgium's belief in a glorious political future received a rude shock by the substitution of Geneva for Brussels as the seat of the League of Nations, and by the treatment of her affairs by the Paris Conference.

Then, however, her war debts were remitted by her Allies, a first instalment of £100,000,000 on the war indemnities was promised her, and hope, accompanied by a practical determination to set to work, revived.

The first task to be undertaken was the restoration of the means of communication. The success achieved in this direction by the Ministry of Railways, under the strong control of M. Renkin, is by far the most striking feature of Belgian revival. In 1913, 3500 trains ran every day on the Belgian railway system, carrying an average of 250,000 tons. At the time of the Armistice all bridges and double-tracked lines north and west

of Brussels were completely or partially destroyed over a distance of a thousand miles, the signaling system was out of order all over the country, most of the rolling stock had been taken away, and there were only 500 engines left in the country. In December, 1919, 90 per cent. of the goods traffic was restored, and an average of 171,000 tons per day was being carried. Within twelve months, in spite of the difficulty of getting back from Germany either the Belgian rolling stock or German wagons, in spite of many obstacles arising from labor difficulties and lack of building material, the whole Belgian railway system with the exception of a few secondary lines, whose total length does not exceed thirty miles, was again in full activity, the only noticeable change being the reduced speed of the trains, owing to signaling difficulties.

Within a few months the canals had been cleared and the road system, which had been damaged or destroyed over a length of 1000 miles, practically restored, so that Belgium found herself in possession of all her means of communication long before her trade and industry were ready to make full use of them. But the passenger services were at once taken advantage of by crowds of Belgians eager to travel freely after having been so long hampered in their movements.

This moves the *London Review of Reviews* to remark that the contrast between the Belgian and the British handling of the transport problem is not flattering to Britain's national pride.

The worst handicap in Belgium has been the deliberate destruction by the Germans of industrial plants. The removal of machinery was not so serious, since the Germans left card indexes behind them, and it was possible to locate and retrieve the stolen articles within a few months. But the total ruin of such iron and coal works as those of John Cockerill, near Liège, and those in Hainault and Charleroi, was a different matter. Nevertheless, taking all industries together, 76 per cent. of the pre-war personnel are at present employed. The following table shows the order in which the various industries approach the pre-war standard:

	Food industries	89	per cent. of 1914	personnel
Building		86	"	"
Art and Instru-				
ments		82	"	"
Glass		81	"	"
Paper		78	"	"
Books		76	"	"
Tobacco		75	"	"
Chemicals		74	"	"
Ceramic		71	"	"
Clothing		67	"	"
Woodwork and				
Furniture	..	66	"	"
Metal		64	"	"
Textiles		61	"	"
Skins and				
Leather		58	"	"
Quarries		57	"	"

Among the food industries, it may be noticed that the sugar factories have already exceeded the pre-war production, and are able to export.

Only in housing has Belgium failed, as yet, to make much headway; this matter, according to M. Cammaerts, was deliberately postponed until the question of transport had been dealt with.

Meanwhile, as Mr. Julius Price, writing on "The Reconstruction of Belgium" in the *Fortnightly* (March), points out, the question of temporarily sheltering the houseless population of the devastated areas has been partly solved by the erection of wooden barracks; "but the accommodation so far is totally inadequate to meet the demands." Mr. Price does not take so cheerful a view of the progress made as does M. Cammaerts. He remarks upon a certain lethargy in the authorities, and a very varying degree of energy in different districts.

Whilst in some places rehabilitation has been undertaken with remarkable energy, the only traces of devastation being the numbers of new buildings one sees on all sides—in others the magnitude of the task facing them appears to have quite sapped the activity of the people, with the result that grass is rapidly obliterating the ruins left by the Germans.

But he acknowledges that a triumph has been achieved in the rebuilding and reorganization of the railway system; and he admits that "there is a noticeably general effort to get over the difficulty," and notes that "Brussels to-day, in spite of the high cost of living, does not appear to be at all depressed." But as regards the capital,

a somewhat curious state of affairs exists; there is a wave of speculation about, and everyone who can scrape together a few francs seems to be taking a hand in the game. Industrial shares,

the exchange—all, in fact, that presents a sporting chance of "making a bit." One is constantly overhearing "Stock Exchange talk" in railway carriages and other places. I was told by a *boursier* that many people are making quite a good living out of the fluctuation in the franc on foreign exchanges, hence the amount of money so many apparently ordinary people have to spend on cars and other luxuries.

A visit to Antwerp disclosed more healthy symptoms. He noticed

an enormous amount of preparation in readiness for the speedy revival in the trade of the port, for during the war, owing to the closing of the Sheldt, activity in Antwerp came to a standstill, so there is a deal of leeway to make up. This will be gathered from the following figures taken from the official report. In the first seven months of 1914, 4129 ships entered the port, with a tonnage of 8,311,064 tons. In December, 1919, 436 vessels entered and cleared tonnage 636,848, of which 330 ships cleared with cargoes and 135 with ballast. Calculating on the average tonnage, we get an advance of about 100,000 tons of laden vessels in December over November, a very healthy sign, as will be agreed. Otherwise, conditions in the town itself apparently approximate those in the capital.

Again, he was impressed by the prosperity of Charleroi, where the German did little damage.

Every factory or mine is in full swing to-day. Manufacturers of tissues have enough work for the next three years, and will not accept any more orders. The same thing is told you with regard to glass, coal, iron works, electrical plant and machinery.

Never has there been such prosperity among the working classes as at present. There are no unemployed in Charleroi—unless a man does not want to work, you are told—pauperism is unknown, and charity organizations no longer exist. The money that is being earned by every class of worker here would have appeared fabulous in pre-war days: 17 to 20 francs per day for miners; laborers in the metal works, 13 francs; in the glass factories, £60 to £80 per month, with an eight-hour day, and double pay when working on Sundays.

The result of all this is that the *bourgeois* has been quite displaced by the *ouvrier*—who spends his money as easily as he earns it; only the best on the market satisfies his wife, and in the evening he crowds the cafés and cinemas.

Mr. Price does not display the same optimism as M. Cammaerts, but his facts point to the same conclusion—that Belgium is at least on the high road to a wonderful recovery. It may fairly be said that she has done more towards her complete rehabilitation than any one of her allies, although her initial disadvantages were at least as great as those of any of the Entente countries.

A FRENCH CRITICISM OF AMERICA'S ATTITUDE



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THE EDITOR OF THE "REVUE MONDIALE," OF PARIS

IN the *Revue Mondiale* (Paris) of March 15th Jean Finot writes with merciless frankness on "The Desolation of the World, and Some Remedies Therefor." The opening words strike the keynote: "Never was the aspect of mankind so tragic as at this moment." . . . "Before the war, Germany alone threatened the peace of the globe; to-day that menace is strangely multiplied." Among the many wars in prospect are listed our own "with Mexico, and, therefore, with Japan." Instead of the Yellow Peril arises the White Peril, driving Japanese, Chinese, Hindus, negroes into alliance against the superior pretensions of the Caucasian peoples.

Even England, though she secured from the Peace Conference all the German colonies and full control of the seas, is seriously threatened in Ireland, Egypt, India, and in her financial security. The pound sterling is at a discount of 33 1/3 per cent. in New York. The United States, alone, has felt no serious loss of men, and has

doubled its wealth. Into it, as a vast reservoir, all the resources of Europe are now rapidly flowing, thanks to the fatal rates of exchange. The French, with population already scant and stationary, have lost twenty-six times as many men as we, proportionally, and have destroyed or mortgaged all their resources for a hundred years to come.

The Americans and the British are charged with renewing trade with Russia and selling her products at extortionate profits to France, leaving the latter to bear the chief brunt of Bolshevik hatred. We refused to support Kerensky, or to let the Japanese make a Siberian campaign in his interest, when a really democratic Russia could have been retained, by timely energy, as a helpful ally in war and in the League of Nations.

Nearly all the world's present woes are laid at Mr. Wilson's door, M. Finot quoting such sentences of his own, suppressed by censorship in May, 1919, as: "Regarding himself as the temporal savior of the world, he applies to the anguish of a world in its birth the persistent stubbornness of an ill-informed or ill-directed intellect." The Fiume incident was England's and France's opportunity to repair some part of the gross injustice to Italy, which has sacrificed half a million lives and four-fifths of her means; "and just then Mr. Wilson, who has left the Allies in an economic and financial morass by his own mistakes, sends them a note such as no Czar or Kaiser would disavow, ordering that nothing be done without his approval." And yet, Serbia could easily have been brought to see that her political and commercial interests were one with Italy's.

Equally shortsighted, we are told, was the failure to let Bavaria and Rhineland break away, and the continuance of Berlin as the political center of Germany. The demands for the extradition of William and of his chief advisers have actually solidified distracted Germany against the common enemy.

"While one dangerous sick man like William II succeeded in calling down the world catastrophe, another has had the power nearly to nullify the results of a victory so painfully won." The writer re-

minds his hearers that all Mr. Wilson's influence will presently vanish with his retirement. But a far more serious prospect of world-wide economic hostility to ourselves is revealed when the writer finally comes to his "Remedies."

By the emphatic endorsement of the Monroe Doctrine, this country has logically pushed herself, and been pushed, out of all claims to meddle in any Old World problems. The Russian Government is already more than half "bourgeois," and the whole nation seems to have accepted these rulers. They should be admitted to full trade privileges, and to the league. Germany also, with the guarantees she must make, will be far less dangerous inside than out, and should be promptly admitted lest a dynastic reaction overwhelm her present democracy.

Lastly, Japan's "public wealth and industrial productivity have for some years pointed her out as destined to displace, in many respects, North America." There is cool mockery of good-will in the remark: "This rivalry would be as beneficial for Europe as

for Japan and the United States itself."

And the chief lines in this threatening sketch of our prospective commercial, political, and personal isolation of ourselves are deepened by a closing series of extracts from speeches of Mr. Wilson, even to the most startling prophecy of all:

If America fails to come to Europe's aid, it will produce a reaction which will change the attitude of the world toward our free and liberty-loving folk. . . . Without the United States, an alliance formed between the most powerful European nations and Japan would regard the United States as an antagonistic nation, for she would have broken her ties of union, and for that reason would be held under surveillance by the other peoples.

In a heartier tone, the closing lines express some hope that we may realize our true interests and duties. Yet even so Europe must act, with enlightened selfishness, to extricate itself from impossible financial and political conditions.

The article gives the impression that the writer has possible American readers more in mind than any others.

THE YANKEE IN THE BRITISH ZONE

A BOOK bearing this title which was briefly noticed in the March number of this REVIEW,¹ is the subject of an article by Coningsby Dawson in the *New York Times*. This British author says:

Many of us, both in America and Europe, have wondered how the American fighting man liked the war, what kind of impressions he brought away with him of the men of other nations who were his companions in the ordeal, what loyalties he formed and how those loyalties are going to shape his future life. The American soldier in Europe while the war was on was so modest, so intense and so silent that those who watched him gained hardly a guess at how he was feeling or what he thought. Here is a book at last which answers many of our unspoken questions. It is a frank, brave, sportsmanly record of the Americans who served in the British zone and who did so much to make the victory decisive in the final days of the war. It is a new kind of war book. The right kind. It has the justice of retrospect. It records not enthusiasm of the passing moment, but principles and disciplines which were gained at the front, which have already found their expression in character.

From the British point of view the book is exceptionally illuminating. The strictness of the

censorship robbed Americans of much of the glory that was due them. Very few men of our European allies had any exact knowledge of the American fighting man's military contribution to the victory. They were willing to concede that the threat of the limitless American man power compelled the victory. But they were and still are unaware of the fighting performance of American troops in the actual front line. Here, then, is the story of the American record in the Battle of a Hundred Days, which started on August 8 and ended with the armistice. And a splendid record it is, both as regards its material and the method of its telling. There is nothing grudging about its appreciation of the other men of other nations who played the game, shoulder to shoulder with the Americans, in the ordeal.

How ignorant we are, even we who were there, of the heroisms which took place outside our immediate environment. There was an occasion in the breaking of the Hindenburg line when a Midland division joined up on the right of the American Corps. Their particular job was to storm the St. Quentin Canal. The first wave went over clad in life belts, commandeered hurriedly from the Boulogne-Folkestone leave boats. Wearing these, the men won their way in the face of heavy machine gun fire to the edge of the canal, plunged in and by aid of the life belts reached the other side. One begins to recover the old splendor of the game in reading these pages. Here is the fine selfless admiration which made smallness of view impossible while there was a chance for sacrifice.

¹The Yankee in the British Zone. By Ewen C. MacVeagh and Lee D. Brown. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 418 pp. Ill.

MRS. HUMPHRY WARD

BY the death of Mrs. Humphry Ward in London on March 24 the English-speaking peoples have lost one of their most popular writers of the later Victorian era. Her books have been read quite as widely in the United States as in England, and those Americans whose memory runs back more than thirty years can hardly have forgotten the sensation that was created in this country by the appearance of "Robert Elsmere"—a novel that at the present day would hardly be hailed as "sensational" in any respect.

Mrs. Ward remained actively at work down to the very last of her sixty-eight years. More than twenty novels are credited to her, and among her more recent works are several books dealing with the Great War. Muriel Harris, writing in the *Nation* (New York) for April 3, comments on Mrs. Ward's career as representative of an epoch in English history:

There is no one to fill her place in English society, because there is no one left with the early Victorian idea of modern greatness. As shown most obviously in her books, Mrs. Ward thought of greatness as a concrete thing; as shown less obviously in her political and social career, she thought of it as a regenerating force which should make England—what? Something different, at all events, from what it was. Mrs. Ward's books often end in regenerating schemes which take the form of a museum or an institution. This was the Besant tradition—the tradition of the Victorian reformers, which she translated into terms that no one could fail to understand. But politically she was less vague. England—great, beloved England, as she understood it—was to be regenerated by its great young men. Some of these great young men grew old with her, but the idea remained and she was happy in having in her own family a great young man—George Trevelyan, of Garibaldi fame. Half her resistance to woman suffrage was based on this theory, almost unconscious, of the great young man, which often meant great in culture, or in position, or in politics, sometimes in all three. It was entirely by her efforts that her son obtained a seat in Parliament. It was as her spokesman that he opposed woman suffrage and made himself something of a reputation in so doing.

This writer also reminds us of the remarkable line of writers, teachers, students, men and women of distinction that has been given to England by Mrs. Ward's family. The record of the Arnold family in England is not wholly unlike that of the Adams family in America. Beginning with Dr. Arnold of Rugby, there have been four generations

of Arnolds who are almost as well known in America as in England. Mrs. Ward herself was a granddaughter of Thomas Arnold, of Rugby, and a niece of Matthew Arnold, the poet and essayist. The biologist Julian Huxley represents the present generation. Her brother, William Arnold, was a brilliant historian of Rome and also assistant editor for many years of the *Manchester Guardian*.

It is said that next to Philip Gibbs no one was more read in England during the days of the war than Mrs. Ward. She was indeed chosen by the British Government to describe "England's Effort During the War." One of her most intimate friends was Lord Grey and another of her friends in English public life was Lord Haldane. Speaking of Mrs. Ward's intimate knowledge of English society, the *Outlook* (New York) for April 7 notes that one of the chief attractions of her stories is that "she introduces us to cultivated people who talk with a sense of humor and mental acuteness about things of the day—politics, burning questions, conflicting social aims, and all this not usually dramatically, but always pleasantly."

The *Outlook* remarks concerning Mrs. Ward's books:

Probably the most dramatic novel in her long list is "David Grieve," which, oddly enough, was the immediate successor of "Robert Elsmere," of which it is the literary antipodes; in point of workmanship many critics still regard "David Grieve" as Mrs. Ward's best book. Others of the more notable titles are "Lady Rose's Daughter," "Helbeck," "The Marriage of William Ashe," and "Eltham House." Mrs. Ward has always been pretty free in her use of actual people in her characters, but with care not to be offensive nor to overstep courtesy—Lloyd George, for instance, appears unmistakably in the suffrage novel above referred to; at least three of the characters in "Robert Elsmere" are recognizable—Squire Wendover as Mark Pattison, Mr. Grey as Thomas H. Green, and the Swiss dreamy philosopher as Amiel.



MRS. HUMPHRY WARD

EDUCATING THE NATION

ELSEWHERE in this REVIEW the work of Superintendent Frank E. Spaulding, of the Cleveland Public Schools, is described at some length. In the April number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, Superintendent Spaulding outlines an educational program which he believes is demanded at this moment in the United States.

As the "minimum, definite, comprehensive" objectives that American public education should at once set for itself, Mr. Spaulding names; first, essential, elementary knowledge, training, and discipline; second, occupational efficiency; third, civic responsibility. The first objective, in Mr. Spaulding's view, is the indispensable basis of the other two, occupational efficiency and civic responsibility. These two latter objectives cannot be achieved by boys and girls before reaching fourteen years of age.

To achieve his first objective, Mr. Spaulding enumerates four simple measures which he thinks should be adopted: first, a minimum school year of thirty-six weeks; second, adequate compulsory attendance laws; third, effective public control of all elementary private schools; fourth, a teaching force, every member of which has a general education equal to that afforded by a good four-year high-school course, and professional training at least equivalent to that provided by a good two-year normal-school course.

Lest his readers should assume that these desiderata are already attained, Mr. Spaulding proceeds to set forth certain facts concerning our school laws and their administration that, to say the least, are not altogether reassuring. He declares that the amount of schooling that we Americans are getting is really very little. As a nation, he says that we are "barely sixth-graders," and that we are taught by tenth-grade or eleventh-grade teachers. Even including in the average all the time devoted to so-called professional training, his conclusion is that the average schooling of all the public-school teachers of America goes little if any beyond the eleventh grade, or third year of the High School.

Dr. Evenden has recently stated that "about 4,000,000 children are taught by teachers less than twenty-one years of age, with little or no High School training, with little or no professional preparation for their work, and who are in the great majority of cases products of the same schools in which they teach."

The situation, then, is this: In American elementary schools the comparatively uneducated are set to teach the slightly less educated and the ignorant. This brings us to the question of salaries:

How much education has America the right to expect anyone to bring to his task at \$630 per year, the average salary of all public-school teachers in the United States, both elementary and high, according to the last figures available?

How low individual salaries go is not revealed by any records at hand; we should blush to publish them were they available. It is quite enough to know that the average salaries, both elementary and high, for certain whole states are below \$300. And in no state has the average ever reached \$1,000, unless some unusually large increases of the present year may have brought them to that figure in two or three states. These are the facts that should offend. They are an offense, first of all, to American childhood and youth!

We may as well recognize at once and frankly admit the utter and increasing hopelessness of securing, at present wages, any considerable fraction of the required number of teachers who possess the higher qualifications herewith proposed. Let us acknowledge the inevitable; that average salaries must be increased by at least eight hundred dollars, that is, raised to two and one-half times their present level, if it is to be made worth while for capable women, and perhaps occasionally a man of fair capacity, to make the very modest educational preparation proposed, and then to devote themselves contentedly and loyally to the profession!

As to vocational and civic training, Mr. Spaulding's ideas are clearly formulated:

This should culminate in a full twelve-month year of instruction, discipline, and training, to be carried on directly under the auspices of the national government.

For this year of training, all male youth of the land should be mobilized by a complete draft carried out by the War Department, only those seriously crippled physically and the mentally incompetent being rejected as unfit; for one of the fundamental aims of this course of training should be to make fit.

Some option should be allowed the individual concerned as to the age at which he should enter upon this year of strictly compulsory training. He should not be allowed, for example, to begin it before reaching the age of seventeen years and six months; and he should be required to begin it before passing his twentieth birthday. This option would permit most boys in high schools to complete their courses before entering on this year's training; it would also permit those going to college to precede their college work with this year of training.

Of course, there should be a fixed date, or dates, on which the year's training must begin. Probably it would be advantageous to fix at least two dates—say July 1 and January 1, or August 1 and February 1—for the beginning.



CLASS IN SALESMANSHIP CONDUCTED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE DAVENPORT, IOWA, Y. M. C. A.

(Of the thirty men enrolled, twenty-four are ex-service men. The group includes five automobile salesmen, four insurance salesmen, four machinists, three retail salesmen, two oil salesmen, and two secretaries)

SCHOOLING FOR EX-SERVICE MEN

FOR the present year the sum of \$3,000,000 has been made available for the work under the comprehensive Educational Service Plan, adopted by the Young Men's Christian Association. This is a part of the unexpended balance of the educational item in the war work budget raised in November, 1918. The funds are devoted to

four main uses: (1) scholarships, (2) vocational guidance, (3) reconstruction lectures, and (4) Americanization.

Under the first head, what is known as the General Scholarship Fund has been allotted to the States of the Union on the basis of two cents per person of the total population according to the census of 1910, and



SCHOLARSHIP STUDENTS LEARNING MACHINE TOOL OPERATING IN NEW YORK CITY

each State committee is authorized and required to make allotments to cities, counties, or other subdivisions of the State on the same basis.

The Collegiate Scholarship Fund, equal to one-tenth of the General Scholarship Fund, is administered by the State committees instead of by local committees in cities and counties.

As described by Mr. William F. Hirsch in *Rural Manhood* for March, the usual procedure is for the city or county to organize an Educational Service Committee, generally consisting of five men, at least one of whom is an ex-service man, and this committee makes known to the ex-service men in the city and county the benefits available in scholarship awards. Applications are received from ex-service men and those applicants who appear most worthy are selected and awards made up to the amount of the allotment assigned to each local committee.

These scholarship awards are available for a tuition and other expenses in Y. M. C. A. schools, business schools, high schools, and any correspondence courses conducted by the

Extension Division of the United Y. M. C. A. Schools.

About five hundred local committees have been organized throughout the country and during the months of January and February more than 15,000 scholarships were awarded to ex-service men, most of whom at once entered on courses of study in the various schools to which they were assigned. It is estimated the funds at the disposal of the committee will provide courses of study of various grades and kinds for about 50,000 men.

Great interest has been shown in the vocational courses offered by the Y. M. C. A. in many cities. Of the 903 men in Pittsburgh's night school, 717 are ex-service men. Approximately 1000 ex-service men have enrolled for extension courses, greatest interest being shown in commercial subjects with electrical work as a close second. In rural areas the largest proportion of requests is for study in farm management, soils and fertilizers. Most of the men studying in the New York Y. M. C. A.s are taking technical courses.

“BOOKS FOR EVERYBODY”

THE American Library Association, with a membership of 4000 active librarians, has undertaken to raise a fund of \$2,000,000 for the purpose of promoting the use of books and other printed matter throughout the country. The Association has adopted what is called an Enlarged Program, which is outlined in the *Library Journal* as follows:

First of all, it continues into peace times the work of war-time for the soldiers and sailors discharged from the nation's service, and enlarges the provision for those servants of all of us who watch our coasts and light our light-houses and provide otherwise for our safety and comfort. Next, it provides for a survey of the library situation throughout the country, so that each library in the many thousands, large or small, may be stimulated to do its best and make the most of its opportunities by help of the experience and suggestion of all other libraries. Then it proposes work on a national scale, beyond the scope of State library commissions, in making more adequate provision for the blind, for those in hospitals, and for the outposts of men and work here and there throughout this vast country. It seeks, especially, to reach those who have come newly to our shores, without American training or experience and with little knowledge of books, by giving them such books and providing such help as will bridge the gap

from their old-world restrictions into the full freedom of American citizenship, with its great responsibilities. And lastly, it provides for the maintenance, in the American Library at Paris, of an outpost in the Old World, which, through our sister republic of France, should extend American library facilities and teach American library methods to the people across sea, who are all ready, as one result of the war.

This country has always been regarded as the pioneer in free library development, and library support from public funds is by no means a novel idea in most of the States of the Union. Yet the facts that have been disclosed in this present campaign show that in many American communities libraries are without adequate support, while much might be done even in those communities that have the best library equipment to bring their service within the reach of large sections of the population that are now virtually neglected.

Our expenditures for public libraries are relatively smaller than is commonly supposed. All the libraries of the country, together, receive an annual income of \$16,500,000. Officials of the American Library Association



AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE "BOOKS FOR EVERYBODY" MOVEMENT

(The book-truck used by the St. Louis Public Library to carry books to its playgrounds. At least one such truck should be in every rural county in the United States)

estimate that an adequate income would be six or seven times that amount. There are 2964 counties in the United States, and less than 800 of these, or 27 per cent., have within their borders any one library of 5000 volumes or more, and a library smaller than that cannot be regarded as adequately equipped to take the initiative in developing a service. In thirty States less than 50 per cent. of the population is served by libraries, in six less than 10 per cent., and in one less than 2 per cent.

While we expend ten dollars per capita for the whole population each year for schools, we have thus far spent only sixty and one-half cents per capita for libraries, which, after all, are the principal after-school educational institutions for most of the population. It should be remembered that 42 per cent. of the children from fifteen to seventeen are not in school. Books made accessible through libraries widely distributed would provide a means of self-instruction for all.

In attempting to visualize the field for librarians in supplementing the work of the public school for adult self-education the Committee on Enlarged Program of the A. L. A. has enumerated these eight groups:

(1) The men and women of high school and college age who went into military service—many of whom will not begin again their formal edu-

cation but who might be stimulated to embark upon a reading course; (2) the boys and girls who each year leave school to enter business, and who are potential students, especially during their first few years out of school; (3) the men and women who, because of the changing world conditions, are eager for more information on the history and theory of government, economics and social development; (4) the millions of women, recently enfranchised, who want to know more about government and politics; (5) the foreign-born, enthusiastic in their desire to learn more about democracy, American ideals and citizenship; (6) the men and women, forced by economic competition and the high cost of living to seek ways of increasing their earning capacity; (7) the millions of men and women, boys and girls, who realize their educational limitations and want, in their ambitious moments, to continue their education along various lines, by serious reading; (8) the thousands enrolled in study clubs.

Commissioner Claxton, of the Bureau of Education at Washington, is particularly interested in the plans of the Library Association for the establishment of county libraries. It is the people of the small town, the village, and the open country who have most time for general reading and who would use good libraries to best advantage. Commissioner Claxton advocates the placing of public libraries in good buildings and with trained librarians in the county seats, and then starting branch libraries in the other towns and villages of each county and using the public schools as distributing centers. He

estimates that a tax of ten cents on a hundred dollars of taxable property would generally raise a sufficient sum to maintain a good country library on this plan. In his

opinion there is no other way in which an equal amount of money would accomplish so much good. This is one feature of the American Library Association's enlarged program.

A LAND POLICY FOR ITALY

THE growing tendency toward radicalism that is becoming more and more marked in Italy causes conservative Italians much anxiety and induces a search for possible measures for its control. One of these is suggested by Senator Luigi Canzi in *Rassegna Nazionale*. He advocates a revival on a large scale of the old form of contract recognized by Roman law and known as "emphyteusis," by which lands were granted in perpetuity, or for a very long term, on condition that they should be improved and that the holder should agree to pay a stipulated annual rental to the grantor. As a general rule the term was a perpetual one.

This measure, as well in the Roman epoch as in medieval times, proved a veritable anchor of safety in agricultural and social crises. To it is due the cultivation of millions of acres of land; to it society has often owed its escape from terrible popular revolts, by reestablishing the equilibrium in the distribution of land, and by attaching firmly a good part of the population to the normal conditions of law and order.

It seems to Senator Canzi that the hour has now come to resort to such a practical measure, and especially in the form of small, perpetual concessions of land in favor of the farmers. This would put a check upon the ill-regulated desires of a multitude eager for change, and, without doing violence to property rights, without doing injury to any class, rather benefiting all, would in part satisfy the aspirations of those who, blinded by misery, believe that their material conditions could be bettered by a violent change in the present distribution of wealth.

The large estates usually belong to the richer classes, who are rarely able to dispense with a complicated and costly system of administration, a system bereft of all impulse to improve and transform the management of the property while using a wise economy. Hence these estates, eaten up by parasites, make but poor returns.

The smaller land holdings are subject to another grave drawback; if they are confided to the management of an ignorant peasant

he costs the owner in poor returns as much or more than he may save him in salary, and if, on the other hand, a really capable and intelligent manager is hired, his salary—if divided up over a few acres—will absorb half the worth of the crop. Under these conditions the property is so little remunerative that any reasonable system of leasing would be preferable.

The writer believes that about five acres of land in the plains of Lombardy would suffice for the support of a family of five persons, and hence the assignment of 2,000,000 acres would create a class of 2,000,000 persons supported by the cultivation of land to which they would have a direct right. They would be contented with their lot, because they would be assured of their daily bread, and would be preserved from the fear of an uncertain future. They would therefore constitute 2,000,000 conservatives, enemies of any radical change because they would see in it a menace to their property rights.

This result would be accomplished if 200 owners of large estates were each willing to cede 10,000 acres on the terms proposed. Moreover, this measure would have another beneficial effect for society, as the land thus assigned would be better cultivated and would in a few years show a much larger production, thus increasing the general economic prosperity of the nation.

Another consideration that should encourage the great landowners to carry out this policy is that they would soon be in a position to capitalize their income on at least a 5 per cent. basis. There ought to be no difficulty in finding capitalists willing to take over the contracts at this rate, as the income would be just as secure and as easily collected as the interest on a government bond.

As a necessary condition for the success of this measure, the state should bind itself not to collect for ten years the tax now imposed upon the granting of perpetual leases of this type, provided they are made directly to the farmer, and never to levy any taxes upon the amount of the fixed rental.



Photograph by C. Gordon Hewitt

A SMALL HERD OF BISON IN THE BUFFALO PARK, WAINWRIGHT, ALBERTA

RESTORING THE BISON HERDS

NO animal has excited a greater amount of sentimental interest on the part of the American people than the bison. The harrowing story of this sadly maltreated beast has often been told. The cheerful epilogue of the story has but lately come to light, and an interesting version of it is presented in *Natural History* (New York) by Mr. C. Gordon Hewitt, who, as consulting zoölogist to the Canadian Government's Commission of Conservation, has taken an active part in the events that he records. Mr. Hewitt writes under the title, "The Return of the Bison."

Thanks to the protection accorded the bison, in the nick of time, by official and unofficial agencies in the United States and Canada, the race is no longer in danger of extinction, but is, on the contrary, increasing at a rapid rate. The story, in a nutshell, is told in the caption of one of the excellent photographs with which the author of the article above mentioned has illustrated his text. We read:

Probably no large quadruped has ever developed in such prodigious numbers as did the American bison in the days of its glory. The Central Plains, literally black with these huge oxen, supported countless millions which, except for a small tribute to the Indians and the wolves, roamed undisturbed. Even as late as 1871 there was observed migrating across the southern plains a single wedge-shaped herd on a twenty-five-mile front with a depth of fifty miles. Such a drove could contain no fewer than four million head. But of former myriads there were left in 1889 only about six hundred wild bison over the entire continent. From this small nucleus several herds were recruited, of which the largest is now in Buffalo Park, Alberta, Canada.

George Catlin, the painter of Western life, writing in 1841, placed the annual slaughter of bison at between two and three million per annum, and prophesied the extermination of the species within eight or ten years.

The death knell was struck when the construction of the Union Pacific Railway was begun at Omaha in 1866. Previous to the advent of the first transcontinental railway the difficulties of marketing the results of the slaughter served as a slight check on the rate of extermination, for, although the bison were being killed out at a rate greatly in excess of their natural increase, they would have existed for some years longer than the coming of the railroads and additional swarms of white hunters rendered possible.

This railway divided the bison into southern and northern herds, of which the former, the larger of the two, was completely wiped out by 1875. The northern herd, ranging far up into the wilds of Canada, was not so easily destroyed, though the building of the Northern Pacific Railway hastened the process of extermination. From the remnants of this herd the reconstitution of the race has been effected. Mr. Hewitt writes:

There came finally a brighter period in the history of the bison in America. In 1889, when they had reached their lowest level, there were only 256 buffalo in captivity, 200 protected by the United States Government in the Yellowstone Park, and 635 running wild, of which number 550 were estimated to be in the Athabaska region of the Canadian Northwest Territories; the whole bison population at that time was estimated to be 1091 head. An attempt was now made in the United States to protect the remnant and by 1903, according to the census of the American Bison Society, they had increased to

1753 head. These were chiefly confined in the national reservations and parks of the United States Government; some were owned by private individuals. The largest private owner appears to have been Michael Pablo, of Montana, who had a herd of about 700 animals in 1906, the value of which he fully appreciated.

In 1907 the Canadian Government learned that the Pablo herd was for sale, and with commendable foresight purchased it, realizing the importance of acquiring so valuable a herd of what had formerly been the most abundant of our large native mammals. For its reception and maintenance a special national park was established at Wainwright in Alberta. This reservation covers an area of about 160 square miles, the whole of which is enclosed in a special wire fence about 76 miles in length. Judging by the abundance of old bison wallows it evidently formed a favorite place for bison in years gone by. Several lakes, the largest of which is Jamie-son Lake, about seven miles long, provide an ample water supply. The difficulties involved in the capture of the Pablo herd of bison and the transportation of the animals to the Buffalo Park at Wainwright, Alberta, can better be imagined than described. From the date of the receipt of the last animals in 1909 they have increased steadily each year until in 1918 they numbered 3711 head, or more than three times the total number of bison known to be living in North America in 1889.

The United States Government also took steps to protect and increase the herds of bison remaining. A national bison range was established in Montana; and in the Yellowstone National Park and other national reservations the bison were carefully protected, with successful results.

There are now eight herds protected by the United States Government, comprising altogether 891 animals. The largest number is contained in the Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming, where there were on January 1, 1919, 457 animals. In the Montana National Bison Range there were 242 animals on the same date, and the third

largest herd is to be found in the Wichita National Forest and Game Reserve in Oklahoma, where there are about 100 bison.

The total number of captive bison in the United States in January, 1919, according to a statement kindly furnished to me by Mr. M. S. Garretson, secretary of the American Bison Society, was 3048 head. It is estimated that there are also about 70 wild bison, making a total of about 3118 bison in the United States.

In Canada the Canadian Government has bison in three of the national parks. In 1918 the numbers of bison in these reservations were as follows: In Buffalo National Park, Wainwright, Alberta, 3520 animals; in Elk Island Park, Alberta, 183; and in Rocky Mountains Park, Banff, Alberta, 8; making a total of 3711 head. In addition it is estimated that there are about 500 wild bison, or wood bison, in the Athabaska region where they are now protected. Scattered throughout the Dominion in public and private parks there are approximately 40 additional bison. The total number of bison in Canada at the beginning of 1919, therefore, was about 4250 animals.

From the above estimates it will be seen that we have now approximately 7360 bison in the United States and Canada, as compared with 1091 in 1889. These figures show that the bison are coming back, and that they are doing so rapidly.

Already it is becoming a problem to take care of the increment of the protected herds. The Canadian authorities have arranged to give their surplus bison to such public institutions as desire them. Mr. Hewitt suggests that, in view of the present high price of beef, the value of the bison's "robe," and the ability of these animals to care for themselves out of doors in winter, farmers might be encouraged to purchase surplus animals from the Government and utilize them as cattle.

SHOP COMMITTEES IN AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

THE question of employees' representation in the management of industries is discussed by Dr. Royal Meeker, U. S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics, in the *Monthly Labor Review* (Washington, D. C.). Such representation became established on an extensive scale during the late war, in both this country and Great Britain. The British are carrying the idea forward in a systematic way by means of the so-called Whitley Plan, though this is still in the experimental stage. In America, on the other hand, where the governmental machines set up during the war to promote harmonious relations be-

tween labor and employers have mostly been abandoned, no national scheme of employees' representation is yet in sight. Dr. Meeker says:

During the war numerous "shop committees" giving a measure of representation to the workers were set up in many establishments, but no permanent nation-wide organization was created to tie these shop committees into a system, unless perhaps the Shipping Board and the Railroad Administration may be spoken of as permanent bodies.

The plan to bring the employees into closer relations with their employers by means of "shop stewards," "shop committees," "works councils," or other means is often hailed as the dawn of a

new democracy in industry. It is new as compared with ten years ago, or even five years ago; but it cannot be too emphatically stated that democracy in industry is not a discovery of the great World War. In fact, with all the shop committees and works councils of to-day, we have much less democracy in industry than obtained forty years ago or even in the Middle Ages, or at any time before the introduction of power-driven machinery with its tendency to segregate the employers and managers from their employees. The shop committee is the present-day attempt to restore some of the democracy lost through machine industry and big business. While it is, of course, impossible that there can ever be as complete democracy in a large plant as in a small plant, it is often true that the workers' committees of the large plants are able to secure better conditions and more consideration for the workers than the workers in the smaller plants are able to secure for themselves.

According to the writer, employees' participation in management is advantageous to the employers as well as the employed, for the following reason, among others:

A man will willingly work much harder, expend much more energy, and be much less fatigued working on a job which he has a part in planning, and for the results of which he is responsible. The present-day movement for industrial democracy is a partial recognition of the fundamental psychological phenomenon that industrial fatigue is not simply an engineering question to be stated mathematically in foot-pounds per hour or even a physiological question having to do with calories burned up in the body. Work is hard primarily because it is uninteresting and monotonous, or easy because it demands ingenuity or skill. Paradoxical as it seems, the way to make work easier is to make it harder by requiring more of the workmen. The mental application required or the muscular effort put forth has little to do with the hardness of a job. In so far as scientific management has resulted in merely breaking processes up into their component parts, segregating so far as possible the purely muscular and mechanical operations from the creative and planning functions, so-called "efficiency" has resulted in the most disastrous inefficiency. The "easier" specific operations or fractions of operations have been made, the harder they have become. All the efforts of the scientific managers and efficiency experts to arouse, increase, and maintain the interest of the workman in his work are bound to be fruitless unless the work itself is made interesting. The worker must be called upon to use his head in planning as well as his hands and feet in executing his work if contentment is to be attained.

There is but little fundamental difference between the various shop committees in this country, apart from that involved in their relation to the trade-unions. There are open-shop committees and closed-shop committees. The influence of the trade-unions tends to tie up the committees with the national craft organizations, while the influence of em-

ployers is, in general, directed toward localizing the committees within the several shops.

One of the biggest questions to be settled is whether employees' representation is to be local and under the direct control and domination of the employer, or whether it is to be nation or world wide and under the control of the workers themselves, or whether the general public will insist on being a party to every collective agreement so as to prevent the employers and the employees from agreeing too agreeably and charging the bill to the ultimate consumer.

As to function, most shop committees deal with grievances, working conditions (*i. e.*, safety, sanitation, and hygiene), wages and hours of labor, and methods of wage payments. Oftentimes a different shop committee is created to deal with each separate function coming under the general head of industrial relations. As to participation in management of industry in the true sense of the term there is as yet practically none in the United States. A great many general managers and directors of personnel say the employees have been taken into partnership and are taking part in the management of the business like true industrial democrats. No doubt these managers and directors honestly think they have achieved industrial democracy, but in the systems of employee representation which I have been able to examine the still, small voice of the general manager could be heard very, very distinctly.

There is a vast gulf fixed between expressing an opinion about the shape of the handle of the shovel one uses for heaving slag or the desirability of having a glee club rather than a debating society; and the planning and routing of work, devising methods and determining upon the tools, machines, and processes for making the finished product in a big plant. I insist that the management, even scientific management, has not a monopoly of all the brains in an establishment. The workers themselves can and do contribute. What is of vastly more importance than the increase in production as a result of utilizing the latent intelligence, ingenuity, and enthusiasm of the workers, is the increase in contentment. Here is a vast source of industrial power which has been cut off, isolated, by the transformation of little business into big business. It will be difficult to tap this source, but tap it we must if we are to continue anything resembling the present industrial organization with its large scale production. The good will of the workers is a much more potent force making for industrial efficiency than all the scientific management formulas and systems of production. There is no inherent reason why the good-will of the workers should not go hand in hand with scientific management. Until now the workers have had only antagonism for scientific management because the scientific manager never asked them for their opinions or ideas—he only told them what they were expected to do and the workers promptly did something else. Workers are not different from employers. That is precisely what ails them. If employers will deal fairly and squarely with their employees, let them know all about the business except only those technical processes which must be kept secret, and take them into a real partnership, production will be enormously improved both in quantity and quality.

A SPANISH VIEW OF WORLD LABOR CONDITIONS

OF ALL European countries, Spain has been least injured by the war. It is interesting, therefore, to hear an impartial view of the labor situation from such a source.

In *Nuestro Tiempo* (Madrid) José Carlos Bonna deals with the labor question—first, as an independent thinker belonging neither to the employing nor working class; second, with reference to world conditions.

General disorganization has followed the war. An odious struggle between capital and labor has further complicated matters—a new contagion of fury. One section of the press inflames the ignorant masses by printing unfair articles which suppress the truth.

One sees in Germany a country still docile, while Russia has no conscience. Germany has suffered a political change to a Republic, Russia a complete social metamorphosis from absolutism to anarchy.

Even countries not in the war have caught the fever of the class struggle and in many places hunger and misery have followed. No one denies that capital has been unduly greedy in many cases, or that it has oppressed workers; yet a struggle between capital and labor is most dangerous to the innocent bystander. (Here Señor Bonna agrees with Governor Allen of Kansas, who has asked why capital—which is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of our population—and labor (6 per cent.) should be allowed to grind the remaining $91\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the people of the United States between them.)

It is true that workers gain by augmented daily wages, but they lose by the largely increased cost of living; this applies to both the industrial and agricultural classes. An increase in cost of labor to a manufacturer of twenty points in one hundred is passed on to the consumer at the rate of fifty points in a hundred. The consumer always pays the bill—the consumer often is the workman. If the consumer is rich, he complains and reduces his purchases slightly; if poor, he must cut down his standard of living and omit necessities.

Thus the employee, though paid more daily, pays such augmented prices that he is a loser in every way and must dress more humbly and eat coarser food—a strange phenomenon noted in many countries.

Not a few times have employers declared

that a request for a wage increase was impossible—then granted it. "How has the impossible, admitting of no modification, been modified?" If it could be done, why did not the employer give an increase before the bitter necessities of the worker forced the demand? "If it could not be, how was it done? By imposition, by force? This is unimaginable. One struggles with the possible; with the impossible, never."

According to Señor Bonna's opinion, this proves the exploiters were not doing the impossible; but, unfortunately, human greed limits the advance of the aspiring. People do not limit their demands to reason, but advance them to unacceptable limits. In short, workers conceive as a right wages which others regard as a tyranny to a whole people.

A fear of government fills the masses. In some cases the masses have taken over the government; absolutism of the masses has resulted. Why should other classes bow to such tyranny?

Suppose a contented community, united in bonds of a common hope, to-morrow, as the result of a controversy, bursts into house-to-house fighting (like the Guelphs and Gibe-lins)! And all this in the name of liberty!

Liberty! We say it glibly—a remedy for so many evils! But liberty ceases when compulsion begins. Liberty, as is well understood and applied, is merely *similia similibus curantur* and alone can save the life of a society embittered unto death.

The true remedy is that all must be free to aid, independent of fear. Is a man free who has been forced into a consolidation of men which his conscience loathes? In nearly every workers' association independence is preached, yet dependence is the rule; reason is demanded in unreasonable language; force is damned while compulsion is being employed.

There must be freedom of capital and labor. There must be no despotic associations, but free men. The vicious vagabond, the weak or useless, will succumb. Real workers will group together with the *object of working*, not to listen to servile agitators. The employer must be free to give his conditions, the employee free to accept or reject. The uncontrovertible economic law will be reestablished—augmented production means diminished prices.

THE MODERN ORCHESTRA

THE many shortcomings of the musical instruments of our time, and the improvements which might and should be made in them in order to bring out their full beauty and power, form the theme of an interesting article, by Emanuel Moor, in the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Lausanne).

Music, he remarks, is the latest of the arts, but its technique is far from perfect, or even satisfactory. The orchestra in particular—at least its basic part, the string instruments—seems stationary. The writer, by right of his long experience as a musician, wishes to sketch an effort whose aim is to impart to the orchestra as a whole tremendous power without impairing the manifold and delicate shades of which music is capable.

The string quartet has not changed since Stradivarius and Guarneri. And yet the other instruments that have been added to the orchestra have appreciably improved. We still have to impress a host of violins to cope with the trumpets of the orchestra, and even then they are submerged by the powerful sounds of the wind instruments.

The violin, though admirable in form and in the delicacy of its tones, is not in accord with the energy or strength of the player; it cannot be, owing to its unfavorable construction and manipulation. The range of its tones is dependent upon too small a sounding-board, and the skill of the artist is subject to the action of the left hand, with the weakest fingers doing the most work. How is it that no ingenious violin-maker has as yet proposed a new shape which would release the vibrating power of the instrument to its full capacity?

Modern music goes far beyond the restricted limits of the traditional orchestra, which is evidently growing less and less able to express it, not only as regards harmonic amplitude, but—particularly—as regards range of tone. Suppose that the composer wishes to develop his idea first forcefully in a low register, evolving into the higher notes in a requisite majestic *crescendo*. He can not do it under the existing conditions. In the low notes the instruments are absolutely inadequate.

It seems as if in music we are contemporaries of the primitives. Perspective is literally choked up. Everything is on one plane. And this applies to the simple quartet as well as to a great orchestra. When the musical *motif* is developed in the barytone register

the violins must remain silent for lack of chords and tones. There remain the alto and the violoncello, which make desperate, futile attempts to round out a harmonious ensemble.

We find—and most composers realize the fact—that both in the low and high registers there is an enormous gap which lames musical expression. It seems incredible that no efforts have thus far been made to fill it. That gap, the writer claims, disappears with his system, for the same instruments which in the low register produce powerful, sonorous tones, rise as well to the higher ones, thus contributing continuously to the ample development of the musical creation. And that is the great *desideratum* of the orchestra; we must develop the instruments to their utmost capacity.

Let us have the courage to admit it; our generation is still following ancient methods. No one dares change the sacred forms of our instrumentation. As a consequence confusion reigns supreme, creating obscurity, perpetuating mediocrity.

To-day the concert-halls are growing more and more vast. Composers aim to create new, resounding effects, but are baffled by the limited scope of the interpretative means. Is it not essential to renew completely the art of instrument-making? The violin, king of the orchestra, can shine only if the other instruments are quiescent, or almost so. Hence the great and fundamental change which the writer proposes is the enlargement of the sounding-board of the violin, for the experiments of a century upon resonant instruments demonstrate that the perfecting of the violin can be achieved only by that means.

The writer describes an instrument of his own devising, constructed on the principle of the violin, upon which he experimented. The results convinced him of the soundness of his contentions. The resonance obtained equaled in intensity that of eight or ten violins, without impairing the quality of the tones. Moreover, the player, comfortably placed in front of his instrument, can exercise all his energy and skill without discomfort or fatigue. One can, besides, play with both hands and use the bow by means of pedals. Owing to the horizontal position of the instrument, which rests on four legs, a longer bow can be used, imparting more force or softness to the chords.

THE NEW BOOKS INTERNATIONAL TOPICS

The Inside Story of the Peace Conference. By Dr. Edward J. Dillon. Harper & Brothers. 512 pp.

If John Maynard Keynes is the most competent observer of economic conditions who has thus far written about the Peace Conference, Dr. Edward J. Dillon is beyond question the best informed authority on the purely political aspects of the Treaty of Versailles. Probably no one of those who followed from day to day the doings at Paris in the early months of 1919 had in former years been personally acquainted with so many European statesmen or so completely in touch with the actual workings of European diplomacy as Dr. Dillon. Thus it resulted that at Paris the purpose behind each diplomatic move, frequently obscure to most of the onlookers, could not be hidden from this clear-visioned, experienced observer of world politics. Dr. Dillon's book assumes to tell us not only what happened at Paris but why it happened. Dr. Dillon believes that it was "a fatal, tactical mistake" at Paris to make the charter of the League of Nations and the treaty of peace with the Central Powers interdependent. He also censures severely the attitude of the Peace Conference toward Russia.

A World Remaking, or Peace Finance. By Clarence W. Barron. Harper & Brothers. 242 pp.

Another writer who criticizes the work of the Peace Conference is Mr. C. W. Barron, whose articles, written in England and France, in March of last year, were widely circulated in this country. He agrees with Dr. Dillon in censure of the Allies' policy toward Russia. The most important of Mr. Barron's articles are collected in this volume.

Rebuilding Europe in the Face of World-wide Bolshevism. By Newell Dwight Hillis. Fleming H. Revell Company. 256 pp.

In this little volume Dr. Hillis recapitulates the human and material losses of Germany, France, Great Britain and Russia and sounds a warning to Americans against Bolshevism. A chapter is also devoted to the rebuilding of the little nations of the East.

Is America Worth Saving? By Nicholas Murray Butler. Charles Scribner's Sons. 398 pp.

A volume made up of President Butler's admirable addresses on national problems and party politics. Among the topics treated are "The Real Labor Problem," "The High Cost of Living," "The Road to Durable Peace," "A League of Nations," "The Republican Party, Its Present Duty and Opportunity," "Theodore

Roosevelt, American," "The World's Debt to England," and "Education After the War."

France and Ourselves. By Herbert Adams Gibbons. The Century Company. 286 pp.

Dr. Gibbons is able to write with a certain confidence as an interpreter of present-day France to America since he was throughout the war and during the Peace Conference a resident of France, and during that time traveled widely over the country lecturing for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs upon the extent and spirit of American intervention. This volume is made up of magazine articles dealing with the work of Clemenceau, the question of Alsace-Lorraine, the industrial transformation of France during the war, the reconstruction of Northern France, the attitude of France toward peace, the Caillaux case, and the efforts to increase the birth rate and rehabilitate national finances.

The Russian Republic. By Col. Cecil L'Es-
trange Malone. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 153 pp.

Colonel Malone is a member of the British Parliament who during the war had a distinguished career in naval aviation. Last September he went to Russia for the purpose of getting first-hand information about the workings of the Soviet Government. He had interviews with the leading Soviet officials, and this little book tells what he learned in a three weeks' sojourn.

Red Terror and Green. By Richard Dawson. E. P. Dutton & Company. 272 pp.

Many American readers are likely to hesitate in accepting Mr. Dawson's claim that the Sinn Fein Movement in Ireland is merely the "western wing of Bolshevism." But the facts that he sets forth are certainly sufficient to show that the present Irish revolutionary movement is something utterly different from the Irish nationalism of a decade ago, or from any other political agitation in Ireland with which we of this generation are familiar.

Ireland an Enemy of the Allies? Translated from the French of R. C. Escouffaire. E. P. Dutton & Company. 268 pp.

M. Escouffaire's thesis in this volume is that the Irish Question so-called is "an international imposture." In years past this French writer had accepted anti-British propaganda from Ireland at its face value, but his contact with British statesmen during the war led him to question his earlier conclusions, and in the present volume after an independent study of Ireland's relations with England he declares categorically that the whole Irish claim of oppression by England, so far as the present generation is concerned, is a myth.

FRESH VIEWPOINTS ON THE WAR

In the World War. By Count Ottokar Czernin. Harper & Brothers. 387 pp.

The publishers have announced that this volume was written by the former Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs from his diary. At any rate, it seems to picture with more frankness than one expects to find in official statements the impressions and reflections of a participant in the diplomatic developments of the war. Count Czernin was one of those who believed that the German entry into Belgium in August, 1914, was a mistake, and that if England had remained neutral the Central Powers would have won the war. He makes the definite statement that the decision as to whether England would remain neutral or not lay with Germany and that the die was cast when Belgian neutrality was violated. After America's entrance into the war, it will be recalled that Count Czernin welcomed President Wilson's formulation of the Fourteen Points, and that the President publicly acknowledged early in 1918 Count Czernin's partial concurrence in his own views regarding a basis of peace.

Soldiers All. Portraits and Sketches of the Men of the A. E. F. By Joseph Cummings Chase. George H. Doran Company. 480 pp.

Mr. Chase was authorized to go overseas to paint the portraits of American soldiers, ranging from general to private. General Pershing took a personal interest in seeing that facilities were opened to him for this purpose, and the result was a remarkable collection of characteristic portraits and sketches. Mr. Chase began his work in the A. E. F. before the Armistice, and after traveling the entire length of the American front he went with the Army of Occupation into Germany. By automobile he traveled four thousand miles to and from each of the American divisions. Within three or four months Mr. Chase painted more than one hundred portraits, and it is said that probably no man who was not himself in the army has had such opportunities for contact with both officers and soldiers.

Now It Can Be Told. By Philip Gibbs. Harper & Brothers. 558 pp. Ill.

This new book by Mr. Gibbs differs from its predecessors in that it is more than a chronicle of events. His purpose now is to reveal the realities of war as they could not be revealed while the war itself was in progress. Needless to say, some of these revelations are extremely painful, and Mr. Gibbs hopes that their mere statement may so impress men's minds as to help bring about a system of international relations that will prevent or at least postpone another sacrifice of youth such as the world has just witnessed.

Gun Fodder. By A. Hamilton Gibbs. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. 313 pp.

Major A. Hamilton Gibbs, younger brother of the war correspondent, here tells the story of four years of war as he experienced it. In 1914 young Gibbs, who was an Oxford graduate and author, enlisted in the British cavalry, and later



PORTRAIT OF A SERGEANT IN THE A. E. F.
(Painted by Joseph Cummings Chase and reproduced in "Soldiers All")

trained with a division of field artillery for service in Egypt and in Salonica. He was invalided home in 1916, but in the spring of 1917 went to the Western Front with a field battery. In 1918, a Major, decorated with the military cross, he was in the retreat to the Marne, which he describes in this volume. During the Allied advance Major Gibbs was gassed and put out of the fight. As a personal narrative this book is a distinct success.

Fighting Without a War. By Ralph Albertson. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 138 pp. Ill.

This is an account of military intervention in North Russia. The Allied expedition at the Archangel front has never been authoritatively described, and it is doubtless true, as Mr. Albertson asserts, that neither he nor any other man saw all of what happened to that expedition. For so much as Mr. Albertson is able to tell us we have reason to be thankful, since the censorship, up to the present time, has prevented any connected account reaching the American public. As a Y. M. C. A. secretary, first with the American troops and after their withdrawal with the British, Mr. Albertson has personal knowledge of the trials and hardships of the expedition, and of its dealings with the Russian people.

The Spirit of Selective Service. By Major General E. H. Crowder, U. S. Army. The Century Company. 367 pp.

General Crowder will always be remembered as the man who in 1917 created the machinery

of the great American draft of 4,000,000 men, and to the amazement of the doubters made that machinery work. The principle of selective service was no new thing to General Crowder. For years he had made a study of the various foreign systems of compulsory military training. It is because he believes that the system of selective service which the United States organized during the war should be preserved and applied to the activities of peace that he has written this book. He would use the system to promote education, settle labor disputes, and in hundreds of other ways increase the national efficiency.

First Reflections on the Campaign of 1918.

By R. M. Johnston. Henry Holt & Co. 79 pp.

During the last year of the war Major Johnston

was attached to the American General Staff at General Pershing's headquarters in France. He made several visits to the front and saw the American war machine in action. This little book is offered as a constructive criticism of our military system.

Alsace in Rust and Gold. By Edith O'Shaughnessy (Mrs. Nelson O'Shaughnessy). Harper & Brothers. 183 pp. Ill.

Mrs. O'Shaughnessy visited Alsace in the autumn of 1918, just before the Armistice. What she saw and heard there inspired the present volume, which has to do chiefly with the "re-Gallicizing" of the Alsatian people and the new French administration.

BIOGRAPHY, LETTERS AND PERSONAL REMINISCENCE

Woodrow Wilson and His Work. By William E. Dodd. Doubleday, Page & Co. 369 pp. Ill.

Professor Dodd has written a sympathetic account of President Wilson's entire career, devoting considerably more than two-thirds of the volume to the seven years' occupancy of the White House. The several reforms that were initiated during the first Wilson Administration and have somewhat receded in popular interest since war issues have come to the front are clearly described by Professor Dodd and placed in proper perspective. There is also a good summary of the pacifist tendencies manifest in the first years of the European war, of the counteracting movement for preparedness, and the gradual change in public sentiment that finally led to America's active participation in the war within five months after Wilson's reelection on a non-war platform. Professor Dodd heartily defends the President in his appeal to the country to return a Democratic Congress, in his decision to go to Paris himself to negotiate peace terms, and in his course throughout the negotiations. While it is clear that the President is bitterly disappointed in many features of the outcome, his biographer is fully convinced that he did all that any American could have done to obtain a just peace. He says in conclusion: "It is surely a record unsurpassed; and the fame of the man who now lies ill in the White House can never be forgotten, the ideals he has set and the movement he has pressed so long and so ably cannot fail. It is a compelling, almost a tragic, story."

Mercier, the Fighting Cardinal of Belgium.

By Charlotte Kellogg. D. Appleton & Company. 248 pp.

Mrs. Vernon Kellogg, as a member of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, had full opportunity to know Cardinal Mercier's work and the regard in which he was held by the Belgian people, especially during the first two years of the war. Her book is a tribute to the brave and devout life of the great Belgian prelate. Written by an American woman, this story of the "fight-

ing Cardinal" will appeal with special force to thousands of Americans who last fall had the pleasure of welcoming this Prince of the Church to our own land.

My Quarter-Century of American Politics.

By Champ Clark. Harper & Brothers. Vol. I. 495 pp. Ill. Vol. II. 472 pp. Ill.

This being a political year, more than ordinary attention is likely to be bestowed on former Speaker Champ Clark's two-volume story of "My Quarter-Century of American Politics." It reminds us particularly of the Bryan silver campaign of 1896 and of Mr. Clark's own remarkable race for the Presidential nomination in 1912, when Democratic primaries supported him so strongly that he was able to travel, as he says, from coast to coast without leaving Clark territory, and when for eight successive ballots in the Baltimore Convention he had a clear majority of the delegates, and but for the enforcement of the two-thirds rule, would have received the nomination instead of Woodrow Wilson. The debates and personal contests during Mr. Clark's service in the House of Representatives are graphically described, and the work is well entitled to a place on the library shelf beside Blaine's "Twenty Years in Congress," "Cox's Three Decades of Federal Legislation," Senator John Sherman's "Reminiscences," and other books of the kind that students of American politics will easily recall.

Leonard Wood. By William Herbert Hobbs. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 272 pp. Ill.

The Life of Leonard Wood. By John G. Holme. Doubleday, Page & Company. 228 pp. Ill.

Of the making of Leonard Wood books it seems that the end is not yet. In our April number we noticed the biography by Eric Fisher Wood, and some months ago mention was made of the smaller book by Joseph Hamblen Sears. Another serviceable and readable volume of the same group is Professor William Herbert Hobbs' sketch of General Wood as "administrator, sol-

dier and citizen." Essentially the same ground is covered by Mr. John G. Holme, an experienced newspaper man, and if the Chicago Convention in June next should take action that would cause a demand from the country for a so-called "campaign life" of General Wood, there is some satisfaction in knowing that the order has already been filled.

Arguments and Speeches of William Maxwell Evarts. Edited, with an introduction, by his son, Sherman Evarts. Macmillan. Vol. I. 722 pp. Vol. II. 647 pp. Vol. III. 461 pp. Ill.

These addresses and legal arguments serve to reveal to readers of to-day the mind and character of one of the great lawyers of the past generation. The late Joseph H. Choate spoke of Mr. Evarts, who was the senior partner in the famous law firm of Evarts, Southmayd and Choate, as "the quickest witted man I ever met on either side the water." Mr. Evarts was retained in a great number of historic cases—the impeachment trial of President Johnson, the Alabama claims, the Beecher-Tilton trial, and the disputed Presidential election of 1876.

Rambling Recollections. An Autobiography by A. D. Rockwell, M.D. Paul B. Hoeber. 332 pp. Ill.

A New York City physician's memories of a long life, during which he has enjoyed personal acquaintance with an unusually large number of

celebrities, national and local. Dr. Rockwell was a surgeon in Sheridan's army and after the Civil War took a high place in the medical profession as a pioneer in the use of electricity for the treatment of disease. Later he led in the fight for substituting electrocution for hanging as a method of capital punishment.

Letters of Anton Chekhov. Translated by Constance Garnett. Macmillan. 416 pp.

The family of Anton Chekhov, the Russian novelist, has published 1890 of his letters. From this great mass of correspondence Mrs. Garnett has selected for translation those passages which seem to her to throw most light on the novelist's life, character and opinions. A biographical sketch, taken from the memoirs written by Chekhov's brother, introduces the volume.

Letters of Donald Hankey. With Introduction and Notes by Edward Miller, M.A. Fleming H. Revell Company. 356 pp. Ill.

As the author of "A Student in Arms," Donald Hankey endeared himself to thousands of readers on both sides of the Atlantic. To all these, and especially to such as knew the circumstances of his heroic death in the war, this volume of personal letters will possess the keenest interest. Hankey began writing at the age of twenty, when he was a subaltern in the British Army, and the last letter was dated October 6, 1916, six days before his death.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Wilderness. By Rockwell Kent. With drawings by the author and an Introduction by Dorothy Canfield. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 217 pp.

This "Journal of Quiet Adventure in Alaska" is made up of an artist's notes written on Fox Island, where the author sojourned with his young son from August 25, 1918, to March 17, 1919. In the introduction Dorothy Canfield speaks with enthusiasm of "the shining beauty which pervades the book and the drawings, carries us along to share it, not merely to look at it; to feel it, not merely to admire it."

Le Petit Nord, or Annals of a Labrador Harbor. By Anne Grenfell and Katie Spalding. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 198 pp. Ill.

A book made up of letters written by Dr. Wilfred T. Grenfell's wife and the nurse who accompanied them on their expeditions into the North Country. Dr. Grenfell himself is the author of most of the descriptions of Labrador life that have heretofore appeared. The present work is of special interest in that it gives the feminine viewpoint.

Unknown London. By Walter George Bell. John Lane Company, 254 pp. Ill.

This book gives definite information about a great number of things that even American readers know about, but which Mr. Bell asserts,



FOX ISLAND, RESURRECTION BAY, KENAI PENINSULA, ALASKA

(Sketch by Rockwell Kent, reproduced in "Wilderness")

nobody, even in London, knows. That is to say, many London antiquities and relics, that might easily be seen by anybody, have been neglected by Englishmen and outlanders alike. One of these historical objects is the Domesday Book itself, which, according to Mr. Bell, is "lying in the city of London in a public place, accessible to all without charge, and with no more trouble than is required by signing one's name—and nobody sees it or even can tell where it is."

AMERICANISM AND GOVERNMENT

The National Government of the United States. By Everett Kimball. Ginn and Company. 629 pp.

Since this entire volume of more than 600 pages is devoted to the Federal Government alone, without specific reference to State and local administrative units, the author has found it possible to incorporate a great deal of important material that is not to be found in other textbooks of American government. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the book is the free use that is made of the Supreme Court decisions, in so far as they interpret the Federal Constitution. In many instances the exact language of the decisions is given, thus enabling the student to come without delay to the authoritative source of all helpful discussion of constitutional principles. The book, as a whole, gives a good prospectus of the relations between all political activities on the part of the citizen and the actual functioning of the Government.

Americanism versus Bolshevism. By Ole Hanson. Doubleday, Page & Co. 299 pp.

The former Mayor of Seattle here exposes the workings of American Bolshevism as he has encountered it in the West. His book is an appeal to Americans of foreign birth or descent, as well as to those of the native stock, to defend the Government against the inroads of the I. W. W.

Democracy and Government. By Samuel Peterson. Alfred A. Knopf. 287 pp.

The author of this work, who is a lawyer, lecturer, and writer on governmental and legal subjects, criticizes our suffrage laws and the present electoral system and offers a program of governmental reorganization, by which he hopes to make

public officers responsible directly to the people and at the same time to obtain efficient officers.

American Democracy versus Prussian Marxism. By Clarence F. Birdseye. Fleming H. Revell Company. 371 pp.

In this volume Mr. Birdseye analyzes both Marxian socialism and the American system of government, in order to show that, while the one is practically identical with Prussian autocracy in its extreme form, the other is the embodiment of the best and most fruitful ideals of democracy.

The Making of a Nation. By Wentworth Stewart. Boston: The Stratford Co. 190 pp.

The bearing of Americanism and Americanization upon nation-building is the real theme of this book. All elements of our population, according to the author, must be fused into the national life. It is not enough that aliens applying for American citizenship should be formally naturalized, but if they are not to become a burden on the body politic, they must be made a vital part of it.

The Public Defender. By Mayer C. Goldman. With a foreword by Justice Wesley O. Howard. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 98 pp.

Those who read the articles on the Public Defender in the March number of this Review will be interested to know that the argument in favor of the Public Defender, as a necessary factor in the administration of justice, has been admirably summarized in a little book by Mr. Mayer C. Goldman, of the New York Bar. The latest edition of this work gives full information regarding the progress of the movement throughout the country.

HANDBOOKS FOR ANGLERS

Bass, Pike, Perch and Other Game Fishes of America. By James A. Henshall. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Company. 410 pp. Ill.

All the game fishes of the United States that live in the fresh-water lakes and streams east of the Rocky Mountains are described in this book. The author has added suggestions as to angling and tackle which are based on his personal experience during a period of more than sixty years on American waters from Canada to the West Indies and from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains.

Practical Fly Fishing. By Larry St. John. Macmillan. 175 pp. Ill.

This little book is intended as a companion to "Practical Bait Casting" by the same author. The author devotes a large proportion of his space to fly fishing for black bass. His reasons for so doing are the more general distribution of the bass, offering a greater number of anglers an opportunity to take them on a fly rod, the popularity of this phase of angling, and the fact that

the subject has been neglected by most writers who have dealt with angling in general.

Fishing Tackle and Kits. By Dixie Carroll. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Company. 334 pp. Ill.

So well-known a "fishing editor" and writer as Dixie Carroll needs no introduction to American anglers. As editor of the *National Sportsman* and of departments in the *Chicago Daily News* and other newspapers, and as the author of several standard text-books on angling, he is known the country over. His present volume is filled with practical information on game fish and how to land them. Like all of Dixie Carroll's writings, the book is unconventional and charged with fishermen's good humor.

Streamcraft. By George Parker Holden. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Company. 264 pp. Ill.

Another angling manual notable for the sprightliness of its style and the intrinsic interest of even its technical chapters.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

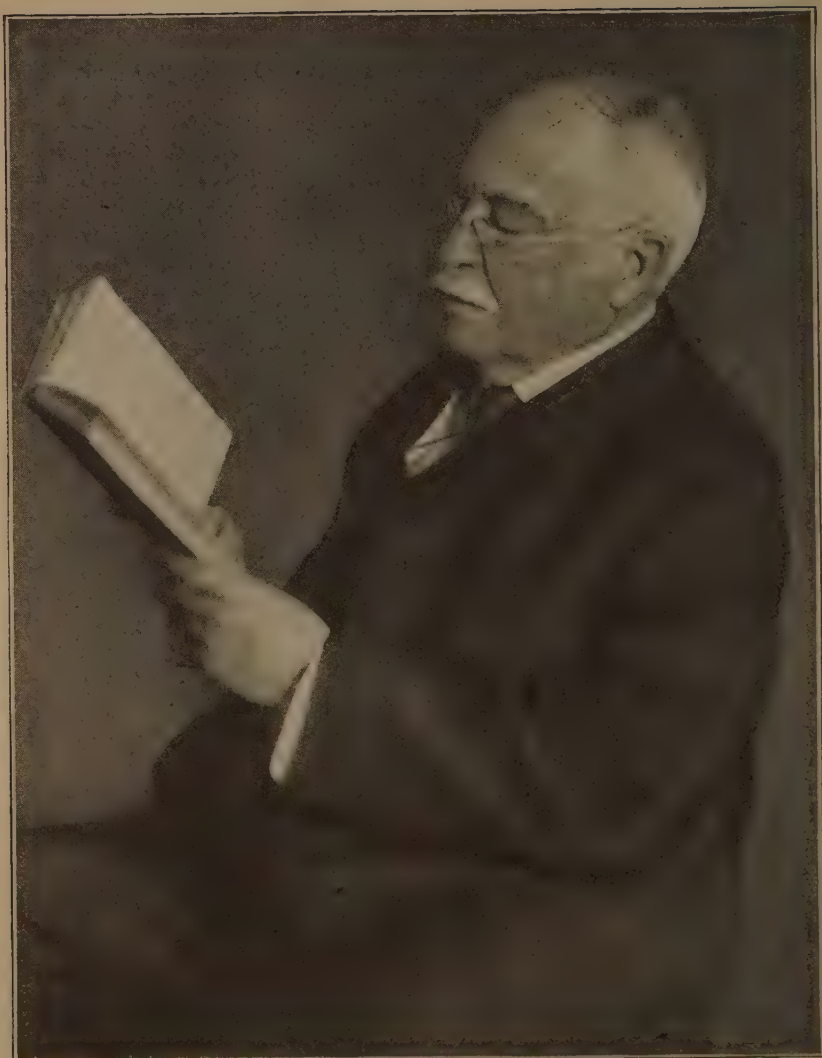
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WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS

Mr. Howells, who was the most eminent American man of letters, died in New York City on May 11, at the age of eighty-three. Mr. Howells had literally grown up and obtained his education in his father's country printing office in Ohio. In 1860, in association with John J. Piatt he brought out "Poems of Two Friends." In the same year he wrote a campaign life of Abraham Lincoln, and in recognition of this service was appointed consul at Venice, where he remained four years, writing "Venetian Life" and "Italian Journeys." On his return to America he became an editorial writer on the *New York Nation*, and later joined the staff of the *Atlantic Monthly* at Boston, serving as editor of that magazine from 1872 to 1881. During that period he turned from poetry to fiction. After several years' residence in England and Italy, Mr. Howells became an editorial contributor to *Harper's Magazine*, and for many years was the writer of "Editor's Easy Chair" in that periodical. His novels, numerous and distinctive as they are, by no means constitute his sole claim to fame. He was a critic of marked power and acumen, and as a writer of essays and travel sketches a worthy successor of Irving. (See page 644.)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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NEW YORK, JUNE, 1920

No. 6

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Peace
and
Politics*

When President Wilson in January demanded that the election this fall should take the form of a solemn referendum on his work in the Peace Conference, it was not generally believed that the issues involved in making peace could be so long deferred, or could be made to subserve a merely partisan purpose. But the deadlock has remained unbroken, and every attempt of reasonable and moderate men to secure a compromise and ratify the treaty has been rendered futile. When, last November, the Republican majority voted to ratify the treaty with the Lodge reservations, it would have been easy to secure the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate if broad and wise counsels had prevailed. At a still earlier date, with even milder reservations, the treaty could have been adopted if there had been coöperation instead of antagonism between the White House and the Senate. With every added month of delay, the opponents of the treaty have grown stronger and the difficulties in the way of adoption have increased. Partisanship has been stimulated where it ought to have been forgotten. Prejudices have been awakened and ill-will toward other countries has been fomented, with serious loss to American prestige and great harm to the principles for which we fought the war.

*The President
Still Demands
"Referendum"*

Referring to the Democratic National Convention which is to meet at San Francisco late in June, President Wilson last month declared that the Democrats as a party "should endorse and support the Versailles treaty and condemn the Lodge reservations as utterly inconsistent with the Nation's honor and destructive of the world's leadership, which it had established and which all the free peoples of the world, including the great powers themselves, had shown themselves ready to

welcome." The President proceeded to wave the party emblem as follows:

It is time that the party should proudly avow that it means to try, without flinching or turning at any time away from the path for reasons of expediency, to apply moral and Christian principles to the problems of the world. It is trying to accomplish social, political, and international reforms and is not daunted by any of the difficulties it has to contend with. Let us prove to our late associates in the war that at any rate the great majority party of the Nation, the party which expresses the true hopes and purposes of the people of the country, intends to keep faith with them in peace as well as in war.

They gave their treasure, their best blood, and everything that they valued, in order not merely to beat Germany, but to effect a settlement and bring about arrangements of peace which they have now tried to formulate in the Treaty of Versailles. They are entitled to our support in this settlement and in the arrangements for which they have striven.

*Shifts of
Partisan
Attitude*

As the preliminary campaign had advanced from March into May, Democratic sentiment had apparently been drifting away from the President's position to that of the earlier stand of the Lodge reservationists. Republican sentiment meanwhile had been to some extent drifting away from the Lodge position to that of Senator Knox, Hiram Johnson, and Senator Borah. The logic of events had made it quite certain that Senator Lodge would be chosen as temporary chairman of the Republican Convention at Chicago on June 8th, and would thus be given opportunity to make the so-called keynote speech. Republicans like former-President Taft, Mr. Elihu Root, Mr. Charles E. Hughes, or Mr. George W. Wickersham had been too strongly committed to the treaty and the League of Nations and too "mild" in their insistence upon reservations to have been entirely acceptable to the supporters of the victor in the California primaries. Senator Knox or Senator Borah had

been too antagonistic, however, to express the average Republican position in the coming contest. Their strength was to be recognized by some such concession as the permanent chairmanship of the Chicago Convention. Mr. Lodge, who had been regarded as more interested in the proposed amendments than in the thing to be amended, was, therefore, in a position which made his choice as formal spokesman at Chicago practically certain.

*Hoover Now
Lodgeite, not
Wilsonite*

Even Mr. Herbert Hoover, who only a few weeks ago had been sensationally launched by the foremost journalistic supporters of President Wilson as the proper nominee for the San Francisco Convention, and the man predestined to carry forward Mr. Wilson's policies of international altruism, had drifted sadly from the true faith and from communion with the counsels of perfection. He had entered the Republican primaries in California against Hiram Johnson. It had been thought that the issue in California would be quite definite, both candidates being popular citizens of that State. Mr. Johnson won over Mr. Hoover—a very large popular vote being polled—by a ratio of practically three to two. As this result was ascertained, however, nobody was disposed to think that it amounted to a verdict either against or for the treaty and the League of Nations. Hiram Johnson's attitude is as flatly against the unamended Versailles treaty as Mr. Wilson's attitude continues to be for it, without the smallest reservation or change. But there is no evidence at all to show that Hiram Johnson's vote-getting ability in the Republican primaries would not have been just as great, or even greater, if he had stood with men like Senator Kellogg of Minnesota in favor of the treaty and league, with suitable definitions of the American position. As for Mr. Hoover, he seems to have resented somewhat, since the California primaries, the intimation that he is European in his points of view and an adherent of White House doctrines as against Republicans.

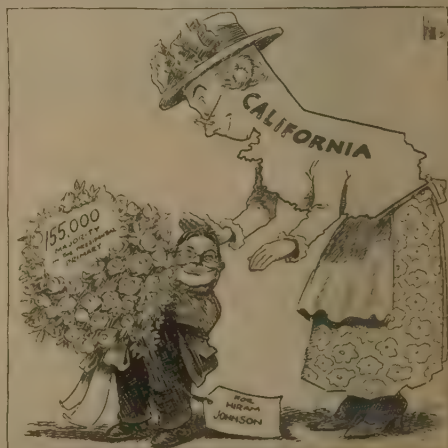
*Strictly a
Chicago
Candidate*

He expressly states that since last November he has been a supporter of the treaty only on the basis of the Lodge reservations. There are many ardent Hooverites who still care more for their hero than they do for party shibboleths, and they are advocating his nomination at San Francisco in case the politicians at Chicago should miss their chance and

reject the man that the country really wants. But Mr. Hoover's increasingly definite support of the Lodge reservations has, of course, rendered him specifically unavailable as a Democratic compromise at San Francisco, with White House sanction. Since it was the foremost journalistic champions of the White House and of the unamended treaty who had originally proclaimed Mr. Hoover for head of the Democratic ticket, it is plain enough to those who have an understanding of American politicians and of convention ways that Hooverism must now make its sole appeal at Chicago, with no chance of a subsequent appeal at San Francisco. At first, when the news came on May 5 of Hiram Johnson's large majority in California, the chances of a Hoover stampede at Chicago seemed to have evaporated altogether. A little earlier it had been supposed that Johnson would carry his own State with no appreciable opposition. As it turned out, however, Johnson got nearly 335,000 and Hoover almost 180,000 votes.

*Hoover's
Popular
Support*

Wherever Johnson appeared and made a personal campaign, outside of his own State, he was able to prove himself a vote-getter of the first order; and thus his strength in States like New Jersey, Maryland, and Indiana reacted favorably upon his popularity on the Pacific Coast. The Hoover sentiment appeared, on the other hand, to be very widely diffused, irrespective of any campaign speaking or any systematic organization. Extensive and significant straw votes, like that undertaken by our contemporary, the *Literary Digest*, have demon-



A REAL FAVORITE SON
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



© Harris & Ewing

SENATOR BOIES PENROSE



© International

GOVERNOR WILLIAM R. SPROUL



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SENATOR PHILANDER C. KNOX

(Pennsylvania has two possible nominees for the Presidency, Governor Sproul and Senator Knox. As head of the party organization, Senator Penrose has declared for Mr. Knox, but there is a strong sentiment for the popular Governor)

strated a Hoover sentiment among Republican and Democratic voters alike that would indicate a tremendous support at the polls if Hoover were actually named at the head of a ticket. It is one thing, however, to run the gantlet of political machinery and win a party nomination, and quite a different thing to face the voters at the polls in November. From the standpoint of practical politics, Mr. Hoover's friends made a mistake in entering the California primaries. They should have minimized antagonism, cultivated good-will, and planned to bring their candidate forward as a compromise after a certain number of ballots at Chicago had resulted in a deadlock. This is what they are now hoping to do, but their preliminary methods have apparently not strengthened the chances of their candidate.

treaty, and last month secured majority support for a resolution to declare the war ended and to bring about a separate peace with Germany. He would recognize peace as an obvious fact, and cut through the tangled web of legal fictions. As Secretary of State in Mr. Taft's administration, Senator Knox had achieved a world-wide reputation for his labors on behalf of an international court of judicature. He stood with the foremost in upholding the idea that America ought to be a leader of the nations in some kind of an association to prevent war. It is hard luck for the country that such able international lawyers and statesmen as are to-day expounding their *differences* for the confusion of the American people could not be brought together and made to unite upon a platform of their *agreements*.

*Knox Would
Cut the
Gordian Knot*

Senator Penrose of Pennsylvania, who enjoys the reputation of being the controlling spirit in a mysterious fraternity known in the newspapers as the "Old Guard," has announced himself a supporter of his colleague, Senator Knox, as the best Republican candidate for the emergency. Senator Knox was a prominent candidate for the nomination in 1908 and has stood high in the list of eligibles ever since. He has strongly opposed the Versailles

*Folly of
Divided
Counsels*

Suppose that a group of men could go away together on a slow voyage for a quiet conference with no reporters present. We will imagine that the Republican Party might send Mr. Taft, Mr. Root, Mr. Hughes, and Senators Lodge, Knox, and Lenroot. The Democrats might send Secretary Houston, Colonel House, Senator Hitchcock, Senator Underwood, Mr. McAdoo, and Ambassador John W. Davis. Here we have twelve men, six of

them Republicans and six Democrats. It would be easy to select a second dozen, every man of whom would be entitled to public confidence and respect. Imagine these men forgetting all about our domestic political parties, and thinking only of America's proper relationship to the outside world. In view of what we know of their past records and expressed sentiments, there ought not to be any great difficulty about their reaching a practically unanimous agreement as to a suitable course for America to adopt and pursue in view of the actual situation. It seems a thousand pities that in times like these the country is obliged to flounder because it is unable to secure for its guidance the united wisdom of its most experienced public men. However valuable our party system may be at certain times as a part of the mechanism for carrying on the work of administration, it is a very dangerous as well as a very inefficient system when it divides men who really think alike on our external policies. Folly rather than wisdom has been illustrated by the Washington deadlock. The future historian will see that our peculiar political mechanism, which made us strong in war, has made us weak in peace.

*The Voters
Must Now
Decide*

The voters must decide for themselves whether President Wilson, rather than the Republican leaders, has dragged into a political campaign these delicate questions of foreign policy which the country—at the time of the armistice and for some months afterward—was considering in a manner quite remote from the strivings and recriminations of a party election. Many of the phrases of President Wilson's utterance of May 9 are on the party plane. "The chief motives," says the President, "which led us to enter the war will be defeated unless the covenant is ratified and acted upon with vigor. We cannot in honor whittle it down or weaken it as the *Republican leaders* of the Senate have proposed to do. . . . The *Democratic Party* has now a great opportunity, to which it must measure up. The honor of the Nation is in its hands." This is an unfortunate tone, because the Democracy, although Mr. Wilson chooses to refer to it as the "majority party," has in point of fact been the minority party since its defeat in the elections of November, 1918. It would seem, therefore, that the honor of the Nation has been committed by the people, at least in part, to the hands of the Republican Party.

*Democrats
Are Not
Unanimous*

Furthermore, the President's lofty claims on behalf of the Democratic Party alone, including his definitions of national honor and international good faith, are by no means accepted with unanimity by that party itself. For the sake of consistency there is a more or less perfunctory acceptance among leading Democrats of the White House position; but just before the President's utterance of May 9 had appeared, the Democrats of the State of New York had held their platform-convention and had overwhelmingly refused to endorse Mr. Wilson's leadership in these very matters. The New York delegation at San Francisco will be decidedly the largest, and it is far less sympathetic with the views that the President expresses than are most of the Republican delegates who will represent the State of New York at Chicago. It is useless to pretend that, whereas the Republicans have been divided about the League of Nations, the Democrats have been and still are more eager to serve humanity and more united about doctrines and policies than the opposing party. The obvious truth is that the existing parties were not formed with a view to opposing each other upon any such issues. If, therefore, Mr. Wilson should secure the nominal expressions at San Francisco that he favors, there would be nothing conclusive in the endorsement of his views.

*Such Issues
Break the
Party Lines*

Democratic politicians say, indeed, that while they have only a fighting chance this year to win the election, it would be something like party suicide not to stand chivalrously by the record the party has made under President Wilson's leadership. Nevertheless, it is to be remembered that Mr. Bryan, who still remains one of the party's personal leaders, has declared for the Lodge reservations and against the White House position. The Democracy of New York under Tammany's control is by far more hostile to Mr. Wilson's so-called "English League of Nations" than are the Republican Knoxites. The Democratic politicians, even more than the Republican, are supporting the Sinn Fein Irish Republic movement in a manner offensive to the British Government, and otherwise aiding to prejudice the American public against the good understandings with other countries that are so essential to the cause of permanent peace. We are pointing out these things merely to show that neither party can expect to carry the next election on the pretense of

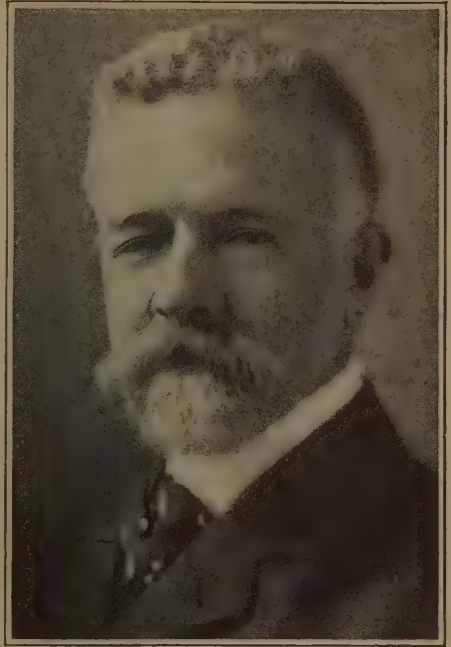
making these issues of foreign policy lie as a bone of contention along the normal line of political cleavage. The League of Nations has its sincere friends in both parties, and it has its bitter enemies likewise in both parties. There are many Republicans who are very fond of Senator Johnson and who are willing to support him for the presidency, yet who would willingly have accepted the Versailles Treaty without changing a word.

*America and
Its Work
Abroad*

We have taken the ground in this magazine that the country was ready enough to accept the treaty and try the experiment of a League of Nations, from the very day when the treaty was signed. But the treaty has grown less popular with delay, largely because of a growing distrust of the motives of European governments and the deepening belief that Europe is incapable even of a faint appreciation of what America actually did to save the Allies from irretrievable disaster, and of the spirit in which America acted. The behavior of Europe since the armistice, however, far from relieving the United States from the duty of taking a hand, has emphasized the need of our continued influence. It would be much more expensive for us in the long run to keep aloof while everything was going from bad to worse, than to assume a resolute part in affairs just now and insist upon things going right. Thus the reasons advanced for our withdrawing from foreign affairs are the very reasons which should keep us on the job. If, having played our determining part in the war, the readjustments were taking a perfectly satisfactory course without us, we might gladly claim to be excused from activity in the political, geographical, and economic reconstruction of Europe and Asia. But the success of the nations in their great appeal to arms created new situations which it was our business to help in adjusting.

*The Sound
Republican
Position*

When he states this broad view of American responsibility, President Wilson is on safe and solid ground. But Mr. Root in his surpassingly able and statesmanlike speech before the New York State Republicans, on February 20, also recognized American responsibility in full measure, and advocated the treaty with the Lodge reservations. Although the debating lay chiefly upon the points of interpretation or amendment, Senator Lodge himself always took it for granted that the main factors of international coöperation as provided



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HON. HENRY C. LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS

(Senator Lodge has been chosen by the National Committee as temporary chairman of the Chicago Convention, and he will make the so-called keynote speech)

in the treaty were to remain undisturbed. Furthermore, after the Lodge reservations had been adopted by the majority vote in the Senate, it was made clear and definite by the British, French, and Italian Governments that these amendments in no matter touched the vitals of the treaty or militated fatally against the development of the League of Nations. When the Lodge resolution with its numbered clauses was under debate it was natural that the emphasis should be placed upon the reservations as against those who opposed them. But it would be doing injustice to the Republican position as taken by Senator Lodge, on behalf of the Foreign Relations Committee and as Republican leader of the Senate, if it were not made clear to the whole country that the Republicans by a large majority voted to ratify the treaty, and that the reservations did not devitalize the document, but on the contrary improved it in certain respects.

*Points
and
Attitudes*

The presence in the Assembly of the League of Nations of representatives from Canada, Australia, and South Africa should make the league

distinctly more agreeable to the United States. The reservation on that point merely had to do with the possible action of a group of British members in a hypothetical case. There was no need of making such a reservation, because the contingency against which it was intended to provide could not possibly arise. The Shantung question should have been dealt with diplomatically outside of the league, and we should not have offended our Japanese friends by voting for a reservation which renders no service to China and merely tends to produce ill feeling all around. The reservation as regards Article X was ample for such instances as Shantung. The clause about Ireland, which was tacked on to the Lodge resolution at the moment of its second majority endorsement, March 19, had no proper place there, as most people well know. Apart from these two or three amendments relating specifically to other countries, the entire Lodge resolution is not only admissible, but clarifying and, therefore, useful. General Wood, as the leading Republican candidate, has accepted it frankly and in good faith. Governor Lowden has taken the same position. Mr. Herbert Hoover stands on identical ground. President Butler and Senator Harding have expressed themselves in terms clear enough to be understood, and neither of them would shirk America's international obligations.

*The Knox Plan
Logical But
Not Practical*

Senator Knox, on the other hand, has from the very beginning had a different method in mind. His logic is never to be scorned, and his arguments are those of a masterly debater. He would have made peace with Germany at once and would have built up an international organization as a subsequent proceeding. President Wilson held from the start that such a course was out of the question and that the League of Nations must be first assured before peace could be formulated. The results have not clearly proved that Mr. Wilson was right and that Senator Knox was wrong. As a matter of argument, one might easily stand upon the thesis that the armistice itself should have been a little more elaborated and regarded as the peace treaty. This would have brought to a quick end the vast array of executive war powers that have vexed this country during the past year and a half. Even now Senator Knox adheres to his view, and he was endeavoring last month to secure peace by the passage of a joint resolution, which the White House in turn was

prepared to veto. The chief trouble with the Knox plan lies in the fact that it is now a year and a half past due. All European powers have been making peace upon the basis of a series of elaborate negotiations, the first of which was the Versailles Treaty with Germany. The simplest and best way for the United States to arrive at the legal status of peace was by accepting the instrument which an American commission had helped to construct. The American position being exceptional, however, there was excellent reason for the reservations.

*The Correct
Platform
Plan*

The Republicans in their platform at Chicago and in their campaign utterances would do best, therefore, to stand squarely upon history as they themselves have made it. A very large majority of the Republicans in the Senate voted to ratify the treaty with amendments. If the White House had yielded and the Democratic Senators had been free to act as they would personally have preferred, we should undoubtedly have had the treaty ratified by a two-thirds majority in the Senate, and with the overwhelming approval of the people of the United States, regardless of party. This is the record that the Republicans have actually made. It was, however, reported last month that because of Senator Johnson's successes in certain primary elections, Senator Lodge and the Republicans would flinch a little from the facts of their



UNITY

[A typical Johnson cartoon]

From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco, Cal.)

own record, in order to adapt themselves to what had seemed to be some change in the political wind. This would be a mistake. The Republican position should be affirmative and responsible. Republicans may at least claim a more consistent position upon the whole with respect to these international questions than the Democrats are likely to be able to show when the different elements of the Democratic Party are subjected to cross-examination.

*The Treaty
At
Chicago*

There is some sign of wavering and irresolution on the part of those who will take the lead in formulating the party's view at Chicago. Leaders like Mr. Root, Mr. Taft, Judge Hughes, and Dr. Butler have taken a certain position not particularly different from that which Senator Lodge with the majority of his colleagues has maintained during the long debate. This view has been actively supported by such presidential candidates as General Wood, Governor Lowden, Mr. Hoover, and several others. A far different position has been taken by Senator Knox, Hiram Johnson, Senator Borah, Senator Poindexter, and others. This second view seeks to control the party's expression at Chicago. We should be glad to hear from our readers as to the views about the position that the Chicago convention should take, and will endeavor to see that such expressions are promptly compiled and referred to the platform-makers.

*Wilson Firm
In Party
Control*

Meanwhile, the public mind is not centered upon the peace treaty, and there are many wise Americans who think it not harmful in the long run that President Wilson should have ceased to be the umpire in the detailed rearrangements of the political geography and the economic relationships of Europe and Asia. Just how many of these problems have been moving toward good or bad solutions is lucidly set forth by Mr. Simonds in his contribution to our present issue. We must know our own mind before we can successfully influence the mind of Europe. Mr. Bryan is not alone in wishing that reservations might be accepted and the treaty issue settled before the presidential campaign is launched early in July. But President Wilson is in a position to render such a settlement impossible. Furthermore, there are great regions of the country, Texas for example, where Mr. Wilson's leadership is still rec-



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HON. OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD, OF ALABAMA

(Mr. Underwood is now the Democratic leader in the Senate, having succeeded Mr. Hitchcock in that capacity. His victory last month in the Alabama primaries assures him a further six years in the Senate after next March. Referring to President Wilson's utterance of May 9, Mr. Underwood expressed general concurrence and stated that the President's message "removes the controversy from the capital and carries the issue to the conventions at Chicago and San Francisco." Alabama supports him for President.)

ognized and his prestige well sustained. Even in Missouri the anti-Wilsonian record of Senator Reed was sharply rebuked by the State Convention early in May, and he was rejected as a delegate-at-large to the San Francisco Convention. The Democrats have a long list of prominent or possible candidates for the presidency, and almost every one of these, except Mr. Bryan, has found it convenient and comfortable to uphold the record of the two Wilson administrations, including the President's work abroad and the Versailles treaty in all its parts.

*A Fading Issue
In the
Public Mind*

But nearly all of these candidates, including Mr. McAdoo as the most prominent of them, are much more identified in their own records and by reason of their recent expressions with our pending problems of finance and of social and economic readjustments than with these international matters. Undoubtedly

the San Francisco platform will endorse President Wilson in a broad way. It does not follow, however, that the election will take the form of a "solemn referendum" as demanded by President Wilson in his letter to the Jackson Day banquet committee of January 8. But for the great game of American politics—as many citizens think—Mr. Wilson could have accepted the reservations as well as not, and the Republicans could have adopted the treaty without reservations with entire safety to the country. Nearly every one of the reservations is implied in the practical working of the American Government or in the established rules of common sense. Nor has it ever made any vital difference whether peace was made with Germany first and the League of Nations established afterward, or whether the two things were done at the same time. It is a fading issue in the public mind.

*Logic and the
Practical
Case*

Logically Mr. Knox has the better case, but practically the other method was adopted in view of the armistice agreements. The Fourteenth Point in the settlement with Germany called for an association of nations not merely as a dream to be realized at some future time, but as a specific part of the contract upon which the arms were laid down in November, 1918. That this League of Nations should include members of both warring groups, to accompany disarmament and as a substitute for militarism, was self-evident. The New York *World*, which has been the President's ablest supporter, could not accept his doctrine of no compromise as set forth in the White House message of May 9 to Senator Chamberlain's political enemy in Oregon. The League of Nations was drifting a good deal without the United States inside of it, and we in America were inconvenienced by the statutory survivals of a war period which actually ended in November, 1918. The League of Nations could be neither helped nor hurt by details of phraseology. It would have to stand upon its own record of usefulness and its appeal to the public opinion of the world, as against the tricks of imperialists and the blind forces of nationalistic and racial ambition. The world has had ample object-lessons in the past six years. It must now take its choice with its eyes open, for it will have to pay the bills in any case. What everybody knows to-day is, that issues of war and peace are not local but of worldwide concern, and isolation is impossible.

*Race Problems
and the
Future*

Meanwhile, the wars of half a dozen years have left situations to be met that will force themselves upon our attention, whether we wish it or otherwise. Mr. Lothrop Stoddard, who has frequently contributed valuable articles to this magazine, is the author of a new book called "The Rising Tide of Color" that reminds us of the tendency of wars to breed further wars rather than to sow the seeds of lasting peace. Mr. Stoddard has a talent for world politics, and does not shrink from speculating about the future. He shows how well-nigh universal was the political influence and dominance of the white peoples before the war and how greatly weakened is the prestige of white leadership as a result of the losses of the great struggle. Mr. Stoddard's book is not so much a warning to governments of countries peopled by European races to keep the upper hand as it is an admonition to statesmen to seek the ways of coöperation and harmony. America must aid, whether through a League of Nations or otherwise.

*How to Live
in these
Times*

The problems of the economic world are likely to be more pressing for several years to come than those of the political world, and the people of the United States are instinctively seeking a reorganization of government and of business that will bring about the better conditions which almost everybody now recognizes as desirable. How to live—how to make living worth while in these times—is the question. Individuals and groups will naturally offer this and that proposal or statute as a panacea. The truth is that improvement must come by many paths, with everything valuable in public as in private progress resting upon a foundation of character and intelligence. Thus the man who does not recognize the tremendous part that capital must play in social advancement is either ignorant or dishonest. Equally essential is it to recognize the claims of labor to all the opportunities and benefits of modern life. Capital should be concentrated in management, for efficient production; but it should be widely diffused as respects ownership and rewards. Management and direction in industry should be based upon demonstrated fitness for leadership, as in all other realms of human life and action. Government should be as little burdensome as possible, and less meddlesome but more useful in those spheres of activity which require the

service of a public rather than a private agency.

*What Are the
Economic
Programs?*

How then shall we proceed to work out the programs for this new economic period? Some persons prefer to formulate universal dogmas, working along the line of detached theory. But the more fruitful plan is that which studies facts and conditions, and does not ignore past experience. The people of the United States wish to choose executive officers and lawmakers this year who will best promote the country's economic welfare. They demand wisdom, reasonableness, and firmness in the seats of authority. It is for this reason that they are anxious about the presidency, and hope to see both parties nominate men fit to cope with the problems of the period. Partisanship is not acutely present, but there was never a more widespread or anxious interest in public affairs. The Republican Party has not been in executive authority since the four and a half years of McKinley, the seven and a half years of Roosevelt, and the four years of Taft, forming a continuous period of sixteen years, following the election of 1896 down to the Republican break and the election of Wilson in 1912. The Democratic Party has for a period of eight years submitted itself to the personal leadership of President Wilson. That period is, seemingly, about to end, remaining as an important historical asset of the party, like the period of Grover Cleveland. In similar manner, the Roosevelt period is ended and remains as a great asset—no longer a dividing influence but rather a healing and inspiring one—for the Republican Party.

*Roosevelt's
Living
Influence*

There is room for an able constitutional President with a very strong group of Cabinet officers and a Congress capable of exercising its full

part in the tasks of government. Apparently the party trend is in that direction. If Mr. Roosevelt had lived, his leadership would have been acclaimed and he would have been nominated for the presidency this year without opposition. His courage and high-mindedness remain and dominate the Republican scene, for standards of comparison. His genius for national leadership was his own, and no aspirant of to-day pretends to have in-

herited it. Eminent in the Convention, however, will be the faces and names of men who were associated with Roosevelt. Senator Lodge, who will open the Convention, was his lifelong intimate friend. Former Senator Beveridge of Indiana, who will probably be permanent chairman of the Convention, was one of the most eloquent and convincing exponents of the Roosevelt positions in days of party controversy. Leonard Wood was not only an early associate of Roosevelt, but especially in that leader's confidence during late years. Hiram Johnson fought gallantly through the campaign of 1912 as



HON. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, OF INDIANA, WHO HAS BEEN FAVORABLY MENTIONED FOR PERMANENT CHAIRMAN OF THE CHICAGO CONVENTION

Roosevelt's "running mate," and many thousands of people regard him as the Elisha upon whose shoulders has fallen the mantle of the departed leader. Governor Allen in that period and afterward was one of the pillars of Rooseveltism. Governor Lowden had been a friend and cordial supporter when Roosevelt was President and Lowden a member of Congress. Mr. Knox was in Roosevelt's Cabinet for several years and only retired from that post to accept a seat in the Senate. Through a great part of Roosevelt's official career Dr. Butler was one of his closest advisers and political associates. Mr. Roosevelt had broad views regarding the welfare of the American people, with justice to every interest. His influence will be felt in the Chicago Convention as a unifying force and as an appeal to the party's highest qualities of character and conscience.

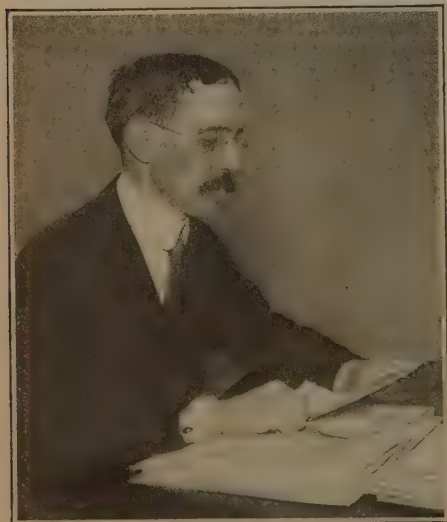
*Republicans
and Their
Convention*

Under the skilful management of Mr. Will H. Hays as Chairman of the National Committee the party approaches the ordeal of the Chicago Convention with no candidate clearly in mind, but with conditions favorable for well-reasoned action. In the long run, a party is neither better nor worse than its creeds. The Republican Party has made many mistakes, but, upon the whole, it has had a record of constructive service. In the nature of the case, since the Civil War, the Democratic Party, as compared with its opponent, has been less homogeneous and to some extent has had the character of a coalition of opposing elements. This is not to praise one party or to disparage the other. It is true, however, that the Republican Party has been held more responsible for its tenets and convictions than the Democratic. If the Republicans, therefore, are to come back to full power they must seek firmer foundations than criticism of the alleged mistakes of the Democrats under Wilson. They must deal with questions upon their own merits, without too much thought of partisanship.

*Platform
Questions*

For example, the country has been shifted from the basis of the hundred cent dollar to that of a forty-cent dollar. This has brought untold

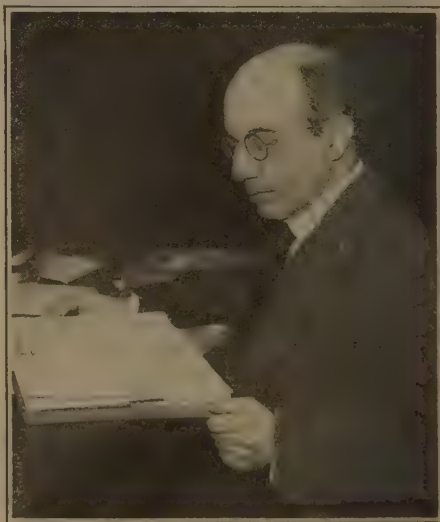
calamity to the salaried classes and people of fixed incomes. It has brought high wages to skilled labor and to organized groups that could bargain collectively, but these groups have been enraged by the futility of high money wages when the mounting costs of living have in many instances more than overtaken the high wages. Here we have a situation that affects every community and every family. Remedies are partly private; that is to say, if every individual practised the virtues of industry, economy, and thrift to the utmost, the situation would better itself greatly. But there are other remedies that are not within the power of the private individual. They have to do with public policies regarding taxation, debt payment, rates of interest, currency and credit, foreign trade, tariffs, domestic policy respecting railroads and other forms of transportation, methods for reducing friction between labor and capital, policies for the encouragement of agriculture and the development of unused lands, better distribution of food products, wise stimulation of housebuilding, adjustment of bad conditions within particular industries such as coal and print paper, treatment of the immigration question in its bearings upon the shortage of common labor, measures to insure national safety while permitting the sharp reduction of the present enormous cost of armies and navies, fair treat-



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DR. SAMUEL MC CUNE LINDSAY

(Professor Lindsay is an authority upon social and economic legislation and president of the New York Academy of Political Science. Dr. Hollander is a well known financial authority and professor of political economy at the Johns Hopkins University. For many weeks they have carried on staff work for the Republican Committee on Platform and Policies)



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DR. JACOB H. HOLLANDER

ment of maimed or invalid service men without impoverishing the country to pay bonuses to thousands who neither need nor ask public aid at the cost of the treasury.

These and many other questions of a public character bear directly upon the welfare of the people, and can only be met by studious and intelligent effort to arrive at wise conclusions without too much concern for party politics. The Republican National Committee is entitled to no little credit for showing its desire to have all these problems approached in the right way. Several months ago Chairman Hays appointed a large committee of well-known citizens to consider questions of platform and policy. There were some politicians and newspapers cynical enough to think that this move would begin and end with the announcement of a list of names. Among many who thought well of the idea there were some who hardly believed that such a committee could do serious work by methods at once practical and scientific. The work was initiated under Mr. Ogden L. Mills, of New York, as chairman of an executive committee and head of a staff, with ample quarters and a regular office organization in New York. A list of topics was made out, sub-committees were appointed, and a method of inquiry was decided upon. Mr. Mills, who is one of the foremost of the younger leaders of the Republican Party in New York, with a fine personal record at the bar, in business, and in the State Senate, has taken his work on this committee seriously and has pursued it not only with marked ability but with unflagging industry and great breadth of view.

Mr. Mills was assisted from the first by Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, of Columbia University, as staff director, who was promptly reinforced by Dr. Jacob H. Hollander, of the Johns Hopkins University, as associate. Professors Lindsay and Hollander, like Mr. Mills, are men of wide experience in public affairs, besides being experts and scholars in economics and finance. Working upon the sub-committees have been men of nation-wide standing as authorities, and prominence in political life. Based in part upon returns received from questionnaires, Mr. Mills and his associates have prepared a series of reports upon numerous pending questions. In the making of these reports there has been more anxiety shown to be accurate than to



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HON. OGDEN L. MILLS, OF NEW YORK

(As chairman of the executive committee, Mr. Mills has made the large Republican Committee on Platform and Policies a constructive force, especially in the sphere of economic, industrial and social problems)

state a case for mere party advantage. Senators and chairmen of House committees at Washington have coöperated in this work, and, sooner or later, the results must contribute to the political education of the country. Mr. Mills, who is a member of the New York delegation to the Chicago Convention, will be better prepared, it may be fairly said, than any other man in the convention for all-round service upon the platform committee. He has studied subjects in the light of various opinions, has met leaders and experts, East and West, and has kept a fair and well-balanced mind.

Rendering active and diligent service upon these Republican sub-committees have been many men whose names, if listed, would be recognized as among the conspicuous leaders of that wing of the party which was known as Progressive a few years ago. It would be admitted by most of these men that in their recent discussions of platform and policy they have not been especially aware of the survival of the differences of opinion which seemed so marked in 1912. Following the war, problems present themselves in a new

*Scientific
Methods of
Inquiry*

*Ogden Mills
and the
Platform*

*"Who Are
"Liberals" and
"Progressives"?"*

way; and they have now to be considered upon their merits in the light of changed facts. Thus Governor Allen, who was one of the fighting leaders of the Progressives, is now called a "reactionary" by union labor officials because he thinks that coal strikes and railroad strikes should be superseded by something better for everybody concerned. From the standpoint of certain monopolistic business interests, a man like Governor Allen is a dangerous radical. From the standpoint of certain rule-or-ruin labor agitators, Governor Allen is a reactionary who must be driven from public life. Meanwhile, the Governor looks at things as they are, and senses the public interest like a Lincoln or a Roosevelt. In some circles to-day, a "radical" is an anti-saloon man and a "liberal" wants beer and supports Governor Edwards. In other circles a "liberal" is one who thinks anarchists are wickedly persecuted. But the "Progressives" have disappeared, chiefly because almost everybody is progressive nowadays. Also many progressives have become anti-radical.

*Tariff Views
Also
Changing*

The "Progressives," previous to the popular movement of 1912, were the group of Senators who stood out against some of the schedules of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff. Conditions of production and trade have changed so greatly that the tariff controversy of 1909 belongs wholly to the political past. We have become a creditor nation on so large a scale that our prosperity in the immediate future may call for a reversal of doctrines and policies having to do with imports and discriminatory tariffs. The great call now as heretofore is for open and frank methods of government for the general good, as against the demands of special groups or private interests. Old distinctions, as applied to present day candidates, have no particular value except as they relate to public-mindedness, independence and courage. The attempt to classify some Republican candidates as progressive and others as reactionary is not at all convincing; nor is the like attempt any better justified when applied to Democratic candidates.

*Beer
and the
Courts*

Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts, on May 6, vetoed a bill that had passed the State legislature permitting the manufacture and sale of beer containing a maximum of 2.75 per cent. of alcohol. The Governor's veto message was admirable for its pith and its com-

mon sense. The following sentences comprise half of the statement:

There is little satisfaction in attempting to deceive ourselves. There is grave danger in attempting to deceive the people. If this act were placed on the statute books of this commonwealth to-day it would provide no beer for the people. No one would dare act upon it, or if anyone did he would certainly be charged with crime. Similar laws in other States are to date ineffective. I am opposed to the practice of a legislative deception. It is better to proceed with candor. Wait until the Supreme Court of the United States talks.

It was naturally hoped by men of various views that the Supreme Court would give its decision upon the prohibition cases before its adjournment for the long summer recess. As we have previously explained, these cases had to do, first, with the validity of the Amendment itself, and second, with the definitions of the Volstead Act. There has been very little reason to think that the Supreme Court would annul the Amendment either on broad grounds having to do with its subject matter or on technicalities having to do with the mode of its adoption. But of a very different character were those cases challenging the Volstead Act's definitions of intoxicating beverages.

*Fighting the
Volstead
Act*

The Volstead Act permits an alcoholic content of no more than one half of one per cent. Several State legislatures had declined to accept the Volstead Act, and had made their own definitions. Generally speaking, the national law interpreting what is now a part of the national Constitution should prevail over State enactments. But quite regardless of legislation in New Jersey, New York or elsewhere, the brewing interests are within their rights in asking the courts to declare whether or not the Volstead Act prohibits something that is not prohibited by the Eighteenth Amendment. There is much difference of opinion meanwhile as to the results of the amendment and the Volstead Act, and the extent to which prohibition has become effective. Apparently the great mass of capital formerly invested in the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages has already found other employment. It is also seemingly true that the great majority of people who were employed in the liquor industries and in the wholesale and retail distribution of whiskey and beer, have engaged in other callings and that most of the premises that were occupied by the liquor business

are now diverted to other uses. Everybody knew that there existed a large surplus stock of drinks and that for some time to come there would be much evasion of the law in the disposal of these supplies. Nevertheless, it would appear that the kind of prohibition that the Anti-Saloon League was fighting for when the Eighteenth Amendment won its passage is already more than ninety-five per cent. effective. We should be glad to hear from our readers in different parts of the country as to the tendencies and results of prohibition as now visible in their own neighborhoods.

*Women
in
Politics*

The women voters have been entirely modest in their claims for party recognition. There will be about twenty-five women delegates seated in the Chicago convention out of a total of 984. There will, of course, be a larger number of women among the alternates. The Nineteenth Amendment, which had successfully run the gauntlet of thirty-five legislatures, was still lacking the thirty-sixth when these comments were written, with diminished prospects of full victory in time for this year's presidential election. Attention was centered upon Delaware, the Governor of Connecticut having firmly refused to call a special session of the legislature. Politics for the average American male is now, as in the past, a diversion if not a pursuit. Comparatively few women are inclined to pursue politics professionally, and large numbers of them think of it in terms of anxious concern rather than of tumultuous joy. That woman suffrage is going to promote political education in the better sense will perhaps prove to be its principal advantage. An increasing number of women in executive positions will doubtless be one of the secondary benefits. The San Francisco convention is likely to seat women participants to about the same extent as the Chicago gathering. A number of women are reported as having rendered valuable service to the large Republican committee on platform and policies. Such problems as the cost of living, immigration, military service, or industrial relations, concern women in very definite ways, and thousands of them hold opinions that are worthy of consideration.

*Nationality
and
Training*

The greatest of all our public enterprises—the one that is a sort of common denominator for the lesser tasks—is that of shaping the Amer-



(C) Paul Thompson

HON. WILL H. HAYS, CHAIRMAN OF THE
NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE

(Who has done more than any other man to unify the party forces. It is expected that he will manage the campaign, whatever ticket may be nominated)

ican nationality of the future. Women, perhaps better than men, can influence this movement. If we do not succeed well in the paramount business of training and unifying the nation, we shall fail in most other things. We shall serve the world best through the maintenance of a strong and definite nationality. Homogeneity in the racial or physical sense is a matter for generations or centuries; but common agreements upon American ideals of life, and the application of those ideals to actual conditions, can produce amazing results within single decades. Just now, in this sphere of thought and action, the status of our educational system makes the most urgent demand upon our attention. Scores of thousands of school rooms are without teachers; and still more school rooms lack teachers who are well qualified. This is largely due to the rapid change in the cost of living, but in part it is due to other disturbances of the war period.

*Teaching
and Its
Support*

A crisis of this kind must be met in more than one way. The teacher, of course, must be properly paid in the equivalent of his material needs. The universities and colleges are



Dr. David P. Barrows

Dr. H. W. Chase

Dr. Marion L. Burton

Dr. Lotus D. Coffman

NEW PRESIDENTS OF STATE UNIVERSITIES

(These four men, recently chosen as presidents of important State universities, are typical educational leaders of our day. Dr. Barrows, who succeeds Dr. Wheeler as president of the University of California, was the first Director of Education for the Philippine Islands. For the past ten years he has been on the faculty of the University of California, holding professorships of education and political science and also acting as dean. During the war he was a lieutenant-colonel in the Federal service. Dr. Harry W. Chase, who was recently inaugurated president of the University of North Carolina, the oldest of our State universities, is a New Englander by birth and education, a graduate of Dartmouth and Clark University, but for the past ten years has been a member of the North Carolina faculty. Dr. Marion Le Roy Burton resigned the presidency of the University of Minnesota to accept that of the University of Michigan. For seven years before going to Minnesota he had been president of Smith College, and is one of the best known Americans in academic life. The University of Minnesota fills the vacancy made by the resignation of President Burton by promoting Dr. Lotus Delta Coffman, who has been dean of the College of Education for the last five years)

making a great effort to maintain teaching efficiency; and special funds such as that which the General Educational Board will dispense through the munificence of Mr. Rockefeller will aid in no small measure, while other foundations like that provided by Mr. Carnegie will help to protect the dignity of the teacher's profession by planning for pensions, retirement insurance, and the like. Public bodies, from local school boards to State legislatures and to the national Government, will try to support the movement for restoring equilibrium in the pay of public school teachers. These adjustments will be made and the teachers will be maintained. Meanwhile, however, some new conceptions of education will have had their opportunity to gain a hearing. It will not hurt the schools, but, on the contrary, it will help them to have the work of education less strictly identified with schools, colleges, and academic conservatism. The home should resume at least a part of its old-time business of providing mental training and aptitude in practical arts.

advertise Goodyears' as a commercial institution when we call attention to the recent inauguration of the so-called Goodyear University at Akron, where courses are provided for many thousands of employees. This is but a conspicuous instance of a fortunate tendency. In an earlier period it was the prevailing view that every American workman and his family could assert their proper places as citizens, and find their own relationship to church, school, and community. They were thought to be no more dependent upon their employer for their general welfare than the employer and his family were dependent upon them. With the tremendous development of our industries, however, the conditions have changed. It is well worth while for every employing corporation to accept among its recognized objects—and as one of its chief criteria of success or failure—the welfare, progress, and contentment of all the people associated in the enterprise. We ought to see a much closer coöperation henceforth between the home and the school, whether in country or in city. There should also be greater intimacy between the schools and the workshops and business houses. By such methods the schools will become less artificial and the workshops more human. Every good example encourages others;—and thus intelli-

Industry
and its
Membership

Large numbers of business establishments, mills, and industries are studying their own *personnel* from the angle of education. It is not to

gence and good-will may go far to lessen the strain between labor and capital while theorists are discoursing, and while agitators are preaching their evil messages of discontent and of class strife.

*"Adjusted
Com-
pensation"*

It is to be regretted that Secretary Lane's land development policies, and other parts of a good working program for the appreciative recognition of the young men who had served in the army and navy, could not have been promptly adopted and put into effect. It was the duty of the country to provide generously and promptly for the sick and disabled. Apart from all this, however, were thousands of young men who were not disabled by military service, but who came back restless and eager, and needed encouragement. The Canadian Government has been wiser and more helpful in its dealings with returned soldiers than our own. In the failure of a broad and wise policy, there lurked the danger of a belated and sudden resort to an extravagant and foolish policy. Congressmen were a few weeks ago deluged with demands for the passage of a bill that would give a money bonus to all who had served in the late war, the total amount demanded being variously estimated at from two billions to four or five billions of dollars. The phrase, "adjusted compensation" was employed by those who launched the concerted movement.

*What
is the
Remedy?*

It is quite true that the Government policy which paid enormous wages to those who stayed at home and made munitions or built ships, while giving only nominal pay to the men in military uniform, was unsound in theory and mischievous in practice. But the remedy does not lie along the line of the proposed bonus. This particular proposal for "adjusted compensation" would probably do more harm than good even to a majority of the men who would receive the small sums proposed. The suggested money rewards would be slight, indeed, as compared with the deserts of the men. If a proper system had been adopted three years ago, the ex-service men could have twice the amount of bonuses demanded on their behalf, without bringing the public debt up to the appalling amount now outstanding. Meanwhile, in spite of regrettable delays, it is still possible to help the soldiers and the country at the same time by offering attractive schemes of land settlement, home owner-

ship and so on. "Bonuses" are hardly feasible, but other remedies should be favored—including, perhaps, reinstatement of lapsed insurance policies.

*Britain's
Soldier
Problems*

They have greater problems of soldier rehabilitation to meet in an older and more densely occupied country, like England, than those of the United States or Canada. Although the continuance of Coalition Government has been much criticized, the English have had some marked advantages in the fact of a tremendous parliamentary support for the non-partisan domestic policies of the Government headed by Mr. Lloyd George. We shall in the near future publish a special article in review of what has been accomplished in England by way of helping soldiers and re-absorbing them in the nation's peace-time activities. English visitors to the United States, including ex-service men, report enviable progress in such measures. Major Evelyn Wrench came to the United States in April and returned last month after a Western tour. He is well-known to Americans as an exponent of the value of friendship and coöperation among the English-speaking peoples, and the immediate object of his coming was to present a sum of money to our naval authorities for the erection of a monument on the coast in commemoration of the united work of the British and American navies.

*Sentiment For
and Against
England*

There will be distinguished visitors from England this year who will aid in celebrating the tercentenary of British settlements in the United States. Englishmen who know this country well do not find it difficult to arrive at just conclusions regarding the much advertised wave of anti-British sentiment that is supposed to have been sweeping across America. They find cordial friendship everywhere here; and, in spite of many things that seem to point in the other direction, they readily discover that both great parties and practically all sensible citizens expect and desire only the most harmonious relations among the English-speaking peoples through all future years. The British themselves have within the past thirty years had several unpleasant experiences of disagreement among their Admiralty lords and naval authorities. Some of these quarrels have been recent. There is an ample literature of naval controversy for home consumption in England; and we in America must be permitted



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MAJOR EVELYN WRENCH, CHAIRMAN OF THE
ENGLISH-SPEAKING UNION

(Presenting to Secretary of the Navy Daniels a check for six thousand pounds, a part of a fund collected in England by popular subscription to commemorate the patrol which during the war kept Dover Straits clear of German submarines. The Navy will use this fund to erect a monolith in New York harbor)

at reasonable intervals to have a naval flare-up of our own. Nobody in England should bother about what Admiral Benson may or may not have said to Admiral Sims in private conversation; nor is it worth while from the perspectives of London to have any feeling about what Secretary Daniels or even President Wilson might have said or thought about the policies of the British navy in 1917. It was a fact of common recognition in London in 1918 that the American navy was taking a great and glorious part in the war. Admiral Sims was representing us in a way that we then praised highly, and we shall not change the opinions then formed. Admiral Rodman in the North Sea upheld the best of our naval traditions. Gideon Wells was much reprobated as Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy, but he stands acclaimed in the records; and history will in like manner take good care of Josephus Daniels. The British and American navies coöperated finely in the great war, and they will now work in common accord to protect the oceans, doing their best to keep the world at peace.

Sentiment
Against the
United States

While no serious ill-will is discernible in the United States toward Great Britain, all returning Americans report that there is a marked lessening of friendly feeling in England, as elsewhere abroad, toward the United States. This is partly due to certain things that have been said and done at Washington, but principally due to what is regarded as American meddling in the Irish dispute. Many Englishmen do not see why America's intrusive talk about Ireland is not as improper as it would be for the British to concern themselves disagreeably about some strictly American issue. When the English press discusses prohibition and woman suffrage in America, and we in turn discuss similar domestic problems in England, the cases are parallel. But the Irish question stands by itself; and it has long been an American as well as a British question, for the sole and simple reason that an immense number of Irish-Americans have chosen to make it so. It has no proper place in American politics; yet our English friends should remember that the treatment of Jews in Russia and the aspirations of Poland have won recognized positions in American politics, precisely because we have here many Russian Jews and many Poles, both elements being influential and powerful. Nobody in the United States understands the Irish question particularly well, but we can all see that Irish sentiment is profoundly stirred. By far the best friends the Irish people have in the world are the English people in the neighboring island; and of course the Irish know it. But they live largely in their imaginations, and they imagine themselves unhappy in some historical sense. It is all very serious and puzzling. There is not a particle of political wisdom existent in the United States that could be contributed usefully toward the solution of the Irish question. But England must let us talk about it, and harbor no resentment.

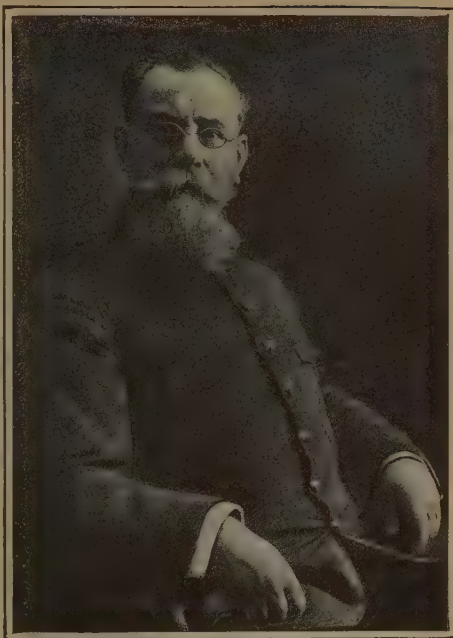
Mexico a
Worse
Cause

Mexico is incomparably worse off than Ireland. The people of the United States long to be good friends to the Mexicans, and most of the misery of that wretched country would disappear in very short order if a change of sentiment could be brought about. Unhappily, the Mexicans regard the Americans—as a nation and as individuals—with fervent hatred. They would rather starve and die of epidemic diseases than be well-fed and well-conditioned by virtue of American coöpera-

tion. There are no two stiffer facts in the political problems of today than the Irish hatred of England and the Mexican hatred of the United States. We are publishing an article by Mr. Edward Marshall on the present political situation in Mexico. General Carranza had been indebted to American policy for his success in acquiring authority when Huerta was overthrown, and for his subsequent election as President. But he had wholly failed to reciprocate American good-will, and he had not proved to be the man who could pacify Mexico. The revolution in the North, on which we commented in these pages last month, spread rapidly until most of the States of Mexico were involved. On May 7 President Carranza became a refugee and General Obregon promptly occupied the City of Mexico. The revolution was apparently a sweeping success, and as compared with other Mexican episodes of this kind it was achieved with notably little bloodshed. Before the middle of May the new régime under General Obregon's leadership was in more complete control of Mexico from the Rio Grande to Central America than any previous government had been for many years. Governor de la Huerta, of Sonora, nominal head of the revolutionary movement, had requested the election by Congress of a Provisional President to fill out the unexpired term of the deposed "First Chief" and call the elections for a new executive. Declarations of policy by leaders of the new régime seemed to forecast relations with the United States much more friendly than those which had existed during the Carranza presidency.

*Two Very
Unhappy
Countries*

As these pages were sent to the press, no one could foresee what might happen in Mexico or what measures, if any, it might be necessary for the United States to take. General Obregon's expressions as regards the American people and the Government at Washington were entirely friendly, but there was no reason to think that the upset of Carranza gave promise of any hopeful adjustment of Mexico's domestic and foreign difficulties. Our own interferences, however well meant, have seemed to make everything worse since Huerta deposed Madero. In similar manner, British policy as regards Ireland, for the past six years more or less, has seemed to turn a difficult situation into a hopeless one. Home Rule, as actually provided by law half a dozen years ago, could probably have been



SENOR VENUSTIANO CARRANZA

(Provisional President of Mexico from the downfall of Huerta in 1914 until his own flight from the capital last month)

put into effect by a firm and courageous Government, in spite of the threats of Sir Edward Carson; but Home Rule as then defined is no longer acceptable to the Irish majority. The new Home Rule bill, which provides for two local parliaments, prevailed in the middle of May by a very large majority over the group led by Mr. Asquith, which favored the earlier measure. But the answer of Ireland last month to the new Home Rule bill was a series of raids on police barracks all over the country.

*Crime
and
Coercion*

Ireland is no longer thinking in terms of what has heretofore been called Home Rule. Even the plan of a "dominion" government, providing the sort of independence that Canada or Australia possesses, which is now favored by Sir Horace Plunkett, does not satisfy the Irish taste. What the great Irish majority now demands is recognition by England and by the world of the independent Irish Republic that they profess to have already established. Military coercion, which has prevailed for several years, was made more drastic last month. Crime in Ireland makes coercion seem necessary; on the other hand,

coercion in Ireland makes crime prevalent and inevitable. Coercion cannot be withdrawn because of crime. Crime will not cease because it affords the only means of striking at oppression. Who can find the solution?

*Turks
and
Christians*

While the Irish question has phases wholly distinct, it must serve as a reminder that the world must henceforth deal with many controversies involving the political relationships to one another of different racial or territorial entities. In Europe and Asia there are now not two or three but dozens of these unsettled issues. Last month the heads of the Allied Governments were trying to work out some of the problems that present themselves in the great territory that has recently been known as the Turkish Empire. Mr. Simonds explains these cases in other pages of this number of the REVIEW. Such problems, if invited to solve themselves, will provoke desolating wars, resulting in the survival not of the fittest but of the most brutal. If they are to be solved by statesmanship and the application of broad principles of justice, there must be some consensus of opinion upon the part of those having power and prestige enough to make their verdicts respected. This is the reason why so many men of knowledge and experience have desired a really effective League of Nations. At the

end of the Great War, the Turkish problems could have been settled easily if there had been quick and resolute action on the part of all the leading Allies. America has continued to furnish relief in Turkey on a generous scale through the Near East organization, but the lack of firm public control following the Allies' victory has emboldened the Turks and resulted in great harm. The conditions that are so menacing to the future of Armenians and other Christian peoples in Turkey bring no promise of advantage to the Turks themselves. Turkey as a whole should have been governed for a long term of years by an international commission with Constantinople as its seat of authority. For a generation to come the peoples of the former Turkish Empire will need everything in the world excepting self-government. Two years ago it seemed quite feasible that America should have some useful part in reconstructing Turkey. American schools and other agencies will probably continue to play an important part, but official aid by the United States in helping to reorganize the Near East is no longer expected.

*Russia's
Dreary
Utopia*

The reports from Russia continue to be conflicting, and predictions to-day are quite as likely to go wrong as those of a year ago. Economic conditions appear to be extremely bad, due in great part to the breakdown of the means of transportation. When we stop to consider how great the losses have been in the United States through the so-called "out-law" strike on American railroads within the past few weeks, we may find a starting point for imagining the poverty and distress that must follow a paralysis of railroad traffic extending over several years. In this country scores of thousands of great motor trucks are operating on excellent highways to supplement the impaired service of the railways; but in Russia there are practically no automobiles now in use. There seems to be no increased prospect that the Soviet Government will obtain recognition, or enter upon early trade relations with the outside world. Last month it was reported that Ukrainian and Polish armies fighting against the Red forces of Lenine and Trotzky had won important victories. The Poles were reported to have taken the city of Kiev, while the Ukrainians had captured Odessa, Russia's outlet on the Black Sea. With Odessa in new hands it was thought that a certain amount of wheat and other food stuffs and



THE DYING TURK

(Is he to be maintained where he is? Is he to be cast out?)
From *Le Charivari* (Paris)

raw materials might be exported, but such prospects were not of definite significance.

*More Stability
in Central
Europe*

While news from Germany has been rather meagre and obscure, the tendency seems to be towards stability in civil government and slight improvement in economic conditions. The Reparations Commission has been studying Germany's demands and needs for raw material, and there is some approach towards a new agreement as to indemnities so that on their part France and Belgium may be more sure of receiving something, while the Germans on their part may know the extent of their burden and thus plan for bearing it in good faith. In general, there are faint signs of better days in the heart of Europe.

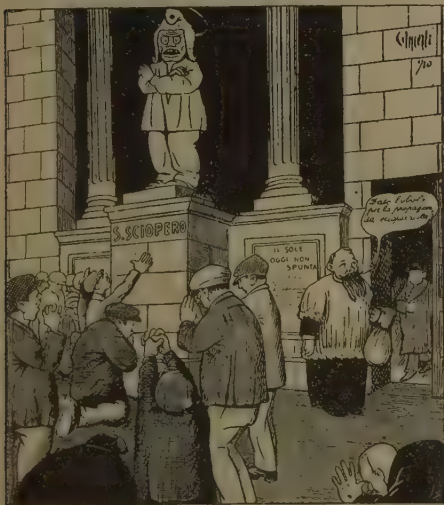
*France
and
Italy*

France has the encouragement of an excellent 1920 wheat crop in prospect, but has difficult questions of taxation and finance on hand, while the Millerand government has been dealing with a strike situation more general and menacing than was expected when Professor Cestre wrote the interesting article on French labor that we print in this number. Beginning with a May Day strike of railroad employees, there was an attempt made by the General Federation of Labor to call out all the important unions, including miners, dockworkers, metalworkers, and so on. The thing demanded by the great unions



THE BRITISH AND ITALIAN PREMIERS, LLOYD GEORGE AND NITTI, AT THE SAN REMO CONFERENCE.
(Following his return to Rome, Premier Nitti was obliged to resign after an adverse vote in the Chamber)

has been, primarily, the nationalization of French railways, with a plan of operation somewhat resembling the Plumb plan that the American Federation of Labor and the railroad brotherhoods here have endorsed. Premier Millerand, in turn, has undertaken to prosecute and dissolve the General Federation of Labor as having conspired to produce political revolution, thus exceeding its proper functions. French law makes a distinction between the methods of syndicalism and the ordinary labor contests involving questions of pay, hours, and the like. The Ministry has been strongly sustained by the parliamentary chambers and by public opinion, so that the attempt at a general strike for political purposes has again served the wholesome purpose of demonstrating the fact that Government, seeking the good of the nation as a whole, is stronger than the menace of any particular faction or group. Meanwhile the labor situation in Italy is one of protracted difficulty. The extremists are strongly represented in Parliament, where they form a large and powerful element. In Italy as in Spain, the labor troubles for the last year or two have been far more troublesome from the standpoint of government, as well as from that of industry, than in France, England, or America.



THE NEW SAINT—ST. STRIKE

[Has his full number of fasting days. . . . Is reputed to work miracles]

From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)

*Higher Freight
Rates to
Come*

In May the railroads presented to the Interstate Commerce Commission their careful estimates of the new and higher freight rates that would result in giving them the net income prescribed by the recent legislation known as the Esch-Cummins bill. This net result, it will be remembered, was a profit of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the value of the roads in groups, or as a whole, with discretion invested in the Interstate Commerce Commission to increase the income to 6 per cent., although the $\frac{1}{2}$ of one per cent. in that case is not to be distributed as dividends. The calculations of the railroad managers showed that with the increases in rates confined to the freight schedules, it would be necessary to enlarge the existing tariffs by something like 24 per cent. in the Western group of railroads and to well above 30 per cent. in the Eastern. It was assumed in these estimates that the property accounts on the books of the transportation lines is to be used as the true value of the railroads to-day. The book cost of all road and equipment is now about \$19,500,000,000, so that it would require \$1,170,000,000 annually to yield 6 per cent. net income. In the best year the railroads have had in this generation, 1917, they came near to earning this sum. The total income of Class I roads, which include all the important lines, amounted in that year to \$975,000,000, but by 1919 the net operating income of the same roads was only \$516,000,000, showing a falling-off of no less than \$459,000,000.

*Private
Operation
on Trial*

Entirely aside from the utter chaos into which the transportation business of the country was thrown by the recent so-called "outlaw" strike of employees, the whole institution of railroad transportation is passing through a highly critical stage. Under government operation the railroads did not give the service absolutely necessary for the industrial needs of the country. The great question is whether they can under the resumed private operation do what the government failed to do. If they are not able to meet the demands of business and industry, the prospect is a horrible one. At present it is a simple fact that even without the demoralization and loss of the recent strike the roads cannot move anywhere near all the freight that is waiting to be moved or give any sort of adequate service to the passenger traffic offered. They are not earning half as

much income as is absolutely necessary to enable them to give service. There is serious unrest among the employees, who have very generally a set antagonism to private management, with hundreds of thousands energetically advocating the so-called "Plumb plan." In order to increase the facilities of the roads to handle the country's business properly, it is estimated by competent authorities that capital must provide over six billion dollars during the next three years. With capital and credit as strained as they are; with unheard-of prices offered for them in the shape of high interest rates and dividends by mining, manufacturing, and other businesses, the profits of which are not limited as are the railroads',—these billions of dollars necessary to rebuild our transportation system are simply not going to be forthcoming unless the Commerce Commission is prompt and liberal and decisive in construing and acting on the mandates of the recent railroad legislation.

*A
Disastrous
Strike*

The current condition of our transportation business following the strikes of April simply beggars description. Steel plants have had hundreds of thousands of tons banked up waiting shipment or stranded in transit. Express companies are at their wits' ends struggling to get cars to handle matter originally intended to go by freight. A great weekly periodical is forced to suspend publication for many issues because its paper stock could not be moved. Food prices have received an additional push upward because no freight cars could be found to carry vast quantities of foodstuffs held up in the West. The fact that the recent railway strike was not attended with violence or spectacular features has obscured its seriousness. It cost the country as much as a foreign war of very respectable size might have done. Estimates of the loss reach more than a billion dollars, and in the middle of May freight movement has made no marked recovery from the paralysis of the strike.

*Has the H. C. of
L. Reached
Its Peak?*

The Department of Labor announced in May that in five years the cost of living in New York City had more than doubled, the increase during the period from the end of 1914 to the end of 1919 being 103.81 per cent. Of fourteen industrial centres in the East and middle West, New York showed the third greatest increase. Detroit headed the list with 107.87 per cent., Chicago's figures were



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THE NEW RAILROAD LABOR BOARD, CREATED UNDER THE ESCH-CUMMINS BILL

(In the top row, from left to right, are: Horace Baker, of Ohio, in the management group; Albert Phillips, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers; R. M. Barton, of Tennessee, in the public group [chosen chairman of the Board]; William L. Park, of Illinois, and J. H. Elliott, of Tennessee, both representing railroad management. Seated, from left to right are: A. O. Wharton, of the railway employees' department of the American Federation of Labor; G. W. Hanger, of the District of Columbia, representing the public; James J. Forester, president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, and Henry T. Hunt, of Ohio, in the public group)

100.61 per cent., and Boston's 92.30 per cent. Classifying the various items of family expenditure, the Department of Labor found that in New York food through this five-year period had increased 90.95 per cent., clothing 219.64 per cent., fuel and light 60.53 per cent., furniture, etc., 172.92 per cent., and housing 23.39 per cent.

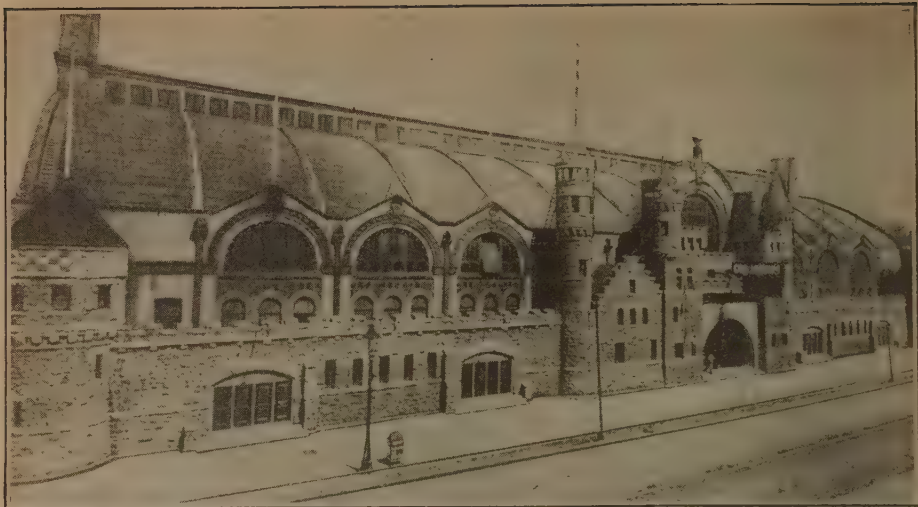
*Clothing
Probably
Cheaper*

Although prices continued to rise during the month of April, it seems that the demonstrations in department stores and elsewhere in the following month might well mean that the peak of high prices has been reached and that we are now in for a period of gradual reductions. It is certain that the turn has come in some commodities like silk, but in this particular instance the collapse of the Japanese market following the panic in that country has brought about special circumstances. Very large stocks of raw silks held in this country by Japanese were hastily released after the break in the Oriental market, at substantially lower prices than prevailed during mid-winter. In the clothing trade at large there is general agreement that at last we have a

surplus of goods instead of a surplus of demand. Some of the closest and most competent observers say that the public is simply refusing to pay the high prices, and that these are indubitably on their way down.

*Sugar Five
Times as
Dear*

One important commodity which had not last month shown any evidence of stopping its upward swing in price was sugar. In the year preceding the great war, the import price for foreign sugar averaged 2 cents per pound. Last January official government figures showed that the average price for imported sugar was 10.2 cents per pound. Last month the retail cost of sugar was from 23 to 25 cents per pound, with predictions current of still higher prices and with great difficulty for consumers in getting all they needed at any price. The fundamental reason for this extraordinary situation is the falling-off in European production of beet sugar. Before the war, the European beet-sugar crop amounted to 8,185,000 tons, while this present season it is estimated at 2,800,000 tons—materially less even than in the closing year of the war.



THE COLISEUM AT CHICAGO, WHERE THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION MEETS ON JUNE 8 TO NOMINATE ITS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From April 15 to May 16, 1920)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

April 16.—In the House, the Post-office Appropriation bill (\$462,500,000) is passed, \$1,250,000 being provided for establishing air-mail routes.

April 17.—In the Senate debate on the Mexican question opposition is voiced against permitting Carranza troops to cross United States territory in order to outflank Sonora rebels. . . . A housing investigation is ordered, with report on remedial measures by December 1.

April 20.—The Senate, by vote of 46 to 10, passes the Army Reorganization bill; courts-martial are reformed, National Guard status is changed to part of unified army, the size of which is reduced to 280,000 men and 17,043 officers, and voluntary military training for boys 18 to 23 is provided; the measure goes to conference.

In the House, the Deficiency Railroad Appropriation bill is passed, carrying \$390,000,000; railroad appropriations to date total \$1,780,000,000.

April 22.—In the House, the soldier bonus is debated, and plans are offered for obtaining the necessary revenue.

April 23.—In the Senate, pensions for Civil War veterans are increased from \$37.50 to \$50 a month, and those for widows of veterans from \$25 to \$30, adding \$65,250,000 to the yearly pension bill of \$214,000,000.

April 26.—The Senate passes the Rivers and Harbors bill, with a total appropriation of \$24,000,000, double that of the House; no new work is authorized.

April 27.—In the Senate, demands are made for immediate action to relieve the sugar shortage and for prosecution of profiteers. . . . The Democratic minority unanimously elects Oscar W. Underwood, of Alabama, as leader—the withdrawal

of Mr. Hitchcock, of Nebraska, ending a prolonged deadlock.

April 28.—In the Senate, the Naval Appropriation bill is passed, with \$4,000,000 increase for building, aviation provision raised from \$15,876,000 to \$25,000,000, and plans made for developing California naval oil land reserves.

April 30.—House Republicans fail to reach an agreement in an all-day caucus on soldier-bonus plans; sharp opposition is shown to the levy of a sales tax.

In the Senate, the joint peace resolution of Mr. Knox (Rep., Pa.), restoring peace conditions by repealing the declaration of war against Germany and Austria, is reported out of committee.

May 5.—In the Senate, Mr. Knox (Rep., Pa.) opens debate on his peace resolution in a speech which severely criticizes the President.

May 6.—The Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce receives testimony that the Government should immediately loan \$125,000,000 to the railroads, followed by a further advance of \$500,000,000.

May 7.—The Senate committee investigating paper shortage is informed by Courtland Smith, head of the American Press Association, that unless the situation is met, half the country newspapers will have to suspend publication.

May 10.—In the Senate, the resolution of Mr. Yorksworth (Rep., N. Y.) removing the New York State Canal from Government operation and control, is passed.

May 12.—In the Senate, Mr. Borah (Rep., Idaho) introduces a bill to provide \$300,000,000 for soldier home and farm purchase loans during ten years.

May 13.—The Senate amends the Knox peace

resolution by eliminating reference to a separate peace treaty with Germany.

May 14.—The House fails to pass over the President's veto the appropriation bill declared to infringe on the executive authority in the matter of control over printing; 127 Democrats vote with the President, and 170 Republicans against.

Both houses unanimously adopt the conference report on the service men's increased pay bill, and the measure goes to the President.

May 15.—In the Senate, the Knox peace resolution is adopted, 43 to 38, three Democrats voting with the Republicans; the measure goes to the House as a substitute for its peace resolution adopted on April 9.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

April 17.—The new Railroad Labor Board elects R. M. Barton as chairman and C. P. Caruthers as secretary.

The Kansas Industrial Court orders Alexander Howat and other coal-mine labor officials to call off the coal strike.

April 19.—The Department of Justice reports profiteering activities as follows: 1200 arrests, 350 indictments, with 85 per cent. convictions, and 30 jail sentences.

The Railroad Labor Board refuses to hear cases of men on strike.

April 20.—In Nebraska primaries Senator Hiram Johnson, Republican, and Senator Hitchcock, Democrat, are victorious; Mr. Bryan squeezes through as a delegate to the Democratic convention, and Governor McKelvie fails of renomination. . . . A. Mitchell Palmer wins in the Georgia Democratic Presidential primary by a narrow majority.

Homer S. Cummings, of Connecticut, is selected as temporary chairman to make the keynote speech at the Democratic National Convention.

April 21.—The Walton act, to enforce arbitration contracts between employers and employees, becomes law in New York State.

April 22.—The campaign issue, President Wilson tells the Kansas Democratic Convention in a letter, must be the establishment of a league of nations to follow up the victory in the world war.

Republican campaign figures of popular votes cast in six preferential Presidential primaries—in Michigan, Minnesota, South Dakota, Illinois, Wisconsin and Nebraska—show: General Wood, 311,766; Governor Lowden, 297,802; Senator Johnson, 240,277; Herbert Hoover, 47,637; General Pershing, 16,675.

April 23.—The New York Assembly rejects welfare and reconstruction measures of Governor Smith; the Senate adopts two bills to outlaw Socialists, already passed by the Assembly.

Montana's Republican Presidential primary results in victory for Hiram Johnson; there is no candidate on the Democratic ticket for President, but Governor S. V. Stewart is endorsed for Vice-President.

April 24.—The New York legislature adjourns after passing a teachers' increased-pay bill, the 2.75 per cent. beer bill, the boxing bill and the soldier-bonus referendum; welfare and reconstruction measures are defeated.

Walker D. Hines resigns as Director-General of Railroads, effective May 15.

It is announced that the Director of War Risk Insurance, R. G. Cholmeley-Jones, has reduced the payroll of 15,000 last July to 9000, has caught up on back work, and has instituted administrative reforms to save \$8,500,000.

April 26.—The Supreme Court decides, 4 to 3, in the Reading anthracite coal case to dissolve the combination of railroads and mining companies, but dismisses the case against individuals and refuses to sustain the Government's charges of monopoly, deciding the holding company guilty under the Sherman law.

April 27.—In New Jersey, General Wood wins the Republican preference primaries by a small margin over Senator Johnson. . . . In Massachusetts, the unpledged "big four" delegation, headed by Senator Lodge, is successful; General Wood gets six delegates. . . . In Ohio, Senator Harding wins by a slight lead over General Wood, who gets nine delegates. . . . The Washington Republican State convention selects Senator Poindexter as its "favorite-son" candidate for President.

The War Risk Insurance Bureau announces the settlement of 627,651 claims for death or permanent disability, totaling \$1,635,552,173, with only 5119 cases pending.

April 30.—Senator Philander C. Knox, of Pennsylvania, is formally proposed by Senator Boies Penrose as a Presidential candidate.

The Kansas Industrial Court law is adjudged constitutional, and a temporary injunction issued against further coal strikes.

President Wilson nominates for the Interstate Commerce Commission Henry Jones Ford, of Princeton, and James Duncan, of Quincy, Mass.

May 1.—The War Department announces that, 2490 regular army officers have resigned since the armistice and 180,581 emergency officers have been discharged.

May 3.—The Maryland Republican Presidential primary results in a 2-to-1 victory for General Wood over Senator Johnson, in a light vote.

May 4.—Railroads begin presentation before Interstate Commerce Commission of arguments for freight rate increases to amount to \$1,017,000,000.

California Republicans express preference for Hiram Johnson for President; Herbert Hoover carries only two counties. . . . In the Indiana Republican primary, General Wood leads Senator Johnson, Governor Lowden, and Senator Harding in the order named.

The Post Office Department requests an appropriation of \$14,000,000 to cover deficit in operation of telegraphs and telephones.

May 5.—Gov. James M. Cox, of Ohio, wins 21 of 26 Kentucky delegates to the Democratic Convention, in his candidacy for President.

Secretary of Labor Wilson rules that membership in the Communist Labor Party is not sufficient evidence for deportation of aliens.

May 6.—Samuel W. McCall, of Massachusetts, is nominated for the Tariff Commission.

New York State Democrats uphold the unit rule in a convention which is controlled by Tammany and opposed to Mr. McAdoo as a candidate.

The Rhode Island Democratic convention opposes Article X of the League of Nations cove-



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GOVERNOR SMITH OF NEW YORK (RIGHT), AND CHARLES F. MURPHY, WHO IS THE DIRECTING FORCE OF TAMMANY HALL

(A snapshot taken during the Democratic State Convention at Albany on May 8)

nant, and endorses freedom for Ireland; the Administration's record is approved.

Governor Coolidge vetoes the 2.75 per cent. beer bill in Massachusetts.

May 12.—Oscar W. Underwood wins the long-term Senatorship in the Alabama Democratic primary, and Mr. Heflin the short term nomination.

May 13.—President Wilson vetoes the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bill because of a clause giving Congress control over all printing and form process publicity by executive departments; Congress claims much of it is waste of funds; the President fears censorship and encroachments on the functions of the Executive.

Indiana Republicans instruct the "big four" delegates to the National Convention to vote for General Wood.

The Socialist National Convention, at New York, nominates Eugene V. Debs (Indiana) as its presidential candidate for the fifth time; Debs is serving a ten-year sentence of imprisonment for violation of the war-time espionage laws.

May 14.—In hearings before the Interstate Commerce Commission, railroad executives suggest immediate disposition of the \$300,000,000 re-

volving fund, with provision of \$125,000,000 for cars and equipment, \$40,000,000 for pending claims and judgments, \$12,000,000 for short line roads, \$50,000,000 for maturing obligations, and \$73,000,000 for additions and betterments.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

April 17.—Guatemalan revolutionary forces under Carlos Herrera capture President Cabrera and his army, ending the twenty-year régime of the last American dictator.

Japanese stock exchanges are closed for three days to avert a financial panic; imports exceed exports by 50 per cent.; money is scarce and discounts high.

April 18.—Mustapha Kemal and his Nationalist forces occupy Hadjin after more than four weeks of siege; French and Turks fight at Mersina, Asia Minor.

The states of Michoacan and Nayarit join the Sonora revolt in Mexico.

A general strike at Turin, Italy, after a week of anarchistic activities, spreads to the adjacent provinces of Vercelli and Biella.

Dr. Wolfgang Kapp, leader of the brief revolution in Germany, is reported safe in Stockholm, released from arrest after arrival by airplane.

April 20.—Cuba Republicans nominate Senator Maza y Artola for the presidency.

April 21.—Wu Ting-fang, Chinese Southern Foreign Minister, announces a merger of the North and South Governments with a united parliament at Shanghai.

Hidalgo and Tlaxcala join the secession movement, making nine Mexican States in revolt.

April 22.—Joseph Caillaux, former Premier, is found by the French Senate "guilty of commerce and correspondence with the enemy," but escapes conviction for high treason; he is sentenced to imprisonment (already served) and to five years' exile.

April 27.—France prohibits the importation of 197 articles, estimated to reduce import values by 1,300,000,000 francs.

Danish Radicals lose 15 seats in the Lower House at the elections; the Trades party gains 3 seats, the Conservatives 7, Socialists 4, and Liberals 4.

April 28.—Premier Millerand's report to the French Chamber of Deputies on the Allied conference at San Remo is received with enthusiasm.

The British House of Commons increases the excess profits tax; Mr. Chamberlain announces his plan for funding the floating debt by 15-year 5-per-cent. bonds bearing up to 2 per cent. additional interest to yield current market rates, with a dual repayment option on one year's notice after April, 1924.

April 29.—Premier Lloyd George's report on the San Remo conference is received by the Commons with marked approval.

May 1.—May-Day riots occur in Paris and railway workers strike for nationalization; in Italy at Turin and Pola, in Spain at Valencia, in Uruguay at Montevideo, and in Finland at Helsingfors there are demonstrations.

May 3.—French dock workers join the railroad strike, together with coal miners.

May 7.—The revolution in Mexico becomes an

accomplished fact with the flight of President Carranza from Mexico City toward the eastern coast.

May 9.—The Spanish Liberal-Conservative cabinet under Premier Dato receives the support of Maura and Cierva, Conservative leaders; Parliament is prorogued until October.

May 10.—The British House of Commons defeats Mr. Asquith's amendment for a single parliament in Ireland under the Home Rule bill, 259 to 55.

May 11.—The Italian ministry headed by Premier Nitti resigns, the Catholic party failing to support it in a vote of confidence.

The French government moves to dissolve the General Federation of Labor for syndicalist activities in the political strike, and the leaders are placed on the footing of Bolsheviks.

May 13.—In Ireland, concerted raids destroy 50 barracks and 20 income tax offices.

In Mexico, Carranza is surrounded by troops under Gen. Pablo Gonzales in Puebla at Rinconada; Gen. Alvaro Obregon declares for amity between Mexico and the United States.

May 14.—Mexican dictator Adolfo de la Huerta calls the Congress into session to elect a Provisional President, who will in turn call for a Constitutional election; rebel leaders favor Antonio I. Villarreal for the interim term. . . . British, French, and American warships arrive at Vera Cruz.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

April 15.—In an Allied note, Germany is warned that failure to obey the treaty will be at the cost of an embargo on food and raw materials.

April 16.—The Arabs demand suppression and expulsion of the Zionist Commission under British protection in Palestine and disbandment of the Jewish battalion.

April 19.—The British, French, and Italian Premiers hold secret meetings at San Remo, Italy, to fix the boundaries of Turkey and to harmonize their different points of view regarding enforcement of treaty provisions on the part of Germany.

April 20.—Allied identic notes are sent to Germany demanding immediate compliance with treaty terms of disarmament.

April 21.—Washington suggests to the Allies an extension of time to Germany for treaty compliance. . . . Germany asks the Allies to permit her to maintain 200,000 troops instead of 100,000 as provided in the treaty, and to modify the General Staff and other military terms.

Major Evelyn Wrench, of Britain, presents a fund to Secretary Daniels at Washington for a Dover Patrol memorial in New York harbor, commemorating Anglo-American naval cooperation in the war.

April 22.—Poles defeat a heavy Bolshevik attack on the Podolian front.

The League of Nations financial congress requests each participant country to submit a statement of public and external debts, foreign trade and credit, and general economic and financial conditions.

April 23.—Allied Premiers agree to give a re-



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SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES, THE NEW BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES (RIGHT), AND RONALD C. LINDSAY, CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES OF THE EMBASSY, AFTER AN OFFICIAL CALL ON THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE

stricted Armenia complete independence; Smyrna will be administered by Greece under Turkish sovereignty. Lloyd George declares Germany is crippled, but opposes treaty revision. American Ambassador Underwood arrives at San Remo as an observer.

Turkish Nationalists, to the number of over a thousand, including Izzet Pasha, former Grand Vizier, are arrested by the Allies under British direction. . . . Anatolia, under Mustapha Kemal, Nationalist, proclaims independence.

April 24.—At the San Remo conference, the Allied Premiers agree on a policy with Germany, for fixed indemnity and disarmament, no French annexations on the Rhine, and permanent Allied unity of action.

The Armenian republic is formally recognized by the United States, following similar action in January by Great Britain and France.

A Turkish siege of Aintab, Armenia, is relieved by French troops from Beirut.

April 25.—The Supreme Council votes the Syrian mandate to France, the Mesopotamian to Britain, and the Armenian to the United States if she will take it, while Palestine is reserved for a Jewish state under British protection.

April 26.—The Allied conference at San Remo comes to a successful conclusion; Germany is warned to comply immediately with the Versailles treaty, is refused permission to maintain an army of 200,000 men, but is offered a conference at Spa



© Adachi

MAJOR-GENERAL TAKAYANAGI, OF THE JAPANESE
ARMY

(Who commanded the forces which captured Vladivostok
from the Russian Social Revolutionaries on April 5)

on May 25 as to ways and means for treaty compliance.

Japanese, after serious trouble with Czechs in Siberia, demand Russian evacuation of 30-kilometer zones wherever Japanese troops are stationed.

April 27.—The Poles and Ukrainians negotiate a treaty recognizing Ukrainian independence from Russia.

April 28.—Polish troops advance against Russian Bolsheviks along 180-mile front of Ukraina, capturing prisoners and railway equipment in large numbers with Ukrainian cooperation.

A report of the Moscow *Isvestia* on Bolshevik anti-counter-revolutionary commission work says 128,000 persons were arrested, 21,032 for counter-revolutionary crimes, 19,673 for breach of office, 8367 for speculation, and 9514 for anti-Bolshevik opinions; the commission ordered 9641 prisoners shot.

April 30.—Livonia and Soviet Russia negotiate peace; the Letts desire complete independence, and will assume part of the Russian debt if they get a proportional amount of Russian gold.

May 2.—Soviet Russia announces recognition of its government by China. . . . The fall of Baku causes a mobilization of Georgian troops.

May 5.—The Allied reply denying most of the Hungarian treaty demands gives ten days from May 6 for signature.

May 6.—Germany tells the Reparations Commission she must have a minimum of 21,500,000

tons of raw material to sustain her 8,500,000 workmen; in 1913 she imported 73,000,000 tons.

May 7.—The Chinese consortium loan is completed by acceptance of terms by Japan.

May 8.—A combined army of Poles and Ukrainians capture Kiev from Russian "Red" forces.

May 11.—Poles and Ukrainians capture the great port of Odessa from the Bolsheviks.

The Turkish treaty is handed to the Ottoman delegation at Paris; Thrace is awarded to Greece; France and Italy relinquish mandate claims to Cilicia and Adalia, reserving concessions; boundaries of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Palestine are yet to be fixed.

May 14.—The Council of the League of Nations meets in its fifth session, at Rome—and elects Signor Tittoni, President of the Italian Senate, as presiding officer. . . . Allied Premiers meet in England to discuss German reparation figures.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

April 20.—A tornado does great damage in Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee, killing 155 and destroying \$2,000,000 of property.

April 21.—Eastern railroads refuse to extend time for strikers to return, and those now returning lose their seniority rights.

April 25.—The Interchurch World Movement starts to raise \$336,777,562 in a nation-wide campaign.

The Railroad Managers' Association of the East announces the resumption of normal passenger service and discontinuance of volunteer crews.

April 28.—In New York, three companies refuse to insure brokerage houses against theft of securities, stating thefts last year totaled \$12,000,000.

German sugar production for six months ending March 1 shows a decrease of nearly 50 per cent. compared with 1918.

April 29.—The United States Chamber of Commerce cheers Governor Allen of Kansas and his Industrial Relations Court plan, and jeers Mr. Woll, of the American Federation of Labor, who criticizes it.

Exports of raw and finished products for March show an increase of \$110,000,000 each, while foods drop \$44,000,000; raw-material imports rise \$116,000,000, manufactured products \$71,000,000, and foodstuffs \$84,000,000.

April 30.—The seaplane HS2-L flies from Miami, Fla., to New York City, 1500 miles, with one stop for fuel, in 15 hours and 35 minutes.

May 2.—In Canada, a consolidation of nine steel, coal, shipbuilding and transportation companies—called the British Steel Corporation—creates a \$500,000,000 combine second only to the United States Steel Corporation and greater than any other British organization.

May 3.—Textile workers in Massachusetts strike for higher wages, affecting 37 mills; 15,000 cotton weavers are out.

Eastern railroads decide to ask the Interstate Commerce Commission for an increase of 30 per cent. in freight rates.

May 4.—Rhode Island celebrates the 144th Anniversary of her independence.

May 5.—New York merchants organize a truck delivery system to eliminate interference with industry by striking teamsters.

May 7.—Intercollegiate air races are held for the first time at Mineola, N. Y., with fifty college men competing; Yale wins.

May 14.—At Princeton University, fire destroys Dickinson Hall and Marquand Chapel, with serious damage to McCosh Hall.

May 16.—The Roman Catholic Church canonizes Joan of Arc at St. Peter's Cathedral, Pope Benedict officiating.

OBITUARY

April 18.—Dr. James Wright Markoe, a distinguished New York surgeon, 58.

April 19.—William H. Farrell, steel and wire manufacturer, 55. . . . Jean Baffier, French sculptor, 69.

April 20.—Sidney Freeman Wilcox, noted New York surgeon, 65. . . . Briton Riviere, famous English painter, 80.

April 21.—Henry Mosler, famous American painter, 78. . . . Augustus Buhler, marine painter, of Gloucester, Mass., 67. . . . Maria L. Sanford, educator, of Minneapolis, 83.

April 23.—Rear-Admiral Carlo B. Brittain, U. S. N., chief of staff for the Atlantic Fleet, 53. . . . Nathan Goff, ex-Secretary of the Navy and former Senator from West Virginia, 78.

April 24.—Edmund Lyon, of Rochester, N. Y., a foremost promoter of teaching of deaf mutes. . . . J. Davis Brodhead, a former member of Congress from Pennsylvania, 61.

April 25.—Charles A. Nichols, Representative in Congress from the Thirteenth Michigan District, 44. . . . Alexander G. Mackay, minister in the Alberta provincial government, 61. . . . Col. John Bogart, of New York, a distinguished civil engineer, 84. . . . Vlassios Gabrieliadis, Greek journalist.

April 26.—Dr. William Cleaver Wilkinson, author and editor, 87. . . . Marjorie Benton Cooke, author, 44. . . . General William H. Seward, son of the late Secretary Seward, 81. . . . Rev. Stephen Gladstone, rector of Barrowby, Lincolnshire, England, 76.

April 27.—Dr. John W. S. Gouley, Civil War veteran and noted surgeon and author, 88. . . . G. Zinovieff, president of the Third International, dictator of Petrograd.

April 28.—Rev. Dr. Aloysius J. Rother, philosopher, 61.

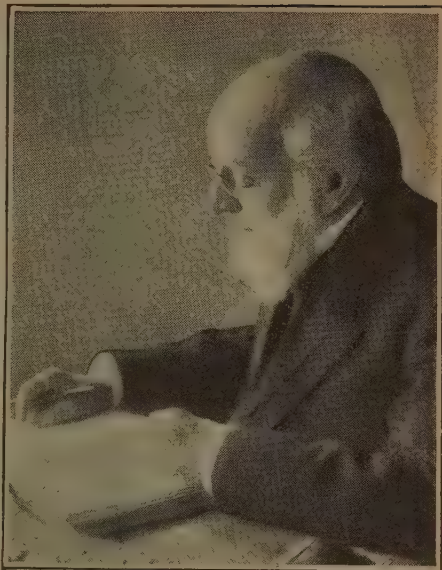
April 29.—William Alden Smith, Jr., of the Grand Rapids Herald, 27.

May 1.—William Barret Ridgely, ex-Controller of the Currency, 62.

May 2.—Francois M. L. Tonetti, sculptor, 58.

May 3.—William Henry Maxwell, formerly and for thirty-five years superintendent of schools in New York, 68. . . . Dr. Albert D. Jacobson, editor, 70. . . . Dr. Achilles Davis, noted Chicago surgeon, 46.

May 4.—James S. Barcus, ex-State Senator of Indiana, 57. . . . André Lesourd, of the Paris Bar, 50. . . . Leonida Bissolati, Italian Socialist, 55.



BISHOP JOHN H. VINCENT

(Bishop Vincent, who died in Chicago on May 9, at the age of eighty-eight, was the founder of Chautauqua and the original impulse of "the Chautauqua idea." That was a quarter of a century before he was made a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and even if he had never reached the episcopate his fame would have been secure. His life is held in grateful remembrance by thousands of Americans of all religious faiths, and he will always be counted among the inspiring educational leaders of his generation)

May 5.—I. Frank Stone, American chemist, 54. . . . William Supplee Lloyd, book collector, 60.

May 6.—Charles E. Lydecker, ex-President of National Security League, 69. . . . Julian Tappan Davies, noted New York lawyer, 74.

May 7.—Rufus B. Cowing, ex-Justice of New York Supreme Court, 80.

May 8.—Rev. James Luke Meagher, religious writer and publisher, 71. . . . Hugh Thomson, London illustrator, 60.

May 9.—Bishop John Heyl Vincent, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, founder of the Chautauqua Assembly, author, Sunday-school worker, 88.

May 10.—Wilmer Atkinson, founder of the Farm Journal, 79.

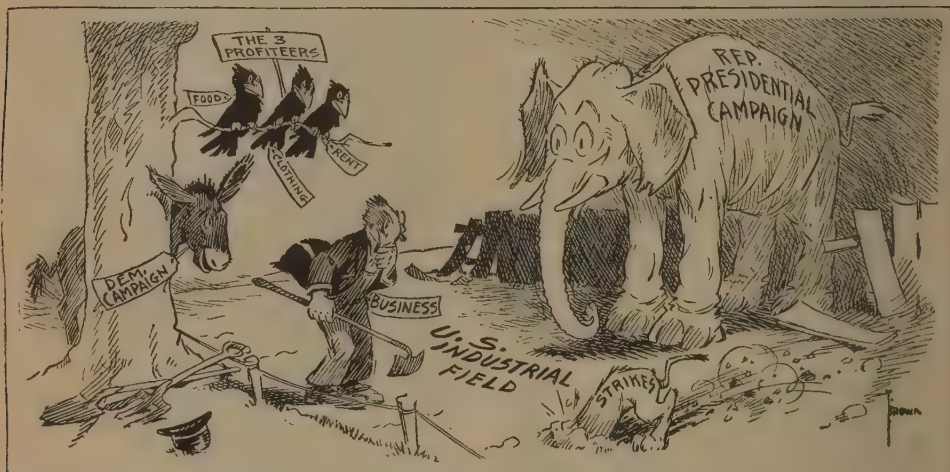
May 11.—William Dean Howells, famous American novelist and editor, 83.

May 13.—Arthur von Briesen, lawyer, founder of the Legal Aid Society in New York City, 77.

May 14.—Dr. H. Holbrook Curtis, famous throat specialist, 63. . . . Henry C. Kelsey, ex-Secretary of State for New Jersey, 82.

May 16.—Levi P. Morton, Vice-President of the United States, Minister to France, and Governor of the State of New York, 96. . . . John Woodruff Simpson, specialist in corporation law, of New York, 70. . . . Robert B. Glenn, ex-Governor of North Carolina, 66.

THE POLITICAL SEASON IN CARTOONS

GARDENING UNDER DIFFICULTIES—From the *News* (Chicago, Ill.)

WILL THIS BE THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL
CONVENTION?

From the *Star* (St. Louis, Mo.)

[The St. Louis cartoonist seems to have an exaggerated conception of the ability of Senator Penrose to dominate the Chicago convention]



THE EMPTY SEAT!

From the *Knickerbocker Press* (Albany, New York)

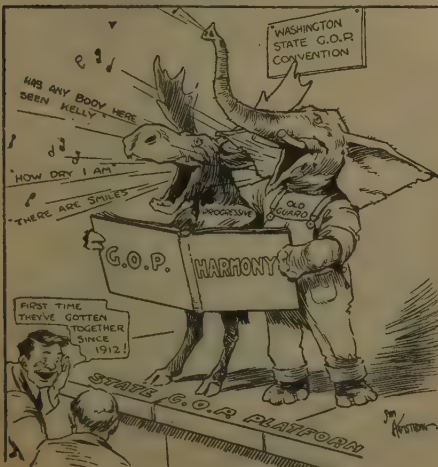
[In the general desire for the higher office, there seems to be a scarcity of candidates for the Vice-Presidency. When the conventions nominate the "running mates," however, those chosen will be found in every way worthy]



WHY A BILL OF FARE? I NEVER CAN GET WHAT I ORDER—From the Times (New York)



HE OUGHT TO BE THANKFUL HE PLAYED WITH THEM AT ALL!
From the Tribune (Sioux City, Ia.)



PERFECT HARMONY EVERYWHERE
From the News-Tribune (Tacoma, Wash.)

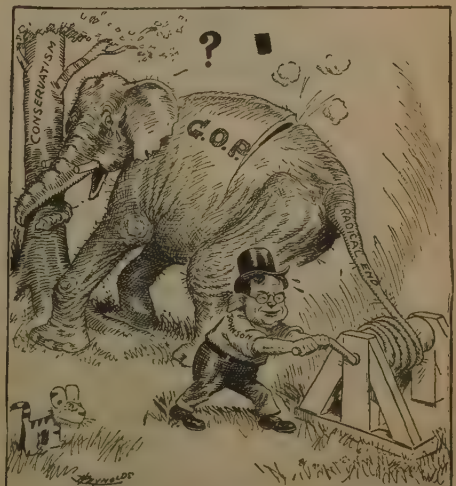


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ONE'S AFRAID, THE OTHER DASSENT
From the Item (New Orleans, La.)



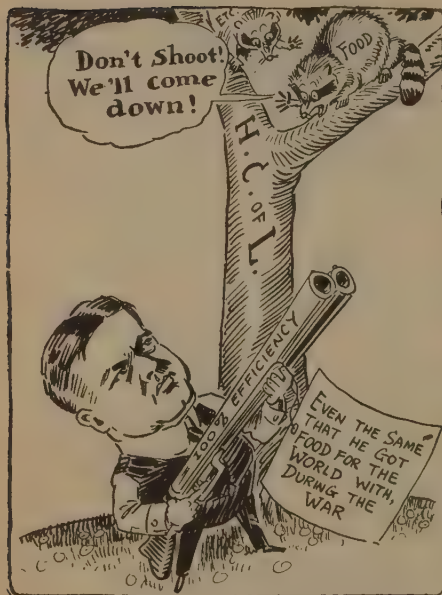
HARASSING THE GENERAL'S REAR
From the News (Dallas, Texas)



THE STRAIN IS BEGINNING TO TELL
From the Daily Ledger (Tacoma, Wash.)



A CALIFORNIA SUNSET
From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, Mo.)



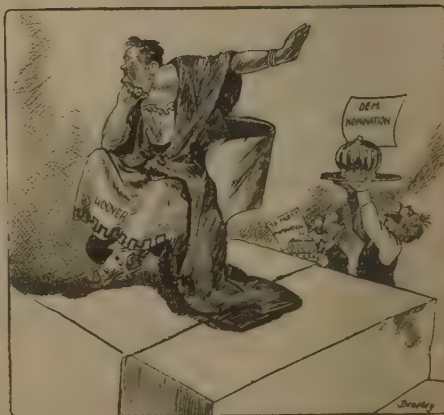
IF HOOVER IS ELECTED!
From the *Times* (Los Angeles, Cal.)



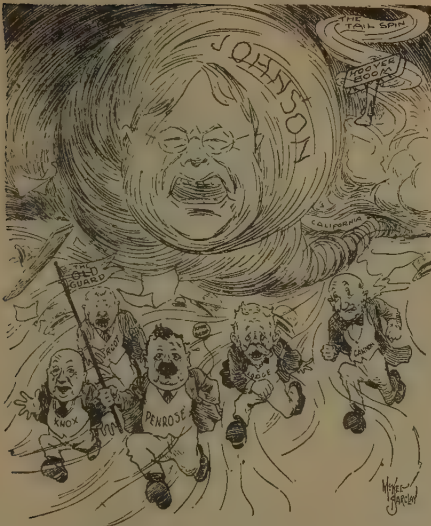
AND EVERYWHERE THAT HERBERT WENT—
From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco, Cal.)



OH, TO BE FANCY FREE!
[Promised to Senator Poindexter, the Washington delegation is accused of liking Wood and Hoover]
From the *Journal* (Sioux City, Ia.)

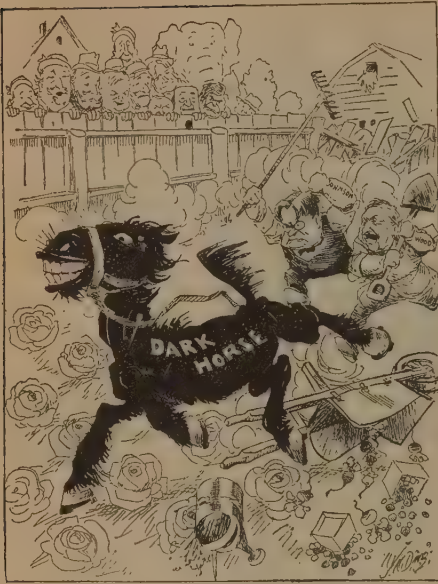


—AND TWICE DID HE REFUSE
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio)



THE outstanding political fact of the month had been the emergence of Senator Johnson as a leading candidate for the Republican presidential nomination. As





THERE'S ALWAYS SOMETHING TO INTERFERE WITH
MAKING AN ACCURATE CROP ESTIMATE
From the Tribune © (New York)



WILL HE BREAK UP THE SHOW?
From the Daily Drivers' Journal (Chicago)



THERE'S NO PLACE LIKE HOME!
[Governor Lowden is treated handsomely by his own
State of Illinois]
From the Tribune (Sioux City, Iowa)



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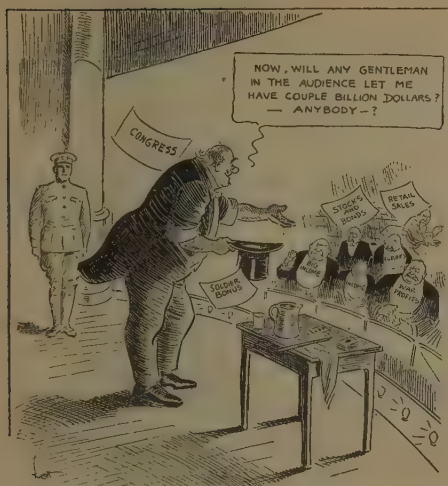
THE DARK HORSE IS READY!
From the Evening World (New York)



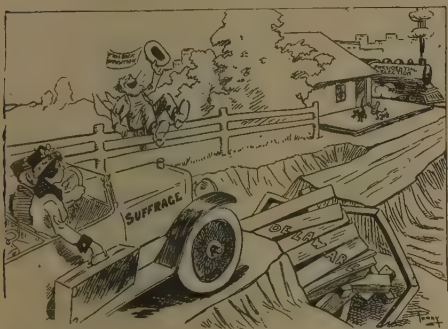
FEELING HIS OATS
From the Newspaper Enterprise Assn. (Cleveland, O.)



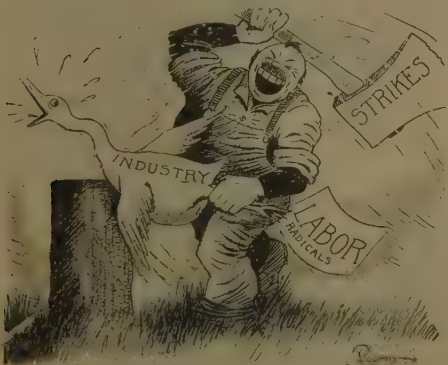
WHY NOT CAST OFF THE TWIN ANCHORS OF
EXTRAVAGANCE AND NON-PRODUCTION?
(From the News (Chicago, Ill.)



TO DO THE "SOLDIER BONUS" TRICK ALL HE NEEDS
IS A FEW BILLION DOLLARS
From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)



MISSING THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION TRAIN BY
ABOUT HALF A BLOCK
From the *Journal* (Sioux City, Ia.)

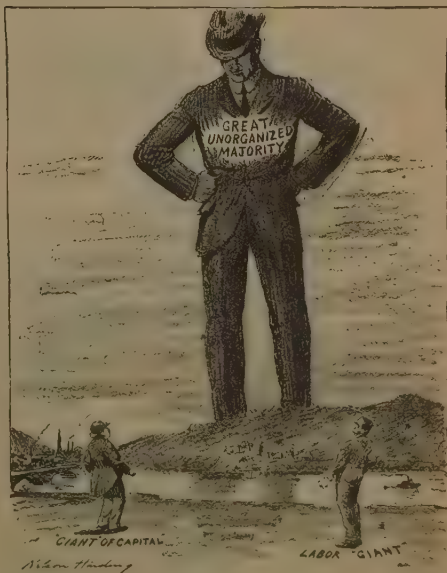


WILL HE COME TO HIS SENSES?
From the *Daily Drivers' Journal* (Chicago, Illinois)



"FOR LO! THE WINTER IS PAST . . . AND THE
VOICE OF THE FARMER IS HEARD IN OUR LAND"
[The Song of Solomon up-to-date]
From the *Citizen* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

While politics occupies the center of the American stage—and will continue to do so until November—there are other topics which employ the skill of the cartoonist. Among familiar ones are labor and the prog-



SPEAKING OF GIANTS
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

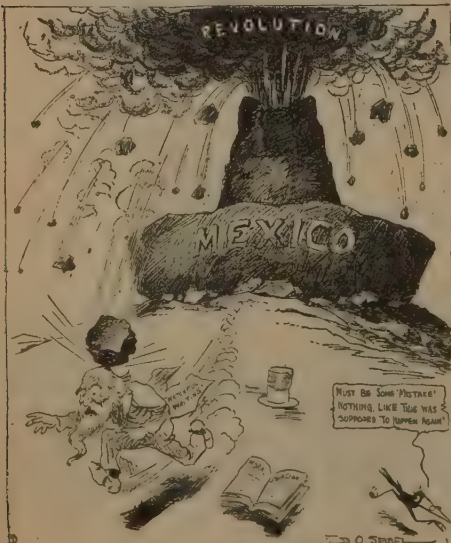


THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN IN MEXICO—AS SEEN BY A MEXICAN CARTOONIST
From *Excelsior* (Mexico City)

ress of the woman-suffrage amendment, with the proposed bonus to soldiers furnishing a new theme. The Carranza upset in Mexico—only two months before his successor was to have been chosen in a constitutional election—affords a picturesque topic.



LONG SUFFERING
"Guess I'll have to close that joint pretty soon."
From the *Daily Star* (Montreal, Canada)



AT IT AGAIN!
From the *Knickerbocker Press* (Albany, N. Y.)



MEXICO'S FAVORITE SPORT!
From the *Evening World* © (New York)



STILL HANDICAPPED—From the *News* (Chicago, Ill.)

LIBERTY AND LAW IN KANSAS

How the Industrial Court Protects the Public, Insures Justice to Labor, and Increases Production

BY GOVERNOR HENRY J. ALLEN

[Governor Allen has become a specialist in the subject of industrial relations only through practical necessities. Like Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts and various other public officials, the sturdy Governor of Kansas was confronted with a situation that involved the very lives as well as the comfort and safety of the people of his State. He took the lead in working out a solution. The Kansas Industrial Court has brought upon itself much criticism. Meanwhile it has been functioning vigorously for a number of months.

The present article by Governor Allen was written in the middle of May, in order partly to explain the nature of the court but chiefly to inform our readers how the court is going about its work, and what effects are already visible. While many wiseacres have been saying that the Kansas law would never work, it seems actually to be performing very hopefully. We should suggest that it has already paid 100 per cent. upon the investment, and could not possibly, therefore, result in failure. It is tiding Kansas over the "outlaw" railroad strike, and it makes a bountiful coal supply for 1920 and '21 a dead certainty.

Governor Allen has long published and edited an excellent daily newspaper at Wichita, and has been one of the most courageous leaders and forcible orators of the progressive wing of the Republican party. He was elected Governor while doing war service in France, and with no effort of any kind on his own part. There are many Republicans in the East as well as in the Mississippi Valley and the West who regard Governor Allen as of presidential size; and in any case he is a campaigner and a leader who ranks with the very best that the party has produced in these times. It may be remarked that the present article has been written in response to our request, and that its form is the result of a series of written interrogatories that were in the Governor's hands as he dictated the instructive observations that follow herewith.—THE EDITOR]

THE Kansas law creating a Court of Industrial Relations followed the coal strike of last winter. It is not the result of an effort to legislate against either employing capital or labor. It came out of the public realization of the suffering which was brought by industrial warfare upon an unprotected people who had no part in bringing on the general coal strike, but who were the defenseless victims of it.

When the coal strike occurred, this section of the country was almost entirely without fuel. Within two weeks there was suffering. The State took over the mines under an order of the Supreme Court appointing a receiver-ship. Volunteers were called to operate the mines for the purpose of saving the public from the disaster of the coal famine. More than 11,000 Kansans volunteered their services within twenty-four hours after the first call.

From this magnificent offering we selected a sufficient number of men to man the strip mines, taking the personnel very largely from those who had been in the army service. In ten days these splendid young men, who volunteered under a sense of patriotic duty, produced enough coal to relieve the emergencies

in two hundred Kansas communities. The thermometer was below zero much of the time, and the obstacles were almost insuperable, but the men worked from daylight to dark and very few of them ever inquired as to what the salary for their labor would be. They were paid \$5.70 per day, which was the average wage of the miners, but they worked without relation to hours.

Purposes of the Kansas Law

While the State operation was still in progress, a special session of the legislature was called to enact a law creating an industrial court for the purpose of placing upon the State the responsibility of regulating industrial strife. The law—which creates a strong, dignified tribunal vested with power, authority, and jurisdiction to hear and determine all controversies which may arise and which threaten to hinder, delay, or suspend the operation of essential industries—was passed with only seven votes against it in the lower house and two votes against it in the Senate. The new tribunal is known as the Court of Industrial Relations, composed of three judges appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Senate.

The terms are for three years each and are arranged so that they overlap. This would safeguard the court against an entire change of personnel under any one Governor. It is not a court of arbitration, but a court of justice.

The purpose of the court is—

(a) To make strikes, lockouts, boycotts, and blacklists unnecessary and impossible, by giving labor as well as capital an able and just tribunal in which to litigate all controversies.

(b) To insure to the people of this State, at all times, an adequate supply of those products which are absolutely necessary to sustain the life of civilized peoples.

(c) To stabilize production of these necessities, so that we will also, to a great extent, stabilize the price to the producer as well as the consumer.

(d) To insure to labor steadier employment, at a fairer wage, under better working conditions.

(e) To prevent the colossal economic waste which always attends industrial disturbances.

The basis of the law is in the inherent right of the State to protect itself and its members against anything that is prejudicial to the common welfare. This principle has been recognized for more than twenty centuries. It was inscribed upon one of the Twelve Tables of the Roman Law: *Salus populi suprema lex*.

Effect of the Law Upon Production

Last year, for the first three months of the period, there were something over forty strikes in the various mines of the Kansas district. This year there have been no strikes. During a few days while the court was dealing with the refusal of Alexander Howat and some members of his staff to testify in a case which was brought by some of his own union miners, there was a temporary shut-down of the mines; but the actual effect of the law upon production shows that in slightly less than three months more coal has been produced in the Kansas district than during any other five and a half months in the history of that district, with practically the same number of miners.

One of the strong effects of the law is in the power of the court to require the continuous operation of industries, which are forbidden to shut down for any purpose to effect wage controversies or the price of the commodity to the public. In the past years, par-

ticularly in the coal-mining district, the mines have produced very indifferent results during the summer. It is stated that an average of one day per week would cover the operation of the mines. Under the new law, the operators will be obliged to operate with reasonable continuity, with the result that we will begin next winter with a coal reserve instead of a coal famine. This principle, applied to all of the essential industries under the supervision of the Kansas court, will have a very splendid result in stabilizing the market as well as providing the public with the normal output of production under favorable conditions.

Adjusting Miners' Grievances

Soon after the court was created four hundred miners quit work as a protest against the law. The Attorney-General brought before him the officers of this group, who, when they understood all the provisions of the law, ordered their miners back to work. The suspension lasted only one day.

On that occasion, a group of miners having some general grievances brought these grievances voluntarily into the court. This was significant by reason of the fact that the method prescribed by the by-laws of the miners' union obligated these miners to bring their grievances through their local and district officers. But instead of going through prescribed channels, these miners came voluntarily into the court, asking for the adjudication of their grievances.

Alexander Howat, president of the district, called a meeting of his war council and passed a resolution declaring that any miner thereafter who should bring his grievance before the industrial court would be fined \$50. If any local union or officer of any union appealed to the court for an adjudication of a grievance, that officer or union should be fined \$5000. In spite of this a number of unions—including the shot-firers, who affect every mine in the district—brought their grievances into the court.

During the hearings of the court, which were held at Pittsburgh in the center of the mining district, the most sympathetic and co-operative testimony was given by the miners. A number of very revealing conditions were brought out, which formed the basis for several decisions and orders.

For example, it was discovered that it had been the custom in the district for a good many years for the operators to charge the miners a heavy discount if their wages

were paid in advance of the regular pay day, which was once every two weeks. Miners who needed the wages they had earned in the interim would collect the wages already earned, but in advance of pay day, and the operators would charge them 10 per cent. for the prepayment. No effort had ever been made to correct the abuse. The court corrected it at once, establishing the order that a miner might collect wages due him, paying only a minimum fee for the bookkeeping charge made necessary in the advance payment. The operators did not contest the order of the industrial court, and the new system is now working.

Another abuse corrected as the result of the miners' testimony was in relation to the charge for explosives. Ever since the decision of the National Commission, the operators, who were commanded to sell explosives at cost, did not state the price; and the miners were obliged to do their work under uncertainty as to what would be charged for powder and dynamite. Several efforts had been made by miners and operators to secure a conference on this subject with the miners' officials, but these efforts had failed. The court established a fixed price for explosives, conditioned upon the cost. This decision is of great importance, since it involves directly the wages of miners who mine their coal at a stated price per ton and pay out of this the cost of the explosives which they require for their work.

The testimony of the shot-firers, who brought their case to the court in defiance of Alexander Howat's threat to fine them \$5000, exhibited the fact that for three years they had sought in vain for proper consideration of their grievances.

Another fact produced by the testimony of several miners, who had been upon a strike called by the president of the district in the mines of the Central Coal and Coke Company, was that while they had asked repeatedly for a statement of the grievance upon which the strike was called, they had never been told by their union president why they were striking. They had been idle for more than three months, living upon meager strike benefits without any intelligent appreciation as to why they were idle. They had lost in wages over \$800,000. The real issue upon which the strike was called involved less than \$2000, and its essence was a personal grievance on the part of the president of the district against the operators of the mine.

Settling a Railroad Strike

Another important decision of the court related to the employees of the Joplin and Pittsburgh Interurban Railway Company. In 1914, there was a strike of eighty days' duration, costing the men who were out of employment several hundred thousand dollars. The road connects two of the most important mining districts in the Middle West in the zinc and coal fields. The strike deprived the residents of this district of their most important mode of transportation, affecting not only the mining and commercial interests, but the agricultural interests. In 1918, while the country was in the throes of war, there was a strike of thirty-six days, causing not only great loss to both the wage-earners and the company, but shortage of production and general disaster. In March of the present year another strike was threatened, but the employees of the road brought their grievance into the Court of Industrial Relations. The case was brought on February 24, and in less than three weeks a hearing was had and an order made which was satisfactory to both the employees and the company.

In this case a singular evidence was given of the confidence of both sides in the justice of the court. Only a few of the complainants appeared in the court, although several hundred employees were involved. The order was made effective, and the adjudication occurred without the loss of a moment of time. Even the witnesses who appeared in court lost less than a day, and there was continuous service on the line during the proceedings.

Other Typical Cases

There are in the court to-day three cases in which strikes were threatened and would doubtless have occurred had it not been for the law. One of these is in the shop and roundhouse laborers of the railroad craft. A general strike had been called, but the national executive committee of the craft, by an almost unanimous vote, decided that in Kansas the action should be determined in the Court of Industrial Relations.

The case of the maintenance-of-way men, upon which a national strike is also threatened, has been brought into the Kansas court for settlement so far as that State is concerned; and there will be no strike in this craft in Kansas.

There are two interurban railway cases, in which strikes were threatened, but both grievances have been brought into the Kansas

industrial court for adjudication and the roads are running without loss of service to the public or wages to the carmen.

An interesting sidelight upon the situation occurred in Kansas City some weeks ago, when the bakers of Kansas City, Kan., and Kansas City, Mo., met for the purpose of ordering a strike. The Kansas bakers refused to go out because of the law forbidding shut-downs in this industry, and the Missouri bakers declined to go out alone; so the matter was satisfactorily adjudicated without their going out in either city.

The first order of the court, soon after its establishment, was in relation to a wage controversy brought by electrical linemen in the Edison Company at Topeka. It was for an increase in wages. The testimony clearly revealed the fact that the operatives of this department of public service were paid less than the trend of wages for expert service in the district. The whole subject of cost of living and comparison of wages was gone into. The court granted an increase of wages to the men that was entirely satisfactory to them and the corporation—which not only obeyed the order of the court promptly, but made the increase of wages retroactive to cover the period since the request for an increase was made. No time was lost by the employees during the adjudication of this controversy, and the public received the benefit of continuous operation of service.

In the order of the court a hint as to the spirit of this tribunal may be had from the following quotation:

The court is very desirous to do nothing in this case which will unduly burden the respondent. However, it must be admitted that wages to labor must be considered before dividends to the investor, and that business which is unable to pay a fair rate of wage to its employees will eventually have to liquidate. The Kansas law imposes upon the court the obligation, so far as it has power to do so, to assure to labor a fair wage and to capital a fair return.

The Kansas court differentiated between a living wage and a fair wage, and it declared a fair wage to be that which will enable the workmen to procure for themselves and their families all the necessities and a reasonable share of the comforts of life.

They are entitled to a wage which will enable them by industry and economy not only to supply themselves with opportunities for intellectual advancement and reasonable recreation, but also to enable the parents working together to furnish to the children ample opportunities for intellectual and moral advancement, for education,

and for an equal opportunity in the race of life. A fair wage will also allow the frugal man to provide reasonably for sickness and old age.

These are typical cases which have received adjudication, and in all of them the benefits arising from the fact that the court not only had power to make an impartial survey of the case, but also the power to render final decision, was generally recognized by the public.

The "Outlaw" Railroad Strike Fails

We suffered less in Kansas during the "outlaw" railroad strike than elsewhere. A few men in Rosedale and Argentine went out, and the Attorney-General went to the field for the purpose of taking charge of the situation. After a few arrests were made, practically all of the men returned to work. These cases have not been heard as yet by the court. In all the other railroad centers of the State there were no strikes, the leaders being opposed to placing themselves in violation of the law.

The attitude of the court toward the interurban lines and the lines operating within the State has brought a new sense of security both to the operators and operatives. They realize that the strike is no longer necessary; that all their grievances are justiciable in this court.

In one decision, that of an interurban company, both wages and traffic rates were increased, and all three parties to the triangle—operators, employees, and the public—have recognized the justice of the decision.

No grievances have been filed touching the packing, milling, or clothing industries. A shut-down was threatened some weeks ago in the packing district and an investigation was started by the court, but the difficulty passed away without the necessity of court action.

One of the direct results we have observed in the operation of the court is that it reduces the poignancy of the industrial quarrel. The mere presence of an impartial court seems to have encouraged both operators and operatives to approach each other in a new spirit of conciliation.

Protection of the Public

It is believed that the law is going to prove even more effective to wage-earners than to employers. Naturally the court is there to protect the weak and to guarantee justice. For fifteen or twenty years we have gone through a reluctant process of regulating

employing capital. Many wrongs have been corrected through legislation. Indeed, practically all of the progress which has been made in the regulation of working conditions, fair wages, and hours of labor have come as the result of laws looking toward justice.

In Kansas a few years ago the operators maintained that the most emphatic of all evils was the company store, in which miners made purchases with company script. This system was wiped out by State legislation. All of the safety appliances, working conditions in mines, modern bath houses for miners, and rescue stations were established by legislation. The rescue stations are operated at the State expense, Kansas being one of three States in the Union to adopt this system.

The entire progress of legislation has been along lines favorable to the workers, and the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations, while holding this to be a paramount consideration, has had to look to the necessity of protecting the public as well as capital.

The difference between the Kansas effort and the efforts of compulsory arbitration in Australia and other countries is that in laws such as Australia created the main feature is the protection of arbitration agreements. In Kansas the main feature is the protection of the public. We are going upon the broad principle that society has the same right to take jurisdiction over offenses committed in the name of industrial warfare that she has had, through all the evolution of government, to take jurisdiction over other wrongs.

"The quarrels between capital and labor are to-day the only ones against which government does not protect the public. We have done away with every form of private conflict from dueling to fist fighting, save alone the conflict between capital and labor. Eugene V. Debs, in his testimony in the Phelan case, said, "A strike is war, not necessarily war of blood and bullets, but a war in the sense that it is a conflict between two contending interests or classes of interests."

Kansas, which once sympathized altogether with labor, as did the general public, out of a realization in that early day that the employers were unduly oppressive, now realizes that if capital has been selfish and ruthless, labor has shown itself to be the same; and the general demand is that hereafter the public shall be considered and protected against industrial war. The real purpose of the Kansas law is to protect men in their right to work, rather than to deny them the right to quit.

Our union labor friends forget that government has power to protect the good order of society and that in the exercise of this power it has taken jurisdiction over the most sacred relations of life. The relation of the husband and wife, of the parent and the child, come under the jurisdiction of our courts. Government says to the parent that the child shall not work during the years when it should be in attendance upon the schools of education.

I think the finest definition I have ever read as to the purpose of government is that of John Adams, who declared that the chief aim of government is justice. This is the chief aim of all our human relations. There is no reason why industrial controversies should not be subject to the rule of justice. There is only one source upon which we may depend for its impartial standard, for its dignified utterance, for its impartial administration, and that source is government.

The question of the hour is as to whether this government shall be regulated by all the people under the safeguard of constitutional majority, or whether it shall be regulated by the hard-and-fast unionism driven forward by radical and un-American labor leaders. If moral principles do not exist in American institutions for the establishment of government over industrial warfare, then American institutions are doomed to failure.

Similar Laws in Other Communities

The fundamental difference between the Kansas system and that proposed by the President's second Industrial Conference lies in the fact that the Washington conference, which provided an elaborate and worthy system of conciliation, still recognizes a controversy between capital and labor as being a private quarrel. There is no protection guaranteed to the public. The Kansas Court of Industrial Relations in its broad inherent powers maintains the same possibilities of conciliation, welfare, work, and group discussion that are provided in the report of the second Industrial Conference, but when all of these efforts at conciliation have failed the Kansas court takes charge of the controversy and settles it upon terms which give proper recognition to the public, to labor, and to capital, and makes its decision final.

I believe that ten State legislatures and two constitutional conventions have already considered the Kansas plan. Nebraska wrote into her new constitution last winter an article making it mandatory upon the next

legislature to adopt a Court of Industrial Relations, with the intention of placing all industrial controversies under the regulation of the State. Illinois is now considering—with prospect of success, I understand—the submission of such an article in her new constitution. New York, which considered the principle of the Kansas court, has made some legislation along compulsory arbitration which marks an advance. Massachusetts is also considering with deep interest industrial court legislation. Oklahoma is doing the same. The Chamber of Commerce of New Orleans tells me that the new Governor of Louisiana, Parker, hopes to secure the enactment of a program similar to ours.

Considerable is said about the failure of the industrial courts of Australia and Canada to prevent strikes. In Australia the right to strike is not prohibited, and a provision exists in some of the Australian courts for an appeal to the Parliament, and an unfavorable vote in either branch of Parliament wipes out the decision. Obviously, under some circumstances, the tendency would be to reduce the effectiveness of the court. Notwithstanding this, however, the codes of the Australian industrial courts have grown in strength, and Australia is still holding fast to the process, adding new purpose and new scope to an effort which in the beginning was brought about by labor unions themselves for the purpose of giving effectiveness to grievances.

The Canadian act of 1907, amended in 1910, provides that where a strike or lockout is threatened in the industries of railroads, steamships, telegraphs, telephones, and mines, and before such a strike or lockout can legally take place, the parties must refer their differences to a board for settlement. In Canada each party to the dispute appoints a member to the board of arbitration. This plan contains the essential defect of leaving the public out of consideration and of placing the responsibility of settlement in the hands of interested parties.

Nevertheless, in 1916, out of 182 applications for adjudication under the Canadian law, every strike was averted except two. On the other hand, in the United States, where we have no laws for the regulation of capital or labor, 321 strikes occurred during October, 1916, alone. The *Labor Review* for June, 1919, says that in 1918 there were 3181 strikes in the United States and 104 lockouts. In New York alone there were 662 strikes and 21 lockouts.

The most distinguished incident of effective remedy under an impartial tribunal was in the instance of the anthracite coal strike by the committee appointed by President Roosevelt. Advocates of neither side were on this board. All were impartial men. It was, in effect, an industrial court. The agreements which resulted from that impartial tribunal have worked such effectiveness that there has been no general strike in the anthracite coal district since that time.

Outlook for the Future

Whatever tendencies may be marked at this hour touching the migration of labor indicate that Kansas is to receive the friendly consideration of conservative union men. Various threats have been made by Alexander Howat that union labor would leave the State. It is possible that the more radical type of union leadership will go to fields where they still have the privilege to menace government; but in Kansas the conservative type, a large percentage of whom own their own homes, welcomes the advent of government into the situation, and I believe we will build in Kansas the Mecca of a new type of industrial activity.

In the other unionized trades the criticism of the Kansas law is confined very largely to the leaders, who realize that the success of the law reduces the need of the radical type of leadership and makes of the union a more benevolent type of organization, standing for the benefit of its members, the protection of its contracts, and the progressive study of the welfare of the crafts. One of the most interesting experiments now being carried on under the industrial court is the welfare canvass which is now being made in the Pittsburgh district. Not only the miners themselves, but also their wives, are taking a keen interest in the effort of the court to establish better housing, working, and living conditions in all cases where material improvement is necessary.

In conclusion, I am glad to say that there is a growing tendency to believe in the industrial court; and this confidence will grow with the growth of understanding of the decisive benefits it bestows upon labor. Capital, which did not welcome the court, is not fighting it openly and is, I believe, somewhat impressed with the fact that impartial justice will not be as expensive as industrial warfare has been, because through the operation of the court we save economic waste.

SENATOR JOHNSON'S CAMPAIGN

BY ALEXANDER C. JOY

LATE in January last, when potential Presidents bobbed daily out of "favorite son" obscurity to make a momentary ripple upon the sluggish political waters, Angus McSween, newspaper man and friend of statesmen and diplomats through twenty-five years of close-up association at Washington, moved unostentatiously into New York and announced himself as the Eastern manager of Senator Hiram W. Johnson's campaign for the Republican nomination for President.

Naturally, the newspapers made due and disinterested mention of his coming and his mission. They did not, however, get excited. McSween's associates of the fraternity of the press merely saw to it that he was not completely ignored, but they were not personally to be shaken out of their conviction that he had identified himself with a hopeless cause, and that the Johnson candidacy would get little hearing outside the modest offices of McSween and his few associates.

"Why not?" McSween would ask.

Answers came in a flood. "He is from too far West."

"Yet," countered McSween, "can't the West produce an American?"

"The other fellows have the start on you. They can beat you with their organization and their money."

"Yes, they appear to have everything except the votes. If we can get the votes, they are welcome to everything else."

"The Old Guard will fight you to a finish. You know the 'standpatters' hate Johnson."

"To an extent that is perhaps true," McSween usually concluded his part of the argument, "but remember that the party comes first in the regard of these very 'standpatters.' Two national Republican elections have been lost. We are going to try to prove that Senator Johnson is the man who can lead the party to a victory this fall. I know that everything possible will be done to hurt his candidacy. You will hear the yell of 'radical' go up all over the country the instant any attention is paid to him. We are going to show that his radicalism is only plain progressiveness, grounded in his belief in the



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SENATOR HIRAM W. JOHNSON, OF CALIFORNIA

fundamentals of the Constitution and his concept of government as standing more for the human side of life than the material side.

"Thinking men know that the spirit of unrest in our land to-day is one of the most serious problems yet encountered in our national existence. It is perhaps to a large extent the aftermath of the war. War-time laws, war-time restrictions, war-time living standards, all have contributed to it. If this spirit of unrest is permitted to continue there will be turmoil in our land two years or, at most, four years hence such as to-day we can scarcely picture. It is necessary, if we are to have tranquillity in our national life and uninterrupted development of our limitless resources, that this spirit of unrest should be dissipated. This can be done, not by force, not by a "man on horseback," not by riding roughshod over every suggestion for the amelioration of conditions, but by electing to the presidency a constructive statesman in

whom the people have confidence, on whom they are willing to rely for the safety of the Nation.

"You will find in this primary campaign that the people want Johnson. He is the one man who can satisfy those who are chafing under the rule at Washington. He will be the outstanding candidate of the primaries who has a distinct personal following and for whose election there is a genuine demand.

"In Senator Johnson's record, from the time he was elected Governor of California down to the present, there has been only the radicalism of the real Progressive; only an effort to write humanitarianism into law. He has sought to bring labor and capital together, and he has succeeded. He has been a sound, safe man who has simply insisted that labor and capital shall be entirely respectful of each other's rights and of the rights of those who stand between them. He has insisted always on law and order with justice.

"He has proven himself a fighter, but a fair, open fighter. And he is the type of man who, insisting only that business shall be honest, is willing to fight to protect honest business. Honest business, therefore, has nothing to fear from Johnson. He can bring together all the elements now at discord in the Republican party, and he is the type of statesman who can guarantee this tranquillity which we must have if America is to continue on her glorious way.

"I am merely telling you this as my prediction. Watch this little campaign of ours grow."

This article is not concerned with Angus McSween, but with Senator Hiram W. Johnson. The statement of Manager McSween is quoted to show the type of argument that has been presented throughout the country, and that has unquestionably had much to do with bringing the Johnson candidacy into its present prominence.

In those days of late January and throughout February—as the writer, associated with Mr. McSween from the very beginning, can testify—it seemed as though the New York newspaper men in their original scoffing were right. Apparently there was a great reluctance on the part of the press even to mention the name of the California Senator as one of the serious candidates. Apparently there was an even greater reluctance on the part of anybody to contribute to the financing of the campaign. McSween seemed to be conducting practically a one-man organization, yet gradually the name of Johnson be-

gan to loom larger and larger in the discussion of possibilities. Gradually the number of those who believed in him, who stood with him in his opposition to the League of Nations, who regarded him as a real leader, increased until the wearers of the "I'm for Hiram" button were to be encountered everywhere. To-day the very men who discouraged McSween in January are complimenting him upon his political sagacity. Political sagacity, as one of them has defined it, being the ability to differentiate between a band-wagon and a hearse.

Supreme as a Campaigner

As a candidate for the nomination, Senator Johnson has been forced to take his fight chiefly into the States where the direct primary prevails. He is a great lone-hand campaigner. He makes his appeal directly to the voters themselves. Some of his critics, particularly those members of the Old Guard who object to the direct primary system, have declared that it is unseemly for a man to go about the country proclaiming himself a candidate for the highest office in the gift of the people, and appealing to the people for their support. Senator Johnson has said, in answer to this, that he is not ashamed of his ambition to be President, and is perfectly willing to tell every citizen of his country that this is his ambition. Every schoolboy in our land, the Senator points out, is taught that this is the land of equal opportunity and that it is his birthright to aspire to the presidency. He has declared that he is proud of the opportunity to go before the people, telling them of his ambition and of the principles he represents and would continue to represent if elevated to the exalted position which he seeks.

No other candidate has shown himself such a great campaigner. Senator Johnson is not a polished orator. He has few of the mannerisms or stage tricks of the stump speaker. He possesses a clear voice and, above all else, an earnestness and seriousness that carry conviction. His gestures are not Delsartian; in fact, they have been described by students of oratory as negative gestures. They consist merely of a doubling up of the fist and a short-arm pounding of the air, first with one hand and then with the other. His one other gesture is a waving of the hand, palm outward, to silence applause, which he apparently always wishes to still so that the continuity of his thought and the full effect of the point he is trying to make shall not be

lost: Senator Johnson's oratory really profits by its very faults. He can grip an audience for two hours, holding attention as few men in public life can hold it. The tremendous demonstrations of enthusiasm that have followed his speeches in towns and cities all over the country have not been equalled since the days when Colonel Roosevelt was the great public idol.

Opposes the League of Nations

Senator Johnson's campaign has been based upon the issue of the League of Nations. He has been one of the Senate "irreconcilables." From the very first, when the famous document was laid before the Senate, he has been one of the leaders of the opposition; and he has frequently said that, while he seldom agrees with the present occupant of the White House, he does agree with him upon one thing—that the League of Nations shall go to the people of the country for their ultimate decision.

Effort has been made to make it appear that Senator Johnson is opposed to a League of Nations of any character whatever. Yet he has repeatedly declared this not to be the case. He is opposed to the particular League of Nations proposed by the Paris Peace Conference, and he is opposed to it because he believes it is calculated to bring about conditions exactly the reverse of those for which it was intended. Instead of promoting peace and preventing war, it will, he believes, bring about innumerable wars and definitely commit America to participation in them through all time to come. He has declared himself in favor of a league or a tribunal at which representatives of all the nations could assemble for the settling of disputes and the arbitration of difficulties under codified international laws. He would, however, oppose any league which did not give to America absolute independence of action, or which threatened in any way to entangle America in the quarrels of Europe and Asia.

A Safe and Sane Governor

It is as the evangelist of Americanism, as opposed to the internationalism of the League of Nations, that the people of the East know Senator Johnson most intimately. But his own land of the West knows him as a great executive. It is this knowledge of his executive ability that gives Californians firmest faith in his qualifications for the presidency.

Johnson was responsible for great reforms in California. Yet these very reforms proved

that he is, above all things else, a sound, safe, and conservative business man. As Governor of California he insisted that the employer and the employee are equally representative of business and should be accorded equal consideration as such. He had enacted a workmen's compensation law which is so well constructed that it has proven absolutely lawyer-proof. To-day there is not an employer nor an employee in California who does not regard Johnson's workmen's compensation law as the finest piece of constructive legislation ever enacted into the statutes of the State.

Business men of a certain class protested vigorously against the adoption of a "blue sky" law in California. Honest business men, however, were naturally for the enactment of the law. It has given stability to securities such as they never had before. Investors in the stocks of California corporations know that they are not being inveigled into any wildcat scheme. Fly-by-night promoters have been forced to go to more verdant fields of activity, while legitimate corporations find it far easier to dispose of their stocks than in days of hit or miss operation.

Johnson reformed the banking laws of his State. He did this after obtaining expert advice from some of the biggest bankers of the Pacific Coast, and it is now the boast of every California banker that his State has the finest, safest, and soundest banking laws in the Union.

Herbert Fleishhacker, president of the Anglo-London and Paris National Bank, of San Francisco, the largest individual banking institution west of the Rocky Mountains, was asked by a Wall Street banker a few months ago whom he favored for the presidency. "Johnson," answered Fleishhacker. "What!" demanded the New Yorker in amazement. "Johnson, after what he did in California!"

"Because of what he did in California," returned Fleishhacker. "I opposed Johnson when he first started his reform laws, but he had vision when I was shortsighted. These very reform laws have given a stability to business in California which it never had in the old days."

Dr. A. H. Giannini, president of the East River National Bank, of New York, and of the Bank of Italy, operating twenty-four banks in the richest sections of the Pacific Coast, is another man who has preached to New York acquaintances that Senator Johnson was a real business Governor.

Hand in hand with such big business men as Fleishhacker and Giannini, during the recent primary campaign in California worked P. H. McCarthy, president of the Building Trades Council; Michael Casey, president of the Teamsters' Union; and John I. Nolan, labor leader and member of Congress.

Johnson has the confidence of all classes in that part of the country which knows him best.

Never a Dangerous Radical

The charge of radicalism has been made against Johnson far and wide during the campaign. Yet many men who pride themselves on their conservatism have been won to Johnson. They have investigated his record and have discovered that reform legislation which he initiated, and which was at first regarded as radical, proved to be sound in every way in its operation, and, therefore, was to be regarded as essential and conservative. They have also listened to his campaign speeches, and have found in them only that sort of radicalism which insists upon the constitutional rights of freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. They have been reached by the arguments that no man who believes in upholding the Constitution can be regarded as intensely radical. It would be difficult in this country to-day to convince anybody that the fathers of the Constitution created a radical document.

Opponents of Johnson have laid emphasis upon his having at one time been apparently in favor of government ownership of the railroads. Senator Johnson's attitude toward government ownership has perhaps undergone a change. At least, if he really believes in the theory he does not believe that government ownership is at present possible. He has publicly declared that the manner in which the railroads were operated under government control during the war period has postponed the possibility of government ownership for at least two generations, if not for all time. It will be necessary, in his opinion, for an economic development of the theory of government ownership to a satisfactory point of practicability.

Entirely aside from his popularity with the public, it has been demonstrated during the present campaign that Senator Johnson is extremely popular with those who know him personally. He has many friendly disputes with many persons; but, a good fighter himself, he holds another good fighter in high esteem. Few members of the Senate are as well liked by the members of the press gallery. This is due perhaps to the fact that Senator Johnson is not so overcome with the dignity of his position as to cease to be a common, ordinary citizen. He is approachable at all times, always has a ready smile, and is never too obsessed with the great governmental problems of the day to chat about baseball and the "movies."

During the war he had a record of 100 per cent. Americanism. He supported every war measure on the theory that the stress of the situation demanded the enactment of the laws. When the first information came from Europe that a document was being evolved which would forever put an end to wars, Senator Johnson was as enthusiastic concerning it as any other man in America. Like all Americans, he responded promptly to the abstraction of promoting peace and preventing war. It was not until the League of Nations covenant was in his hands and had been carefully studied that he came out in opposition to it. For a time he was supported in his opposition only by Senators Borah and Reed, and they were three of the most unpopular men in the Senate. The nation was still responding to the abstraction and giving little heed to the concrete terms of the contract.

Johnson took the fight against the league to the people last year, when he followed President Wilson in his tour of the country, and told why he was against the league. He is still making the same fight, but there is apparently a tremendous difference in the attitude of the public from that of a year ago. The League of Nations is apparently to be a big issue of the campaign. There will be no doubt in the mind of any American citizen as to where Senator Johnson stands on the issue.



DIVIDING TURKISH LANDS

New Entente Decisions, Especially Concerning
the Near East

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. SAN REMO AND AFTER

WHEN I closed my article for last month, the representatives of the various Allied powers were just beginning to gather at San Remo, on the Italian Riviera. As I pointed out at the time, this conference promised to be one of the most important since that gathering at Versailles which fixed the terms of the armistice. To be sure, it was not the German but the Allied situation that was bound to be uppermost in the minds of all present. There was, in fact, a question whether the alliance itself would emerge from the conference shattered or restored.

In Lloyd George's phrase, everyone left San Remo happy. Discounting such optimism as one would expect in a public statement, the fact is no less clear that for the moment at least the immediate perils were exorcised. French, British, and Italian statesmen after long debates—not all of them immediately satisfactory or conciliatory—arrived at a common basis for action, arrived at a common agreement that the alliance itself was of too much value to the nations interested to be suffered to fall apart. San Remo was in this sense a renewal of an alliance.

So much is clear gain for the world; and yet it must be evident that even the agreements of San Remo cannot permanently stand if, in some fashion or other, the nations which fought each other do not resume relations, economic even more than political. And this explains the decision at San Remo to invite German delegates to meet their former enemies at another conference at Spa, to discuss the fixing of the size of the German reparations, to settle upon many questions remaining unsettled or newly arisen.

At San Remo the British accepted the clear, uncompromising and unmistakable assurance of the French Government that France had no intention whatever of employing the treaty of peace as a vehicle to further French imperialistic ambitions. For his country, M. Millerand definitively renounced

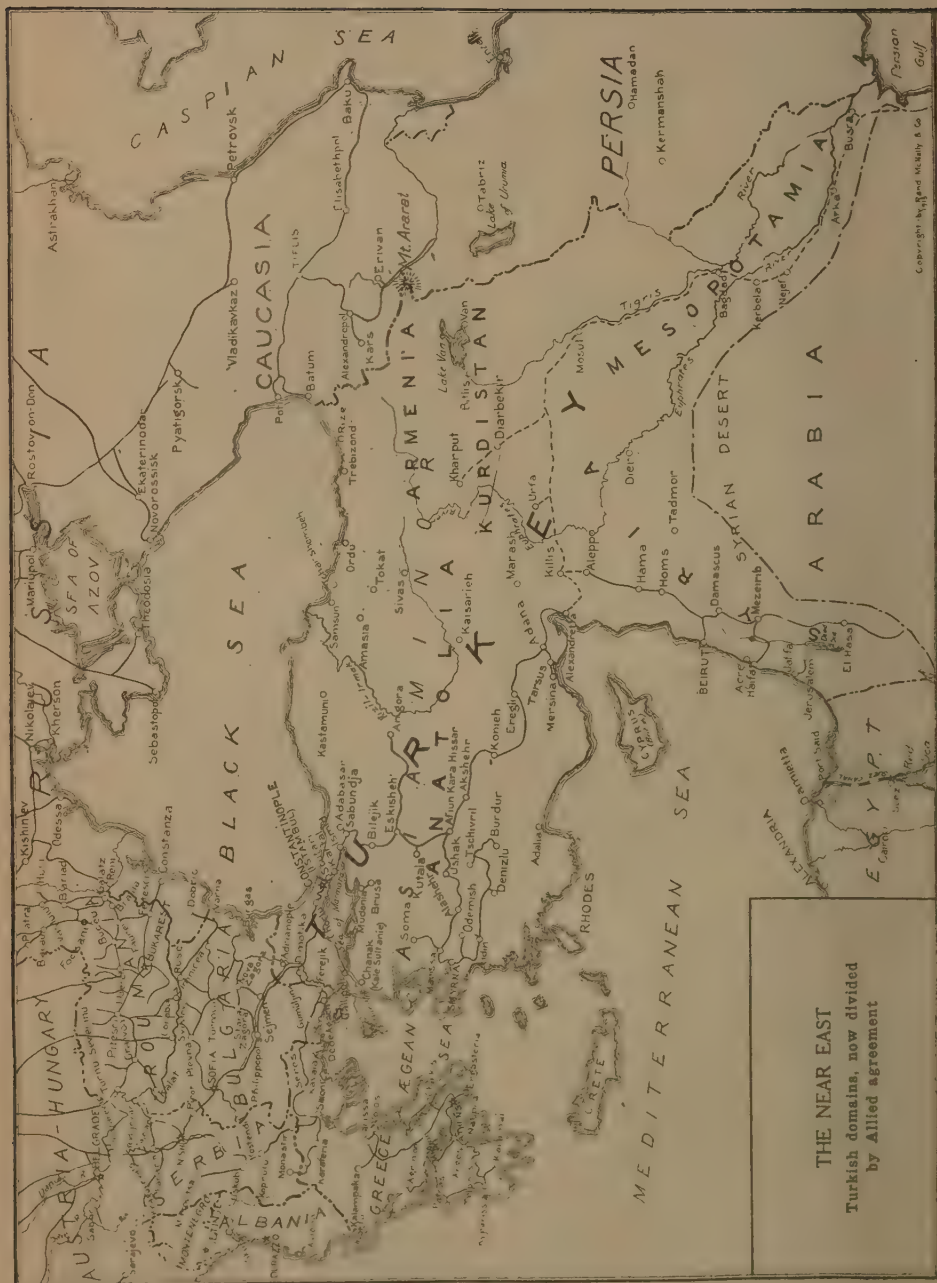
aspirations for the annexation of German territory adjacent to the French frontier.

I do not think anyone familiar with the real sentiment of France at the present time believes that any thoughtful Frenchman, or any considerable and influential number of Frenchmen, would desire to annex German territory. But the belief that such a sentiment existed had developed in Great Britain. The charge had been made; it had been rehearsed by the President of the United States; and to a continuance of the partnership between England and France some clear and definite statement was necessary. This M. Millerand gave, gave without qualification, gave in such fashion as profoundly to impress Lloyd George, who transmitted his impression to the British public.

By contrast, it was equally necessary that the French public should have an assurance from the British that there was no purpose behind the various discussions of the terms of the treaty of Versailles so to reduce—so to "water"—those terms that Germany would escape payments she could make and France would lose reparations she ought to have, while Great Britain would acquire trade profits which she was anxious to obtain.

While the war was going on a common peril suppressed the questionings and doubtings of most people. It is true that in France German propaganda continued to allege that the British base at Calais was being transformed into a position from which the British would not retire at the end of the war. Nor were the Germans less assiduous in creating the impression in England that French desire for revenge and for German territory was the sole circumstance which necessitated a continuance of the slaughter.

During the war there were more Englishmen who cared about winning the war, and more Frenchmen who cared about winning the war, than there were representatives of either nation who were willing even to listen to these aspersions upon the purposes of an ally. But peace or approximate peace has



brought with it a lessening of the extraordinary pressure so essential to an alliance. Frenchmen and Englishmen to-day are not dying together in the presence of a common enemy. Confidence born of that coöperation can only live while it continues. Nothing is more human—however regrettable—than the fact that, with the enemy beaten, allies tend to resume their own lives, to follow their own purposes, to drift apart. Nothing is more natural than that there should appear in each country a faction opposed to the alliance itself.

The great thing about San Remo is that the alliance between the three western European nations survived the test. There will be other tests, there will be other crises; but the very peril which menaced the alliance has served to give it a new value in the minds of many people. Frenchmen and Englishmen alike, on the whole, are probably going to be more patient and less impulsive as a consequence of an incident or a series of incidents which for the time being have called into question the future of the only association of nations so far established which stands between the world and complete chaos.

II. THE NEAR EAST

So far as the conference at San Remo accomplished anything outside of a readjustment of relations between allies, this achievement was in the Near East. Once more, as so often in the last two generations, the great powers of Europe sat down around the table for the purpose of liquidating the assets of the Turk; and once more the net result was rather an increased number of amputations than any final settlement.

To Greece was assigned what remains of Turkish territory between the base of the Constantinople peninsula and the Bulgarian frontier, together with a considerable area about Smyrna. Constantinople itself was reserved, with British occupation continuing, against that day not yet discernible when Europe can make up its mind to confide the city to a great power or to Greece.

In giving the Greeks Thrace and Smyrna, the San Remo conference did not go outside the bounds of justice and of right. The majority of the population of Thrace, or at least the largest single ethnic element in that territory, is Hellenic and has been for two thousand years and more. Smyrna itself is a Greek city surrounded by lands which were Hellenic in the morning of history

when the first Persian invasions opened the glorious history of classical Greece.

With these two accessions, Greece is made a considerable power. With northern Epirus and the islands of the Egean, which should be and probably will be assigned to her, Greece will emerge from the world war with an area at least half as great as that of Italy, and with a population of seven or eight millions. Moreover, before her will lie the prospect of a later reoccupation of Constantinople. It is by no means beyond the bounds of possibility that another generation will see Greece restoring the Byzantine empire. At all events, the progress that has been made in less than a quarter of a century since Venizelos came from Crete to Athens marks the greatest gain of the Greek race in many, many centuries; and it gives to them the opportunity to become in the future the great commercial people of the Near East.

In the general division of spheres of influence, Italy at San Remo obtained what amounted to a recognition of her claim to predominance on the southern coast of Asia Minor. From the mainland facing the island of Rhodes to the Gulf of Alexandretta, not even an Italian pretended that Italy had here claims founded upon race or upon peculiar strategic, political, or commercial interest. No! The fact remains that this assignment represents an old-fashioned division comparable entirely with similar divisions which the last generation saw traced upon the map of Africa all the way from the Senegal to the Congo.

In this region Italy will now doubtless seek to construct a colonial edifice. For the moment, she has compromised her differences with the Greeks; but with the Turks there is no compromise. Therefore one must look for a long, slow process of pacification and penetration—if, indeed, Italy, after the burdens of the present war, finds herself capable of a new sacrifice and a new effort.

Beyond the Gulf of Alexandretta southward to Palestine, the conference of San Remo recognized the French claims. France is to have in some fashion, either by mandate or otherwise, domination over the Syrian shore, with permission—more or less hazy—to expand inland toward Damascus, toward Aleppo, toward the Euphrates.

French claims to Syria, sentimentally and historically, rest upon far firmer foundation than Italian claims to the Adalian coast. French commercial interests in Beirut are of long standing. There has been a Christian

population in Lebanon protected by France for many centuries.

And yet one cannot say, fairly, that the French position in Syria represents any large gain for France or any permanent contribution to world peace. For the French, like the British in the area which I am going to describe in a moment, find themselves already embroiled with an Arabic population possessing a great tradition of fanatical religious faith and a new determination to be free.

As for the British, they obtain the valleys of the Euphrates and of the Tigris. Busra, Bagdad, Mosul are henceforth, under some faction or other, to be swept into the British Empire. Mesopotamia, Palestine, Arabia—these become the frontier states about India. To all her tremendous burdens of world administration, Britain has now added that which is represented by substantial supremacy in all of western Asia. France and Italy are permitted to cling to tiny strips of shore, but Britain has added a new empire. She has taken over western Asia, she has taken all that lies between Cairo and Calcutta and between the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea, and she has in addition occupied Constantinople.

No change of equal magnitude has taken place in the Near East since the emergence of the Osmanli Turk himself. The lines, the conditions, the circumstances of this far-reaching change remain vague; but the essential fact is unmistakable. Protector of Palestine, mandatory for Mesopotamia, possessor of Egypt and of India, established in Persia by virtue of recent treaties—the British have entered into a new phase in their colonial history, in their imperial history. And San Remo may prove in this respect one of the landmarks in modern history.

III. THE ARMENIAN MANDATE

There remained two important blocks of territory to be considered: Armenia and Anatolia. For the Armenians, their fatherland means a country extending from the Black Sea at Trebizond to the Mediterranean at the Gulf of Alexandretta, and from Sivas in Anatolia to Kars in what was Russian territory until the revolution.

But in this vast area the Armenians are not only a minority, but in many parts a hopeless minority. As a consequence, to recognize their claims would be idle—unless the nations thus recognizing them were prepared to furnish the men and the money to

establish Armenian rule in this vast area. It is true that the reduction of Armenian numbers is largely due to the persistent policy of massacre. To deny the Armenians what they claim is to establish the success of the policy of murder pursued by the Turks.

And yet what European nation is prepared to send thousands of troops to maintain Armenian supremacy over enormous regions in which the Armenian population has been annihilated or reduced to an almost hopeless minority? Certainly such a task lies outside the power of those nations now struggling to recover their equilibrium shaken by the world war. No reward in money or in commerce could conceivably make such a venture profitable; for if portions of the Armenian territory are rich in minerals, there is no wealth adequate to justify investment in Greater Armenia as a speculation by any European power to-day.

In this situation the conference at San Remo turned to the United States. It was recognized that some sort of "Armenia" must be created; but so far as Europe was concerned there was a conviction that this new state should be restricted to an area in which the Armenians constituted an important element in the population and were capable of supplying a considerable measure of the human resources necessary to the task.

But there was always the United States. President Wilson and Colonel House had said at Paris, over and over again, that America would take the Armenian mandate. America was rich and strong. It was neither beyond American capacity nor the conceptions of the American representatives at Paris of American willingness to erect an Armenian state from Alexandretta to Trebizond. Therefore San Remo proposes to the United States that it might draw the boundaries of any Armenia which it is willing to protect. Provided it would assume the responsibility, provided it would find the army and the money, it might draw its own frontiers.

No response from America has come to this proposal, nor do I think any will come. So far as one can judge, America is unwilling to accept the burdens of an Armenian mandate—burdens which involve ultimate friction with French, Italian, British and Russian aspirations, which insure permanent hostilities with the Turks and the Kurds, which carry with them endless complications not alone in western Asia but in Europe.

As a consequence, it seems to me likely that a small Armenian state will presently

be constituted, occupying the central highlands about Lake Van and the headwaters of the Euphrates and the Tigris, including the Armenian districts of Russia. Even such a state will need endless help from the Western world to survive the perils which beset it on all sides. But although American reluctance to embark in foreign ventures has touched its maximum, I cannot believe that there is not enough sympathy and generosity in America to contribute something to the creation of a country which can, given even the smallest chance, become self-supporting within restricted limits and contribute much to the ultimate restoration of order in western Asia.

IV. THE TURKISH UNSETTLEMENT

Then there is the Turk. He still occupies Thrace. The Sultan in Constantinople is a British prisoner, but Kemil Pasha in Anatolia, Jaffa Pasha in Adrianople, hold the field with armies and cannot be removed by any writ issued at San Remo. To conquer Thrace is a simple task, not beyond the capacity of Greece alone. But it is different with Anatolia. The country itself is nearly as large as France; and the Greeks, the Italians, the French, are only occupying the outer rim along the seacoast. Seven or eight million Turks, good soldiers, capable of long resistance, still possessing arms, occupy fully half of this country.

It is no solution, then, that San Remo has arrived at so far as the Turk is concerned. The Allies have agreed among themselves with respect of the Turk, just as they have once more agreed among themselves with respect of the German. But so far all their agreements with one another have produced little effect upon the German, because they have been backed by no effective action. Nor is it possible to see how the Turkish decisions can be translated into fact unless the European nations are prepared to put into the field considerable armies capable of making sustained campaigns. For the moment Europe is camping on the shore of Asia Minor. Greek, Italian, French and British battalions and divisions are holding land within sight and within range of their ships. But out of range lies that whole vast Asia Minor, clearly in Turkish hands yet, awaiting Allied resolution, awaiting conquest.

Nor is the situation in the Arab world totally different from that in the Anatolian.

The Arab, like the Turk, has refused to accept the decisions of Europe. He has yielded to those armies of occupation which he could not conquer or defeat. He has conducted, and he continues to conduct, guerrilla warfare; and the common religion and the common fanaticism complicate that question which still lies unsettled from the Golden Horn to the Persian Gulf and from Bokhara to Suez.

To have accepted the Turk, to have assigned to one great power the administering of the old Turkish Empire in the name of the Sultan, to have preserved the semblance of political independence and the fact of religious freedom—as the French have done in Tunis and in Morocco, as the British have done over and over again in their far-flung empire—would have been a wiser course had it been possible. But mutual rivalries and jealousies make this impossible. Absolute partition of all the territories, followed by effective occupation, was the alternative. But from this, too, the European powers have shrunk. Instead they have parceled out the choicer bits of what is still, after all, a living entity. They have sought to temporize. They have begun, as every nation has begun in the past in a colonial venture, by an occupation of a strip of coast and an assertion of a purpose to recognize the independence of the interior.

Under exactly the same circumstances France came to Algeria ninety years ago. The occupation was to be strictly limited to three cities on the coast. But there was no possible limitation. The frontiers of Algiers, fixed forever at the Mitidja Plain, have extended to the Niger and the Congo.

So it must be in the Near East unless the task is abandoned. Italy will have to conquer the Turks in coöperation with Greece. The French and the British will have to reduce the Arabs. A long series of wars, of international complications, of international rivalries—these seem inevitably to flow even from the temporary arrangements, the provisional agreements, made at San Remo affecting the Near East.

Europe would have been glad to assign the task to the United States. I do not think there has ever been a time when all of Anatolia and Armenia, at the very least, would not have been gladly turned over to the United States, provided we had been willing. Conceivably such a mandatory might have led to a successful solution. But the United States refusing, the European

powers have assigned an arm here and a leg there. What has happened has not been a division so much as a vivisection. And the Near East remains exactly as grave and menacing a problem to-day as it was before the Congress of Berlin. Actually such progress as we have made in the Near East will be comprehended by the new colors which will appear on the latest maps denoting "spheres of influence."

V. THE GERMANS AT SPA

As for the conference at Spa, there is just this to be said about it. Actual peace and order in the world will only be restored when both Germany and Russia are brought within the world system again. Success or failure in bringing Germany back will depend solely upon the spirit in which Germany comes to a world conference. San Remo was in a real sense a dress rehearsal among the Allies. There agreement was reached that the treaty should be applied, not abandoned, but that the application should be in the spirit of reason and for the purpose of restoration and not of destruction. It is an enormously important thing for Germany to know how much she must pay. It is not less important for France and for Belgium to know that something approximating reparation will be paid to them. It has always been true that to ask the impossible was to insure receiving nothing. We are a long way from Paris, where reparation was discussed in the light of the political controversies of recent campaigns, or in the mood of those before whom the horrors of German devastation and destruction still burned fiercely. Those who have suffered most are by no means the least willing to see the whole business of reparation settled, reduced to facts and to figures.

But the difficulty remains that there is no government in Germany strong enough to dare to carry out even the most modest program of reparation which is conceivable. Germany remains to-day defiant or evasive, relying upon past differences between her enemies as promising future salvation for her, seeking now to terrify by threats of Bolshevism and now to persuade by propaganda directed at generosity and sympathy. Such a policy represented at Spa will accentuate rather than reduce the gap which separates Germany from her recent enemies. The beginning of a solution of all the questions, political, territorial, and financial—

has always been a revelation on the part of Germany of a willingness to do something. The recent revolution in Germany has been followed by no evidence of a change in German spirit. German reconstruction waits upon Allied assistance, and Allied assistance waits upon German recognition of the duties laid upon her by her conduct of the war.

We have passed beyond the time when the world expects of Germany a confession of guilt, a surrender of war criminals, an open renunciation of old policies. Apparently no such transformation is conceivable in Germany. But we have not reached, nor are we likely to reach, a time when the European nations who took up arms against Germany will consent that Germany shall escape scot free, shall escape with less burdens than the nations which she devastated. Even more important than San Remo, even more important than any international gathering since the armistice which terminated the fighting, will be this first gathering at Spa—because there will be disclosed at least some authentic hint of what Germany means to do, of whether Germany means to do anything. A policy of moderation, a course of intelligent reasonableness, will prevail in the matter of Germany henceforth provided only Germany does not continue to arm her severest opponents and disarm all those most anxious to aid in her rehabilitation as a circumstance in the restoration of order.

Spa is the first real test. At San Remo the Allied ranks were reordered. There was an agreement upon an irreducible minimum which must be demanded of Germany. There was a substantial vindication of the French contention that payment in part must precede any modification in the treaty of Versailles. There was an equal vindication of the British contention that in the insurance of payment there should be no multiplication of causes for future war.

If the Germans come to Spa prepared to face facts, it will not be difficult to see the gradual translation of the treaty of Versailles into a document which, while protecting the just claims of Germany's creditors, assures to Germany a future prosperous and secure. But if the Germans come to Spa determined to fight all payments, deny all obligations, avoid all duties, it is equally easy to perceive how rapid will be the reaction in England as well as in France, and how much more difficult it will be for moderate men to dominate international councils and dictate reasonable policies in the treatment of Germany.

MEXICO AGAIN

BY EDWARD MARSHALL

IT is very sickening history which repeats itself in Mexico. One despot after another poses as a "president," basing all his power on military force maintained through a division of the loot, and making not the slightest effort at good government or national advance. Cheap and tragic downfalls succeed cheap and tragic downfalls, owing not to the rise in opposition of some true and informed patriot, but to the chance gain of a following by some other irresponsible with a modicum of executive ability—a following which grows gradually (and always through bad methods) until its power is great enough to justify an armed attempt to loot the looters, or at least to compel their flight and make way for new looting by new hands.

Nowhere in Mexico itself is found real constructive effort because none dares to rise; and at no time from powerful outer sources has come the suggestion that such effort, were it to be developed, would have encouragement and support.

To the few Americans who have property in Mexico the situation is as sorry as would be the observation of a fire destroying an uninsured building. But the fire-lines are drawn closely and one must not try to put the fire out; one may only mentally regret that one was ever lured by the incomparable riches of the country to invest there; that is all. To the American Government the situation is a nuisance, always threatening, always demanding action which may draw criticism from the opposition. To the American public the situation is a bore, sometimes mildly entertaining.

Headlines in the newspapers telling of new "political" upheavals, new "military" combats, new murder, robbery, and rapine in Mexico are expected as a matter of course; and they appear almost seasonally like those above baseball reports or social functions of the various sorts. The drama is less entertaining than that of any really successful film-play. The "military" operations are incomparably puerile when compared with the vast movements of the European war. The motive is always sheer, sordid, cheap

ambition for the loot, not ambition for leadership to better things for an aspiring people, not for the competent development of new territory, not for anything worth while.

Diaz, Madero, Huerta, Carranza

This generation of American young people has seen the constructive but brutal and selfish Diaz overthrown by looters who were refused the privilege of loot by the weak Madero, leading them while "guided" by the "spirits." It has seen that dear dreamer overthrown and killed largely because he did refuse to loot and so could not hold his followers. It has seen the chill-blooded Indian, Huerta, victorious for loot and then overthrown because he did not share his loot with those who believed they should have part of it. And now it has seen Carranza flee (his enemies say) with treasure-boxes filled, whether to his death or not is unknown as I write. His successor, at least in temporary power, is Obregon, another military man, unassociated in the American or any mind with the thought of reconstruction of his rich, sad country.

Superficially examined, all this is only mildly entertaining because it lacks variety. As drama it is unattractive; and of course morally regarded it is infinitely disgusting.

But, really, there are other things to think about than the drama or the scandal of the Mexican situation. While the one may be cheap and tasteless and the other sordid, the Mexican individual remains a human being. It may be well to pause and think of that for a brief space.

As a human being he is capable of full development. He is a competent worker when he has a chance to be, and like other human beings he would rather work than fight. Mexican women who are widowed, who have seen their sons lie dead, Mexican maidens who have lost their sweethearts, Mexican children who are orphaned have as great capacity for loving, for suffering and sorrowing as the mothers, sisters, sweethearts, and wives of the United States; and for years these Mexicans have suffered as American women suffered during the comparatively

brief space of our participation in the European war. Starvation for the babies and the weak of Mexico is as dreadful as starvation was in Belgium.

At a time when the whole world cries out for raw material after a mad world-period of non-production, it is as regrettable that the development of Mexico's vast natural resources should be halted as it is that Russia's should have been stopped. "The world's treasure house," as Mexico was characterized by Cecil Rhodes, since the day of the downfall of that contradictory Indian, Porfirio Diaz, benevolent and cruel, honest and greedy, ignorant and far-sighted, diplomatic and crude, has been locked—a treasure house perhaps, but a charnel house for certain.

We have done nothing in assistance or in opposition, neither helped nor hindered. We have stood aloof.

The Fear of American Interference

Mexico has feared us, for she does not know us. Speaking generally, she has hated us, for many propagandists, native and from without, have worked toward just that end. Francisco Madero, fine-hearted and impractical dreamer, was apprehensive lest some day President Taft might pounce on Mexico and take possession of her, partly through paternalistic tendencies achieved in the Philippines and partly through the greed of American "big business," with which Madero thought Taft closely bound. I talked this matter over with him by the hour. Huerta was apprehensive lest the American Government should take possession, robbing not the Mexican people but their politicians, and he regarded President Wilson (so he told me) as an uncertain man, likely while he dreamed to let his financial friends unduly influence him and reorganize Mexico along new lines—which again would be unprofitable for politicians. Carranza and the various bandit bands which unofficially have shared his government with him have been afraid that if America should intervene they would lose their grandeur and their graft.

Three governmental heads of Mexico—one of these pitifully absurd, two of them wholly selfish—have feared and half expected interference by this Government in the fruition of their plans. None of them really has had it. The affair of Vera Cruz was so tolerant of insult that it built contempt rather than respect, although it gave birth to resentment. And so Americans have been repeatedly insulted, have been murdered,

robbed, and raped, have been kidnapped, held for ransom—and the ransom paid.

In Mexico, in the first place, we have taken no such interest and felt no such urge toward rescue of the oppressed and the misgoverned as we did in Cuba, perhaps because Mexican misgovernment has been home-grown and not extended overseas by Spain, and American democracy apparently approves misgovernment as well as government by those who dub themselves "the people." In the second place, while much of this has happened we have had such floods of other interests, such thrills of other horrors, that we have been preoccupied. If our attention had not been distracted, and our eyes had been turned across our southern border with interest and sympathy unjaded by the great horror elsewhere, perhaps the history of Mexico might have had additional and more creditable chapters long ere this.

If Mexico had been searched by good American journalists, as Belgium was searched, the tales coming from the one would equal in sheer horror and urge toward helpful effort those which came out of the other. Funds would have developed throughout the country, and perhaps a Hoover would have risen to organize a task which has been no one's business.

What Form Should Our Interest Take?

But nothing has been done, and now a new crisis has arisen. Carranza (never forgetting his faithful henchmen and his treasure-chest), as I write, is entrenched in process of a flight toward Vera Cruz and open water. He may get there or not. Unless we take some interest it will not matter, for, in either event, his bad régime will certainly be followed by another quite as bad.

What ought our interest to be? Some months ago I secured warm approval from Mexicans of importance of the suggestion that the American Red Cross, advancing into Mexico, protected if need be, and equipped not only temporarily to alleviate the sorrows of the country but to establish schools, deliver agricultural implements and instruction in their use, and perform other work of a like nature, might accomplish all that was required, slowly returning the great country to normality and enabling her better element—and it is a large and able one—to get control of things and work them out with our protection.

Now that seems to be impracticable.

Things have gone a little further, I am told by Mexican friends, and the course would be too slow, too mild, too dangerous, because of a great increase of anti-American feeling. But these same friends declare that Mexico's salvation can be achieved only through cessation of the dominance of military adventurers, and the substitution therefor of immediate works of mercy and of education, accompanied by practical assistance toward resumption of normal agricultural and industrial life. They admit that it can come only through American initiative and coöperation.

The antecedents of Obregon are no different, speaking generally, from those of Huerta or of Carranza. There is no finer record of constructivism behind him, and there was none at all behind the other two.

The Present Opportunity

None the less, a firm stand by the United States would give Obregon and his followers a chance to show good faith by surrendering their power and offering unconditional assistance to some non-military group really selected from the constructive mind of the whole people. American support of Obregon bought with such a price would not be dear.

There are plenty of wise business and professional men in Mexico who have been entirely set aside by military governments, but who, if given opportunity, would come forward with good plans, subject to advice from and approval of Americans. They could offer a constructive program, practical and fitted to the needs of Mexico; and its realization would involve no new antagonism toward America, for it would be all Mexican. If Obregon should be given the choice between some course of that sort and very definite American disapproval, he probably would take the former.

And if the thinking people of all Mexico should feel assured that when America had won from Obregon (or anyone who chanced to be in power if his power does not last) a promise of the sort, they would organize themselves and not only help him, but compel him to accomplishment. Then the new Mexican administration would honestly endeavor to build up a decent government. The vast majority of Mexicans are weary of living in a country where their own lives and those of their wives and children are not safe. They are tired of a business life which has no banks or any of the details of commercial

machinery which business has built up for its convenience throughout the years. They are weary of uncertainty and poverty and waste, of an existence in which the satisfaction of ambition is impossible if it be worthy, in which industry and thrift are practically useless, in which virtue is absurd, and everything is topsy-turvy. American recognition of a party organized to reconstruct, and provisional upon reconstruction, might work wonders.

First, a Police Force!

Certain pledges should be asked of this new party before serious talk of recognition was given consideration. These should include the immediate organization, to keep order in the country, of a rural police force, made up of selected men, well-uniformed, well-mounted, well-armed, and well-fed. There would be no lack of applicants for membership; the Mexicans who join bandit bands principally do so because they can find no other means of livelihood. The force would offer places for the more adventurous and would give a feeling of security to the great majority, who are not more adventurous than the majority in other lands and would like to settle down to agriculture on their own small farms, certain that they would not be disturbed by bandits, overtaxed by government, seized for military service by some casual upstart.

In coöperation with this new police force, benevolent and helpful organizations, well equipped to work, could do much to restore the nation's heart and thus assure its industry. These should not be, now, under the direct leadership of the American Red Cross—the time even for that having passed within the unhappy year—but they could be immeasurably helped from the United States. There are a Mexican Red Cross, a Mexican Young Men's Christian Association, a Mexican Knights of Columbus, and other Mexican organizations which would offer media through which American organizations of like nature could express their training, their experience, their power of wealth, and by which American leadership and supervision would be welcomed. American aid spread through Mexico by Mexican hands would do more, now, than it could do if distributed by Americans themselves. No recognition from America should be given to a Mexican government, my Mexican friends say, unless that government earnestly agreed to start at once this work of necessary mercy backed by that new rural police force, well-armed and

equipped—and, especially, well-uniformed and well-fed—for the pure sake of the object lesson in a land of poverty and want.

The existence of these forces would do much to assure agreement to such other suggestions or demands as America might make provisional to her recognition of a new Mexican government. It would help, for instance, toward acceptance of the necessary return to the Mexican Constitution of 1867 and the nullification of all legislation put upon the statute books during the Carranza Administration. This has been so great a hodge-podge of incompetence and selfishness that as long as it exists nothing of real value could be done by newcomers. A clean slate may be regarded in this instance, as in all others, as the first requisite to a new and better picture.

Restoring Finance, Agriculture, and Business

Then would come the appointment of commissions by the United States, either privately or through governmental action, to assist in the reorganization and refinancing of Mexico's foreign debts. Until this has been accomplished new loans will be impossible; and without new loans the country cannot be reconstructed and developed. The Americans would see to it that all claims were adjusted fairly and with the necessary expert advice, and especial care would be exercised to avoid entering into alliance with any particular group or groups, such as the oil interests.

Once the security which would arise from these procedures had become a fact, or even seemed a certainty, there would be no lack of general desire among the world's financial institutions to assist in the reorganization of the Mexican banking system.

That done, business would be possible again. To-day it can be transacted only through the payment of spot cash, as the use of checks long since was discontinued for good reasons. Instantly would re-begin the movement of commerce large and small.

And this should and would be followed by the organization of agricultural and farm-loan banks, which would make it possible to start again and carry out upon a new and worthy scale that Mexican agricultural rebirth without which the nation cannot be comfortable or prosperous and without which she cannot be a really good neighbor. Here would be the opportunity for American manufacturers to spread, to their own good and

Mexico's, knowledge of the use of improved agricultural implements, sold to individuals on proper guarantees. Mexico never has had implements. With the richest soil upon this continent, with a willingness of her peon class to work unceasingly, and with possession of real implements and knowledge of their use, the productiveness of Mexico would be trebled in ten years.

Then would arise those splendid opportunities for American business enterprises in Mexico, of which the country might be full but now is empty save for feverish activity in the oil zone. There are mines and new oil regions waiting for development, there are coal and iron to be dug and smelted, there are agricultural riches beyond computation to be easily created, there are centers in which factories would arise like magic if reason-ruled for but a little while—reason rationally developed from outside by helpful, friendly minds.

An Invasion with Hands Outstretched

Before the people have been fed, put back at work, and in some measure taught, it is an idle dream to think of real elections. None ever has occurred in Mexico which has not been both farcical and fraudulent. But a provisional government, operative during that ten years and recognized, supported and encouraged by the United States only because and as long as it pursued the outlined policies, within their span would make the nation fit for an election.

The rehabilitation of poor Mexico is more a matter of mercy and of business enterprise than it is of politics. No invasion other than that which goes with hands outstretched to help will save the country from itself.

If a party of progressives arises in Mexico, made up of the best minds in the country and free from the old revolutionary taint—as one will rise if the thought is given real encouragement from the United States—it will merely need support in order to enable it to take the nation's leadership away from irresponsibles and bandits and, while making Mexico a good place for Mexicans to live in, make her, also, a good and profitable neighbor. She can't get a new start by herself. She must have help. We have missed some opportunities to help and have aroused new antagonisms which continually make it newly difficult to proffer help. No impulse from within is working hopefully toward better things—and something must be done.

CAN THE AUTOMOBILE BUSINESS GO ON GROWING?

BY J. GEORGE FREDERICK

THE American automobile industry is now second in size only to the iron and steel industry; and as the automobile is a finished manufactured product, and iron and steel is raw material, this makes the automobile business the largest manufacturing business of finished goods in the country, which means in the world. At the conclusion of 1920 the total annual volume of the combined automobile, accessory and supply business will have reached near \$4,400,000,000, of which over \$2,000,000,000 will represent automobiles, passenger and truck.

Naturally, in view of these facts the old ghost begins to walk—the ghost that has haunted the automobile business from its very start, the “saturation points.” Will not, very soon indeed, arrive a point when the income limitations of the people of the United States prevent further absorption of automobiles? And will not then the industry stop its rapid advances and expansions, and will not the profits shrink and competition become destructive?

Bankers, economists, writers, and even the man in the street, have seen this ghost, and are sure he is real. Only the automobile people seem, according to the popular view, to go on feasting, like Belshazzar, not seeing, or ignoring, the handwriting on the wall. Lately the murmurings about this ghost have become more and more pronounced, on account of antagonisms which have been engendered in a number of lines of industry because the automobile business is outbidding them for the purchase of materials.

For instance, the plate-glass industry is considerably upset, the price having jumped over 300 per cent. since 1914, and goods scarce even at that. The automobile trade now takes half of the annual output of 100,000,000 feet, and is paying \$1 a square foot.

Furthermore, the automobile industry, through higher wages, is tempting workmen away from factories in other lines of trade. The furniture business, centered in Michigan

near auto plants, has especially suffered, both by diversion of its labor, and by the scarcity of plate glass. Furniture is being sold by manufacturers without mirrors because glass cannot be had.

Further antagonism has come through those who are belaboring luxuries as a cause for inflation of prices. They point out that America owns two-thirds of the precious stones of the world, and is buying automobiles “recklessly”; and they, too, profess to see the “saturation” ghost, perhaps because sub-consciously they wish to cut short the career of this bonanza industry.

Recently an official conference of bankers has been called to curb the inflation presumed to be caused by luxuries; and the Kansas City Federal Reserve district has stopped the re-discounting of trade acceptances on automobile purchases.

The Demand for Cars

In view of the situation it is certainly of public importance to make some comparisons and take a close-up look at the actual facts underlying the automobile industry, admittedly the most amazing young giant who has ever appeared in the commercial arena.

There are at this writing approximately 7,750,000 automobiles in use in the United States, about 800,000 of these being trucks. This is approximately one car for every 13 persons in the United States, as against one automobile for every 2182 persons in the rest of the world; as against 268 persons in England, 402 persons in France, or 684 persons in Germany, or, to show an extreme, as against 5300 persons in Russia. Certain sections of the United States show a much higher concentration than the country as a whole. Iowa stands at the head of the list, with one automobile to every five or six persons. This is almost one for every family! Wm. Allen White has admitted that there are more automobiles registered from Emporia, Kansas, than there are families there.

When it is realized that the income-tax

returns show considerably less than a million people with incomes of \$3000 per year and over, with the cost of living 100 per cent to 134 per cent over 1914, and gasoline 37 cents a gallon and the average price of tires \$25, it will be seen that we face a statistical anomaly. The ghost seems to have it. How can people afford the autos they now own, to say nothing of larger production to come?

The production plans of the automobile manufacturers for 1920 being 2,000,000 passenger cars and 425,000 trucks, it certainly would seem to require a very roseate optimist to believe that the automobile industry could continue each year to grow as it has been growing. But things are not always quite as they seem on the surface. To be wholly fair to this amazing industrial performer, it is necessary to look at more than the surface facts. In the first place, the demand at the present time indicates that 2,000,000 cars could be sold in the next ten days if the cars were available. So great has been the immediate demand, that for a time this spring, any second-hand blunderbuss that can go has been salable at the best prices ever fetched by second-hand cars. The reason is, of course, the cumulative demand of the war years, and new demand through war prosperity and the difficulty of getting new cars.

The export demand is as great, and even more insistent, than the American market, despite rumors of high tariffs to be put on by foreign countries. Indeed, exportation in the future is the great answer to, and destroyer of the "saturation" ghost. Foreign countries got a splendid taste of the value of the American moderate-priced car during the war by seeing it in operation on their own soil, and now want all we can sell them. Europe has 449,000,000 people, and only 437,000 automobiles. If Europe in the constructive years to come will absorb only one car to every fifty people, which is only one-fifth of the number of cars in use per person in the United States, it would require 31,300,000 cars. Cut this down to one-tenth of America's per capita market, and still it would amount to 15,650,000 cars. If the United States merely got a reasonable proportion of this market (although indications are that it has a good chance for the bulk of it) the American automobile factories could entirely cease making cars for America and keep going for some years only on foreign cars. In fact, I understand that the foreign sales subsidiary of the General Motors Cor-

poration has expressed itself as ready to take the entire output of the General Motors Company at any time. This G. M. output for the first three months of 1920 was 119,779—an increase of 45.2 per cent. over last year.

If the same proportion of cars per person as now operates in Iowa could be sold to the rest of the United States, 40,800,000 more cars could be put in operation. As this could certainly not reasonably be expected, then let us say, if the rest of the country absorbed only one-fourth of this difference between Iowa and the rest of the country, a market for 10,200,000 more cars would still exist. Men like W. C. Durant, head of the General Motors Corporation, are unable to see anything fantastic in such an outlook for the automobile business and insist that no one alive to-day will ever see the time when more automobiles will be made than can be sold. Mr. Durant says:

The automobile is part of the constructive machinery of civilization and progress, and is a stimulation to every phase of modern life. It is fundamentally sound because it meets a fundamental human need—transportation.

After food, shelter and clothing, man desires a means of getting about and moving things. The automobile has been the first advance in individual transportation since man discovered the horse. From the day that automobiles were first proved practicable, there has never been a let-up or interruption in the demand for them. There never will be unless human nature changes.

The motor car has long since ceased to be a luxury. The term pleasure car is no longer used. It is safe to say that approximately 90 per cent. of passenger cars are employed at least part of the time for some business purpose. The motor car makes two minutes grow where one grew before. It eliminates distance; it is an actual producer of wealth, adding enormously to land values—both agricultural and suburban—through increased accessibility.

Other automobile-industry students insist that the recreation aspect of automobile use merely provides the incentive for men to work harder to produce other goods. The economic aspect of the automobile industry admittedly reduces costs, annihilates time, and supplements the other facilities of transportation. This process is unquestionably a sound one, standing on its own bottom, paying its way, and therefore must continue. The greatest demand for cars has always come and will increasingly come from those who make a beneficial use of the car, and not from the parasitic luxurious class. Forty-five per cent. of automobiles are sold to farmers and small-town inhabitants.

Looking all the facts squarely in the face it is not possible to deny that the automobile industry in America must of necessity grow still larger, if only for the reason that the entire world, and not merely one nation, is its market. Even a conservative banker like Mr. George E. Roberts, vice-president of the National City Bank of New York, says:

While my views may not be quite so sanguine as those of people in the industry, I am disposed to believe that the automobile is fully established as a permanent utility and that its use will never be less than at the present time. If, as we all hope, by means of invention and improved methods generally, industry constantly becomes more efficient and the living conditions of the masses of the people improve, the automobile business, of course, will be correspondingly benefited.

Economic Service Performed by the Automobile

It is logical next to inquire somewhat more in detail into the claims made regarding the economic value of the automobile. The outstanding fact of the moment in transportation is the present inadequacy of railway transportation, also the serious condition of street cars and commutation service brought about both by strikes, and by actual cessation of passenger service in a number of cases, due to financial embarrassment in not being able to raise fares. The automobile leaped instantly into the breach in all these emergencies and carries both merchandise and passengers in great quantity. Motor buses permitted great numbers to attend to their business under these abnormal conditions. In Newark, New Jersey, alone for instance, over 30,000,000 passengers were carried by motor buses in 1919. Bulk passenger traffic by automobile is everywhere increasing.

The freight paralysis has tremendously increased truck haulage. There are about 800,000 trucks in operation in the United States hauling an average of $4\frac{1}{2}$ tons per day each, or 3,600,000 tons per day. Contrasting this with steam-railway performance, we find that the truck is now actually hauling 15 per cent. of the total haulage of the country; 360,000,000 tons by truck per year, as against 2,400,000,000 tons per year by railway locomotives. About 5 per cent. of this increase in truck haulage has occurred since the railway congestion and tie-ups. The average cost of this haulage is 18 cents per ton mile, as against 24 cents per ton mile by horse, and .96 by railway locomotive. Although steam railway transportation is obviously much cheaper in transit, the ter-

minal delivery costs are large; and speed is worth money. Three million six hundred thousand horses have been released for use on farms by truck haulage; which is the equivalent of the tillage of 15,000,000 acres of land. Motor routes for the transportation of freight are increasing, although the practical limitation of such routes is 50 or 75 miles. Criticism of the automobile situation should be directed chiefly against the uneconomic use or waste of automobile service; and some of the automobile companies have themselves undertaken to educate the public in this direction. It is estimated that 3,000,000 gallons of gasoline per day are wasted or needlessly used.

Production for 1920 has, so far, fallen below the original estimates and plans because of the many deterring factors, chief of which are labor, materials, and transportation. Great numbers of automobiles are now being delivered on their own power from Detroit to the Atlantic seaboard, due to congested transportation conditions; and the automobile manufacturers, inspired by the unprecedented demand, have bought materials at almost any price in severe competition, especially in the iron and steel market. At the same time the advances in prices of automobiles are much below the price increases in other fields. Since 1915 prices have increased an average of 51 per cent. Necessarily, however, automobile prices will probably go higher, for the pay-rolls have increased considerably more than 51 per cent., and the competition for materials is forcing up costs. Those who fear for extravagance should remember the automatic discouragement in car purchases which comes from increased price of both car and of operation.

Motor Stocks versus Railroad Stocks

Looked at solely from the financial angle, some very interesting things are observable about the automobile industry, especially when a comparison of this great phase of transportation with the railway type of transportation is made. Railway stocks on the stock exchange have always been the most prominent single group; but are fast losing this prestige to the motor stocks. Whereas the exciting things, such as the Northern Pacific corner, the spectacular movements in Reading, etc., occupied front-page columns in newspapers, we are now treated to equally sensational developments in the motor field, such as the corner in Stutz, and such as the movements of Studebaker and of the General

Motors Corporation stock, 15,588,700 shares of this General Motors stock are now out—with more coming; making it now one of the largest business corporations in the world in the number of shares and the present market value of its common stock. It is capitalized at a total of \$1,020,000,000, of which about \$200,000,000 is outstanding, and operates over 40 manufacturing plants and has about 63,000 employees. The Pennsylvania Railroad is capitalized at only \$600,000,000, and the United States Steel Corporation at \$1,000,000,000. The General Motors Co. makes not only Cadillacs, Buicks, Chevrolets, etc., in passenger cars and trucks, but manufactures many parts, farm implements, refrigerating machines, house-lighting systems, etc.

A comparison of trading in shares of railway and automobile stocks on the New York Stock Exchange during 1919 results in some interesting figures, showing the complete supremacy of trading attention upon the automobile shares. No fewer than 25,324,652 shares in nine automobile stocks were traded during 1919, as against 12,800,086 shares in the nine leading railway companies. The tremendous volume of trading in individual motor companies as contrasted with railways is illustrated in a comparison of the leading motor stocks. More than 8,000,000 shares of the Studebaker Corporation stock were traded in; as against 2,693,701 shares in Reading, the leading railway stock. Five million shares of Pierce Arrow, 4,000,000 General Motors, and 3,000,000 Willys Overland shares were traded in.

Accessories and Replacements

It is a habit to look upon the automobile manufacturing industry mainly from the point of view of the manufacture of cars. This is missing one of the most striking aspects of the industry—the accessory and supply business, which, when computed to include oil, tires, and gasoline, has now reached a volume that is *greater than the automobile business itself*. Each year's new production merely increases the relative size of this business. For instance, the production of automobiles, including trucks, for 1919 was \$1,807,595,000; yet the production of *tires alone* this year will approximate \$1,000,000,000. When it is realized that there is an average of about \$300 spent each season for accessories, supplies, replacements, and repairs upon each car, it will be seen that we have a total of nearly \$2,400,000,000, which

is 20 per cent. larger than the car manufacturing business alone.

It is realized by few people who talk about the automobile business that as the average life of an automobile is five years, the replacement business alone, when the number of cars will have reached 10,000,000, is 2,000,000 cars per year.

Automotive Expansion Possibilities

In view of the facts as outlined here, it is a bold man who will insist that the saturation point will become more substantial than a mere ghost for the next five or even ten years; considering that the industry must now be viewed as an international one. New adaptations of the automobile to economic service in transportation are constantly developing; New York City tried with some success the experiment of "rolling stores," and Boston has recently reported a "book store on wheels." These of course are mere straws indicating how a versatile people under the pressure of severe stress makes adjustments with the tools at hand to get ahead of the situation; and they further illustrate the fact that transportation is a commodity of first importance.

The war has tremendously put forward the economic status of the internal-combustion engine for many purposes, and when the so-called saturation point—if there is such a thing—really arrives, no doubt a development of the world market for tractors, lighting plants, and other engines will then be developed. The tropical and sub-tropical zones of the globe, containing about half of the world's population and the most fertile of its soil, produce only 6 per cent. of the world's food at present—largely due to the impossibility, because of the heat, of employing either man or beast for intensive cultivation on a large scale.

This fact is deeply suggestive of developments to come. With aeroplane exploration now a commercial fact, and with tremendous incentive to enlarge all production, great market possibilities for trucks, tractors, light passenger cars, power and lighting engines, are ripe, in a world in need of raw material and food products, for making the fallow tropics and sub-tropics help feed the world. A new phase will then perhaps be begun in the world in which the internal-combustion engine will be the primary factor; and the moot saturation point will be still further pushed away from the great automotive plants of the United States.

THE SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL SITUATION IN FRANCE

BY PROFESSOR CHARLES CESTRE

(Of the Sorbonne, Paris)

[Many readers will remember Professor Cestre's thoughtful contribution to the January number of this REVIEW, in which he gave his impressions of the labor situation in the United States after a four-months' visit here. He expressed confidence that our recent labor troubles have been essentially surface agitations. In this present article, Professor Cestre discusses the underlying social and industrial situation in his own country as he finds it upon his return. The article has particular timeliness by reason of Premier Millerand's firm attitude toward the radical element in the French General Federation of Labor, after the May Day demonstration and the subsequent attempt to enforce demands through a complete paralysis of industry. In a future number Professor Cestre will return to the subject again.—THE EDITOR.]

FRANCE has come out of the war richer in heroism, greater in the eyes of the world, yet loaded with the very debt of her heroism and heavily mortgaged on her future exertions. We have lost the flower of our youth—those that were to be the creators and producers. Those who remain are handicapped by the ruin of our mines and industries in the North and East, scientifically destroyed; by the vast waste of accumulated wealth, and even by the upturning and sterilizing of a large part of our soil.

In the work of reconstruction, we have to pay, with our reduced capital, five times as much for imports (the cattle, seeds, machine-tools, raw materials; that we *must* have) as we did in prosperous times. Germany does very little as yet to make up for the havoc she has wrought, and our Allies, preoccupied with their own internal troubles and impatient to resume "business as usual," do not seem fully to realize the special hardships of France.

Differences Between Peasant and Wage-earner

France has enough nerve and grit to work her own salvation. If she offers some signs of disquietude, no wonder, under the stress of the present difficulties, without even a sense of security at her frontier. But the indecision will be only temporary. Her people are abstemious and thrifty, patient and tireless, cheerful withal, glad to enjoy the sunshine even on their ravaged land and to sit in the family circle even under a tarred-paper roof.

If it were merely a question of restoring the farms to their former state, we could

trust our hardy, strenuous, intelligent peasantry. They till their *own* fields; they love the land of their ancestors; they toil unremittingly to hand down to their offspring a wealthier heirloom. Their inborn virtues give them that devotion to home and country and that sense of the solidarity of generations, which is the most precious asset of a nation. But there is also the industrial side of the problem.

The workman is not braced and steadied by that deep content which rises from ownership; he is not buoyed up by the sense of working directly to his own, or his children's, advantage; he has not been bred to self-dignity, self-discipline, self-accepted trenchment by personal independence and responsibility. The difficulty of France, regarding the industrial problem, is very much the same as that of England or of America, with special conditions due to age-old traditions, temperamental characteristics, and the bitter aftermath of war.

Attitude of French Employers

The French employers have taken in the lesson of the war and the encouragement of victory. They have less timidity in investing money in plant and equipment. They are more willing to go abroad, to incur the expense of investigation, of advertisement or of long credits, in brief, to run fully the adventure of commerce and enterprise. There are huge plans, already in process of execution, of harnessing our water-power, developing our transport and canal-system, bringing forth the resources of our colonies. Money is found for those purposes, besides all that is needed for the heavy taxes and the big loans.

But I am not sure I discover, as yet, among French employers at large the liberal spirit which has become manifest among a progressive group of American leaders of industry (as I stated in the January number of this REVIEW). French industrialists have not fully realized yet that the time has come to carry democracy on from the political to the social field, that it is no longer possible to retain autocratic management in the factory when the last stronghold of autocracy has been pulled down in government.

Whereas scores of magazine articles and books are being published in the United States on the topic of employment management and shop committees, and powerful and active employers' associations are spreading the reform movement in America, it was only yesterday that a single voice was raised in France in defense of the new ideal of co-operation between capital and labor. M. Noblemaire, a young Deputy, the son of the former president of the Paris, Lyons & Mediterranean Railroad Company (himself no business-man, but an interested outsider), uttered the startling sentence: "The divine right of employers is gone forever," and sketched a plan of railroad management under the control of the state, "with a considerable participation of the employees."

Private Initiative Not Encouraged

Such words, uttered in the Chamber, are not without significance, and yet they mean only that there is something in the air; they commit no one; they do not refer to any actual fact; they remain in the sphere of theory and of good intentions. French employers have had to carry out, for the last twenty years, progressive factory legislation—plant inspection, limitation of hours for women and children, workmen's compensation, old-age pensions, and so forth. The fact that these reforms were imposed from above, as part and parcel of a system of centralized government, may have somewhat curtailed private initiative and slackened independent thinking.

The survival in France of traditional methods, that cause the people to rely on the state for countless things which are done in America on individual initiative, accounts for much of the tardiness of the spirit of reform. On the other hand, there remains in France, in spite of democratic progress, an upper ten thousand, an aristocracy of wealth with distinctive class-manners, a class-spirit, and a strong attachment to their privileges.

It is not all selfishness and greed (on the whole, there is less greed in France than in other more commercialized countries); it is a respect for tradition, a pride of superior culture, the force of habit, the desire of handing down to one's descendants an unimpaired patrimony. Some of these feelings are fine sentiments, which make for responsibility, for group-respectability, for patriotism, and, in no small part, have entered into the heroic conduct of France during the war. But there is also, in that mental habit, a shade of prejudice and a share of narrow-mindedness, which cramps the social outlook and trammels intellectual daring.

Is it not too late, in our age of social democracy, to uphold that fine aristocratic ideal at the expense of the young energy and aspiring ambition which are fermenting in the (so-called) lower classes and the moneyless intelligentsia? Is it sufficient to be an hereditary member of the aristocratic class, to style oneself a leader of men and barricade oneself in a position of autocratic command? A number of French employers are beginning to feel this, under the pressure of "conscious and organized" labor.

The Eight-Hour Law

The process of reconstruction is going on according to French methods of state intervention, by means of legislation initiated in Parliament. Ideas born of the aspirations of the masses become motive powers of social action and embody themselves in new institutions. The last Chamber of Deputies, before separating, voted the eight-hour law, which had to be applied, rather abruptly, to all our production. The carrying out of that measure was the more difficult as we were in great need of production and suffered a shortage of labor due to the war. Yet the resiliency of the French people, the resourcefulness of the employers (face to face with necessity), and, on the whole, the common sense of the laboring class have enabled the country to sail the straits. There has been unpleasantness; but things are gradually getting adjusted.

All industries have not been equally successful. Some have done remarkably well. The steel and metal trades may be cited as models. There, it is true, the wages are highest. After the June strike, which lasted only three weeks, the difficulty was settled by collective bargaining. There has been no trouble since in that trade. The employers do not complain of the would-be "wave of

idleness"; they declare that most of the men do their best to help them organize the plants and make the machinery yield its fullest product within the shorter day. The men have accepted task-work with bonus, satisfied to receive higher pay in proportion to the increased output. There is a postponement of more sweeping demands until France has recovered and better times have come, more favorable to deeper social change.

Strikes and Their Causes

The people do entertain a desire for deeper social change, which cropped up sometimes in premature and untimely agitation. Yet its importance must not be exaggerated, much of it arises from the weariness and demoralization consequent on the war—perhaps, to some extent, from foreign influence and example. There have been strikes—not very long or violent, compared to some similar disturbances in America—yet to be regretted under the present circumstances. The causes of those strikes must be classified as immediate causes, related to the difficulties the French people are laboring under, and mediate causes implying, in some cases, the intemperate desire for a complete overhauling of the existing social order.

That the laboring classes have grievances (real or apparent) is undeniable. The wages ran high during the war and sudden competence accrued to a group of people who had till then enjoyed little comfort. Soon, however, prices in their turn rose quicker than the wages could follow; whence friction, dissatisfaction, strike. It is only recently that joint committees for the adjustment of wages to the cost of living were formed, under the chairmanship of impartial arbiters. This method, in many cases, worked well. But, when a strike is started, especially at a time of general unrest, it remains seldom confined to its original scope. Thus, in the case of the textile trade at Roubaix-Tourcoing, the claims of the workmen were based not only on the H. C. L., but also on the plea that, the profits of the operators being unusually large, the producers had a right to a proportional raise of the wages (without any consideration being given to the increased expenses incumbent on industry in the devastated regions).

French workmen had never been favored, before the war, with so high wages as American workers. During the war, with the general increase of remuneration for hand

labor and under the influence of psychological forces unfavorable to economy, they fell into spendthrift habits to a certain extent. This accounts for many strikes for higher wages. Such was the course of the strike of the coal-miners of the Pas-de-Calais. In the case of the coal-miners of the Loire it was a demand for higher old-age pensions, and for the reversion of the pension to the widow and orphans. The workmen secured their claims.

Settlement by Arbitration

Those strikes and a number of minor ones were settled by the arbitration of the Secretary of Labor or of Public Works, assisted by a joint committee, after an inquiry into the actual cost of living in the district. There was reluctance, first, on the part of the workmen, to submit to the award when it was not a mere entering of their claims. But finally better counsel prevailed, and it seems that the liberal leanings of Premier Millerand have made the process of arbitration work satisfactorily on the whole.

Other strikes raised the question of the eight-hour day. At Lyons, 60,000 men left work in various trades. The reason brought forward was the attitude of the employers: "Consent," they said to the workman, "to work overtime within the limit allowed by the law (120 hours a year); we are willing to pay time and a half for the extra hours." The proposal seemed fair, especially considering the great need of the country for the utmost exertion of all citizens. The peasants work without counting time or grudging their pains to feed the population; the students pile up in two years the work they used to do in four; professional men often do double work to make up for the absence of those who will never come back. Were the workmen alone to refuse to do their share?

The argument was strong. There is, no doubt, among some elements of the working class a lesser eagerness to consider work as a patriotic duty, under the influence of radical agitation tending to rouse the age-old envy of the *popolo minuto* towards the *popolo grosso* and to foster the dangerous delusion of a liberating catastrophe. Yet the revolutionary unrest, active in some large cities, leaves the bulk of the working people untouched, sound at heart, sensible in their views, reasonable in their hopes. I, for one, should feel inclined to attribute as important a part in the occasional reluctance of workmen to

accommodate themselves to the present situation, to the wave of reaction (limited, no doubt, to some political circles), which has set in in answer to the radical menace. There was imprudent talk, at meetings of employers' associations and even at one sitting of the Chamber of Deputies, about repealing the eight-hour law. The workmen feared danger for that long-fought-for victory of organized labor. Over and above the question of wages, a powerful social passion was aroused—which explains why the Lyons strike was the longest and most obstinate of all. Finally, the men had to give up most of the wage-increase; but the eight-hour law was declared inviolate.

The Railroad Strike

The radical influence was felt in the railroad strike. Yet it was far from being as universal and as sweeping as the "agitators" expected. The fact that the strike lasted only five days showed that the rank and file were not ready to let themselves be hurled into an insurrectionary movement, which would have paralyzed the whole economic life of France and deadlocked the work of reconstruction. There was also grave divergence of views among the leaders.

In France, the question of wages, hours, and conditions of work on the railroads depend on the Secretary of Public Works. The eight-hour law had been applied in spite of the enormous additional expense and the large increase of the working force it entailed. Temporary allowances to cover the rise of the cost of living had been granted to the employees, and a special Parliamentary Commission was preparing the final scale of wages and salaries destined to consolidate the allowances, unify the rates, enlarge the pensions, and so forth.

A favorable vote had been already secured in the Chamber, when the strike broke out on the Paris, Lyons & Mediterranean line for a trifling cause. Within two days it ex-

tended to the other lines (except the Northern Line) by order of the secretary (not of the executive board) of the Railroad Union. The issue, however, proved that many employees had followed suit but reluctantly, rather afraid to incur the odium of holding out than eager to press claims artificially got up. The effort to drag the Confederation of Labor into the movement failed.

The railroad strike was, in fact, an attempt on the part of the extremists to carry the labor leaders (of the Union and of the Confederation) off their prudent, law-abiding attitude, in order to precipitate "*le grand jour*," the revolutionary upheaval. They were defeated by the sanity of judgment of the responsible leaders and, on the whole, the soundness of mind of the workers.

Prestige of the Labor Leaders

By this attitude, the officials of the Confederation of Labor have won the approbation and esteem of thinking Frenchmen. They have shown themselves constructive leaders of a great party and a powerful movement, which has all the better chance of securing actual ameliorations in the lot of the working class, as it proceeds by lawful actions and gradual reforms. The leaders are bound to speak, sometimes, the language of their former inconsiderate, pre-war aggressiveness; but generally, now, their tone has become composed, sensible, regardless of facts, of the situation of France, and of the realities of human nature. They still talk revolution, but they work evolution.

Employers, statesmen, leaders of social thought, are not unmindful of the change. A *rapprochement* between capital and labor, favored and encouraged by the action of the government, is not unlikely. In spite of sporadic strikes and First-of-May celebrations—provided liberalism on the part of the employers decidedly sets in—the near future may witness a clearing up of the social sky.



THE TRAVELER'S PARIS OF TO-DAY

SUPERFICIALLY the Paris of to-day is so much like the old Paris that the stark points of difference cause a shock. There are many black dresses, many armless sleeves; the boulevards are not congested as of old; the franc has gone down in the world, and prices are sky-high. But Paris in springtime is still tempting.

One looks for signs of Bolshevism. On the surface they are absolutely non-existent. Jean, the porter, or Henri, the waiter, is as impatiently respectful as ever, with the same bows and the same polite murmurs; the International is not sung, the soap-box is not seen on the well-known streets. But the general strike of May suggests unrest; and even a capitalist wonders if the French worker can feel content with horse meat at eight francs a pound.

It is indeed hard to guess how the proletariat lives. Though many luxuries seem cheap to an American, necessities do not, even after New York. To the French who get no benefits of exchange the cost of living must seem enormous. The stranger, of course, is at "the front of the front" where prices are concerned. For instance, the writer, on the night of his arrival, drove up to a large hotel where he luckily found a vacancy, but was asked 160 francs for a double room and bath (without meals). At the old rate of exchange this would have been some \$32! Yet in the old days (according to Baedeker) the same hotel offered a pension rate of 18 francs (\$3.60) a day, including meals. At smaller, but good, hotels one gets a room and bath for from 40 to 80 francs, and pays from 15 to 30 francs for a full meal—and none too full at that.

True, the rate of exchange, now really 17 francs to the dollar against 5 of old, helps the American traveler—who may live comfortably at a good Paris hotel for, say, \$5.50 a day. It might be hard to do this in New York. It also makes certain luxuries extremely cheap—for instance, best seats at the Opéra for \$1.50 each; handsomely embroidered dress materials for less than the plainest, machine-sewed materials at home. Jewelry seems very cheap, notwithstanding the wave

of spending in France. The writer sent a cable message to New York for thirty-five cents! But, however pleasant to get many francs for one's dollar, the reflective American would like to see a swing back.

A ridiculous result of the situation is that small change is being melted up for its bullion value and is almost impossible to obtain in Paris. Most people use postage stamps, even for tips; but what will happen to the last holder is not known, and the subway will neither accept stamps nor make change for the passengers.

Since taxicab fares have recently been doubled (one pays twice the metre reading), the Métropolitain and the Nord-Sud have become more popular than ever; and it is surprising to find that a non-resident can find his way more easily about the excellent Paris subway than through the intricacies of the Interborough. Moreover, though the second-class carriages are usually packed, the shiny, upholstered first-class coach is very comfortable, and one seems to be in distinguished company. There is no bother about "expresses" and "locals"—trains run quickly everywhere, and markings are extremely plain. Paris has the advantage of being a city of two dimensions.

But in what pertains to "business" Paris still has much to learn from us. Though the French seem more grown-up, more serious than formerly, they are, from our standpoint, as unbusinesslike as ever. Every small transaction is a vexation. Having saved the world, the Parisian is back at his old game of saving himself—through Americans. And he will not adopt quick methods. For instance, after an interminable meal in a chain restaurant the diner presents his check. In New York he would be out of the door in ten seconds; in Paris there is a painful adding up—a poking about for coins and stamps—and five, ten minutes are wasted.

No—Paris hasn't the snap of New York. But observing that the doorman has several ribbons but only one leg, that the elevator man has one arm, and that the waiter has a glass eye—we render honors to Paris.

T. D. P.



A PORTABLE PACKAGE FREIGHT CONVEYOR INSTALLED BY THE STATE OF NEW YORK AT THE SCHENECTADY TERMINAL OF THE NEW BARGE CANAL

PUBLIC TERMINALS FOR WATER TRANSPORTATION

BY GORDON P. GLEASON

IT has been repeatedly said that lack of public terminals has done more to injure the cause of American waterway improvements than any other element relating to these transportation routes that once flourished from the Mississippi River to the Atlantic seaboard. Channels alone do not and cannot give effective service if they lack a comprehensive terminal system, or if they are dependent upon privately-owned terminals charging so high a rate as to nullify any advantage that might be obtained by the cheaper water-transportation route.

Accordingly, the question of public terminals in the United States has been an issue for many years and numerous attempts have been made to construct these aids to commerce. In almost every case, however, serious difficulty arises from the fact that nearly all of the available water-front property is controlled by private interests—mostly by railroad corporations. This is as true of our seaports as it is of the Great Lakes and inland waterways. These corporations practically dominate the terminal situation at our ports, and transportation authorities agree that such domination of terminals has been extremely detrimental to water-borne traffic.

A glance at conditions in Europe is exceedingly interesting. There, as a rule, the municipalities build, own, and control all terminals. For example, take Antwerp, a city with fewer inhabitants than San Francisco and not many more than New Orleans.

Antwerp—an inland city—has expended more than \$100,000,000 on water-front improvements, with the result that prior to the outbreak of the World War it was the greatest port in Europe and second only to New York in the whole world.

Hamburg, situated sixty miles up the Elbe River, with mud banks and tide between it and the seaboard, is devoid of any natural advantages as a port and is the last place where one would expect to find an important transoceanic shipping center. Nevertheless, by the expenditure of a little more than \$100,000,000 this city had, before the war, made its terminals so attractive that her commerce was growing faster than that of any other port save New York and Antwerp.

The docks at Liverpool are administered by a board, the largest representation on which is held by the shipping interests. This city is situated on an estuary with a difference of thirty-one feet between tides and with numerous shifting sandbars at its mouth. Despite these natural disadvantages, Liverpool is one of the greatest ports in the world, and it has been built up through its own efforts and without either local or imperial taxation.

Rotterdam has also been successful in making its harbor a municipal monopoly. It has expended \$30,000,000 in building docks, receiving no aid whatever from the Holland Government.

Havre struggled for eighteen years to get control of her harbor, succeeding in 1900. It immediately launched extensive improvements, which not only resulted in a tremendous growth of commerce but served as a great aid in the World War.

Conditions at Atlantic Ports

Here in the United States the situation is by no means as attractive. New York City is the greatest port in the world, it is true, and it owes its prosperity to a number of factors. First, it is the natural port for the shipment of goods to foreign countries. Second, the construction of the Erie Canal brought to New York much of the produce which had formerly been shipped from Philadelphia. Third, the country back of the port of New York has always been able to assure a full cargo out and to absorb a full cargo in.

However, it is doubtful whether New York could have reached her present position and maintained it had she not, first of all, freed herself from private ownership of terminals. As it is, the Federal Government, the city, and the State have found it



A TIMBER DERRICK AT TROY, N. Y.
(Transferring a cargo of iron pipe from a canal boat to a freight car, for shipment inland)

increasingly difficult to obtain suitable frontage for the construction of the additional docks that the port's growing traffic demands.

One would naturally expect to find great ports at Philadelphia and Boston. Yet, in these cities conditions are practically all against water-borne traffic. Philadelphia owns twenty docks, most of them having less than nine feet of water. Theoretically all of her wharves are open to the public; nevertheless, outside of the twenty docks and recent developments which improved to modern dimensions two of these, all the terminals are controlled by private interests. Boston has no public water-front, save a few scattered landings of little commercial value.

Providence, Rhode Island, is ideally situated for commerce and should be one of our leading New England ports; yet the city owns no docks whatever, and it is an actual fact that boats carrying goods for points in the New England States now move up the Hudson River to Troy, N. Y., and there transfer cargoes at the State-owned terminal for shipment by rail to New England.

Our Inland Harbors

A condition which is not much better obtains on the Great Lakes. At Detroit all the docks which can be called modern are privately owned, although the city is making sincere attempts to gain control over its water-front. Duluth owns a few ferry landings, but has been largely developed by private enterprise; and while Duluth is the greatest inland port in the world, this is due



MODERN STEEL BARGES IN THE NEW YORK CANAL SYSTEM

(The boats are 150 feet long and more than 20 feet wide. Each one can carry 600 tons of freight, or as much as could be moved in 18 railroad freight cars)

to the fact that the situation there is dominated by Great Lakes steamship lines and not by railroads.

The largest artificial harbor in the world is located at Buffalo, N. Y., but all the frontage on this—except that owned by the State of New York, namely, the Erie and Ohio Basin Barge Canal terminals—is under private control.

Chicago, the second largest city in the United States, has possibilities of becoming the greatest of the world's inland ports; but it has practically no public docks and owns no frontage suitable for modern terminals. Facilities are so poor that it is not unusual for ships to carry goods to Milwaukee for rail transfer to Chicago.

Conditions on the Mississippi River, with the single exception of New Orleans—which outside of New York is the only Eastern port where the terminals are owned and conducted after the manner of those in Europe—are really appalling. Here is the nation's mightiest commercial stream, a river reaching into the very heart of our productive centers. Despite this there is practically no traffic on it. Furthermore, there is not a single public terminal worthy of the name at any of its thriving cities. Even at St. Louis and Memphis the negroes load the river boats by carrying the packages on their heads, reaching the boat via a narrow gang-plank. At Vicksburg, which should be an important river terminal, there is only one landing available and this is a quagmire of mud.

Twenty Millions for Canal Terminals in New York!

New York State, when it undertook the construction of its Barge Canal, which is incidentally one of the world's greatest engineering feats and gives the nation an important transportation route, looked to the future and made provision for the construction of fifty-five modern public terminals at an expenditure of \$19,800,000. This, of course, is a mere drop in the bucket when compared to the vast sums expended abroad, but it marks the beginning of the first sin-



THE NEW YORK STATE BARGE CANAL TERMINAL AT THE LOWER END OF MANHATTAN ISLAND

(There are half a dozen other terminals in course of construction in the harbor of New York, one of which alone can accommodate 300 modern steel barges)

cere attempt to provide one of our inland waterways with a modern terminal system.

Many of these aids to commerce are now available, work being practically completed on fifty of the fifty-five sites selected. In fact, out of a planned wharfage of ten miles, eight are now in use and work is progressing on a greater part of the remaining two miles, as well as upon the equipment of the terminals with suitable freight-handling machinery. No clearer evidence that the terminals are nearing completion can be obtained than the opening of Pier 6, East River, New York City, last fall. This, together with Pier 5, immediately adjacent gives the city and State an important commercial aid, equipped with modern terminal machinery to speed the transfer of freight.

Work on the other terminals in and about New York City has, likewise, been progressing; and State Engineer Frank M. Williams, who is charged with the task of construction, says that the following sites will be finished this summer: Gowanus Bay and Greenport, in the Borough of Brooklyn; Mott Haven, in Bronx Borough; West Fifty-third Street, in Manhattan; Flushing Bay and Hallets Cove, in Queens Borough.

The condition of the terminals on the direct line of the Barge Canal is very favorable. All of the dock walls with the exception of those located at Rochester, Troy (Upper Terminal), Buffalo (Ohio Basin),

and some minor work at other sites, are completed. The work of installing terminal machinery and the erection of freight sheds, warehouse, and other necessary equipment is making excellent progress.

Modern Devices for Handling Cargoes

One essential feature in the solution of our waterway transportation problem, which has generally been overlooked or at least passed over lightly, is that of providing proper terminal machinery for the transfer of cargoes. When transportation begins and ends it is necessary to load or unload the goods. Public terminals alone do not, and never can, afford the solution to the loading problem. A dock without suitable freight-handling devices is worthless and a waste of public money. The average cost of loading and unloading goods sent by rail is equal to the cost of hauling them 250 miles. The average cost of loading and unloading waterborne freights at terminals not equipped with modern facilities, is equal to a carriage of 2500 miles in the vessel.

In other words, while the distance from Chicago to Buffalo is less than 1000 miles, it is true that in water shipments between these ports the actual carriage charge is just about one-third, and the terminal charge two-thirds of the total cost.

The installation of modern docks provided with efficient and improved handling devices can reduce the total cost more than half. This has been shown in the ore, coal,

and wheat shipments between Duluth and Cleveland. Modern terminal machinery has so reduced the terminal charge on these commodities that it about equals the carrying charge, while lack of such facilities at the same ports for the transfer of miscellaneous freight has left the terminal charge at about twice the carrying cost.

The port of New York has been cited as an example of what public terminals will do. Despite this and the further truth that New York and New Orleans are the only ports on our eastern seaboard which have sufficient depth to float a vessel of the size of the *Leviathan*, while San Francisco and Seattle are the only two on the Pacific Coast, the harbor at New York is very much in need of rearrangement of terminal facilities.

Our waterways must compete with the railroads. They cannot compete unless they are equipped with terminals, or if the navigation companies have to utilize privately-owned terminals. The railroads cannot be forced to coöperate in bringing about a more harmonious relation between the two carriers, and even if they were inclined to give water-borne freight a lower terminal rate it is doubtful if the rail line itself has adequate facilities to enable the water carrier to handle effectively cargoes entrusted to their care.

Public terminals on our inland waterways and at our ports become necessary if the citizens of the United States ever hope to see the waterways utilized for the benefit of the public and the nation.



IMPROVED MACHINERY AT A PRIVATELY-OWNED TERMINAL IN BUFFALO, N. Y.
(Can such facilities be found at a Government-owned terminal in any part of the country?)

THE ST. LAWRENCE "CUT-OFF"

By HUGH J. HUGHES

THE automobile has taught the general public what the rail operators long have known: that time or tonnage-carrying cost, rather than miles, is the real measure of distance.

At the present time, when a bushel of wheat starts forward on its journey to Europe its ordinary route from the plains of North Dakota or Saskatchewan is to one of the great wheat-receiving terminals on Lake Superior, and thence by boat down the Lakes to Buffalo. At Buffalo it is lifted out of the boat into an elevator, and transferred to cars that carry it to the Jersey City waterfront in New York harbor. There it is lightered to a tramp steamer bound for Liverpool.

Now this is the all-important fact to consider: That the cost of unloading the bushel of wheat at Buffalo, plus the cost of rail haul to Jersey City, plus the cost of reloading onto the ocean-going steamer, is fully one-half of the entire cost of transportation from Duluth to Liverpool. Another curious fact in this connection is that when the wheat arrives at Jersey City it is farther away from Liverpool than when it left the elevator at Buffalo! Half the incurred freight bill is spent in moving the wheat *backward*, instead of forward to its port of destination.

Since this cost is, in normal times, from ten to twelve cents, it follows that about five cents per bushel could be saved if we could do away with the land haul, and proceed direct on our journey by boat. And since the demand in Europe sets the price at which our wheat sells in competition with the export wheat of the rest of the world, this five cents saved would be saved to the wheat-grower.

When wheat is selling around \$2.50 a bushel, five cents on the bushel may not appear as a matter of importance; but there have been times, and they may readily come again, when this margin of five cents net would determine whether or not the American wheat-grower could remain in business. And since the plains of the Dakotas and the Canadian Northwest are capable of feeding bread to a large part of the bread-eating world, the question of rates and profits assumes world-wide importance.

Take your map of North America, and put your finger on Duluth in Minnesota, or Port Arthur in Canada. Then follow down Lake Superior to the "Soo" Canal at Sault Ste. Marie, where the waters of Superior drop twenty feet to the level of Lake Huron. Here there are locks deep enough, long enough, and wide enough to let through the gigantic 10,000-ton Great Lakes freighters—locks large enough to handle all but about 5 per cent. of the ocean-going freight-carrying shipping of the world.

Passing on through Huron we come to the St. Clair and Detroit rivers, and these likewise can carry any ocean-going ship except such vessels as the *Mauretania* and *Leviathan*.

The next stop on our all-water route from the Middle West to Europe is at the new Welland Canal. Canada is building this to meet the capacity of the "Soo" locks, and when completed any of the great freighters of the Upper Lakes can comfortably drop down through it into Lake Ontario.

Below Montreal, all the way to the sea, the St. Lawrence affords a broad, deep, safe ship highway that would bring Europe one thousand miles closer to our Middle West were it not for less than fifty miles of tumbling rapids in the upper St. Lawrence. The improvement of this fifty miles, by the creation of two great dams to hold back the waters of the river, is now becoming a matter of international concern.

Engineers are agreed that this work can be done at a cost approximating \$110,000,000, and that the four million horse-power of electrical energy that will be released by creating these artificial lakes will more than pay the entire carrying charges of the undertaking. So that from a financial standpoint the proposition appears entirely feasible. With these dams built, and their locks in operation, a steamer of 5,000 tons capacity could enter the St. Lawrence, carrying a cargo from Europe, lay down that cargo at any one of the Great Lakes ports, and then proceed to the head of the lakes to re-load with wheat or flax or livestock for the return journey. The effect would be to thrust an

arm of the ocean midway into the heart of the American continent, and bring the prairie region west of Chicago and Duluth into over-night contact with the sea.

This would place all the central region of the United States and Canada in a much more favorable situation in the coming competition for world commerce.

But this is by no means all that the canalizing of the St. Lawrence would mean.

It would help to solve, in very large measure, the pressing transportation problem, because it would shorten the rail haul of products west of the Alleghanies destined for overseas consumption; and by so doing it would in effect add materially to the carrying capacity of the present rail equipment.

It is a well-established fact that car congestion and car shortage, the twin bugaboos of the rail men and the shipping public, are largely due to the long overland haul of shipments originating at, or bound for, points west of Chicago. The vast network of railways draws the streams of cars into the already locally congested area east of Pittsburgh and Washington; and when the wheat shipments of early fall begin, the congestion becomes a jam, and the jam becomes a tie-up.

This situation, bad enough when the all-rail shipments alone are considered, is made materially worse when the stream of lake-and-rail traffic comes pouring down the Great Lakes and debarks at Buffalo and

Cleveland, demanding cars and right-of-way, and side-track space that is needed by the traffic already on the ground.

The opening of the St. Lawrence route would cause this stream of lake-and-rail traffic bound for overseas ports to move along the easier and cheaper and quicker all-water route, and a fair part of the all-rail traffic that now reaches the Atlantic ports would find its natural route to Europe through its most convenient lake port and thence by ocean-going shipping direct to Europe.

It has been estimated that four billions of dollars are necessary for the development of the American railways to the point where they can properly take care of the growing volume of transportation. If the expenditure of less than 5 per cent. of this amount will provide an all-water route from the heart of the American continent to the sea, if this expenditure will bring the Mississippi Valley and the plains of Canada a thousand miles nearer to Europe, and if, finally, it will divert from the Eastern States a volume of through traffic that serves no other purpose than to congest roads already breaking down under local traffic and continental traffic originating within the manufacturing area along the Atlantic coast—then it would seem that immediate steps should be taken to add the St. Lawrence all-water route in order to relieve our overloaded and crumbling system of continental transportation.



THE WATER ROUTE FROM THE MIDDLE WEST TO EUROPE

(A series of canal and river improvements makes it possible at the present time to transport goods by water from any point on the five Great Lakes to the Atlantic seaboard at New York. It is now proposed, particularly in our own and the Canadian Middle West, to improve a strip of fifty miles in the St. Lawrence River near Montreal (the rapids), so that ocean steamers can enter the Lakes. They could then use the locks of the Welland Canal to climb from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie, the improved St. Clair and Detroit rivers to enter Lake Huron and Lake Michigan, and the "Soo" Canal to climb to the level of Lake Superior—in all a rise of six hundred feet above sea level. The Middle West would thus be brought a thousand miles nearer to Europe in the matter of through shipments, for the New York route represents, in part, movement in the wrong direction)

THE FARMER ORGANIZES

BY R. P. CRAWFORD

(Associate Editor of the *Nebraska Farmer*)

FOUR hundred farmers, meeting in the city of Chicago in March, took what is generally regarded as one of the most decisive steps in the history of American agriculture. At that time came into being the American Farm Bureau Federation, which has already more than half a million members and this year will have funds amounting to about \$200,000.

There have been farm organizations in the past, but none of them so well grounded and with such strong foundations. Many organizations have claimed to represent the farmer, but many of them did not. This association goes back to the "county-agent" plan, which was introduced into the agricultural system of this country a few years ago, and which, sponsored by the United States Department of Agriculture, resulted in the establishment of an agricultural adviser in a large number of the counties of the country. Each of these agents is backed by what is known as a farm bureau, consisting of the farmers themselves. Now, in the course of only a little over a year, these farmers have banded together into State organizations and these State federations have gone together into a big national organization. So it can be said that the American Farm Bureau Federation is a representative farmers' body.

One can glimpse what the movement really means by the fact that Iowa has over 100,000 farmers in this organization, and Illinois and New York have over 50,000 each. Twenty-eight States sending representatives to this Chicago meeting in March ratified a constitution which had been outlined a few months before when a temporary organization was formed, and brought the big society into being. It is freely predicted that by the end of the year there will be a million members of this federation in America and the available funds for use in national work, leaving out the projects of the State federations, will be around half a million dollars per year. It is probably true that this is the most forceful farmers' organization in America to-day.

What the Farm Bureau Federation Sets Out to Do

Here we find the definite program of work outlined for the coming year:

The creation of a bureau of transportation, which, besides securing proper rail rates, will "give to the farmer of the United States ocean rates which will enable him to compete on a fair basis with the farmers of other nations of the world."

A bureau of trade relations to investigate dealings with foreign countries.

A bureau of distribution to study the distribution of farm products.

A bureau of statistics to study world conditions which influence supply and demand as well as prices.

A legislative bureau "which shall have to do with matters of national legislation which affect farming and farmers."

It is not to be thought that the federation means that the Government shall establish these bureaus and divisions which have just been enumerated. The federation will establish them itself. Perhaps it is important to note that this body of farmers is beginning work with a broader scope than has any similar body in the past. It will not confine itself to just the minor things of the moment, but will endeavor to be big enough to investigate the underlying factors in world agriculture.

This federation means that the farmers of America have established one of the biggest business organizations in the world. To a large degree it represents the united sentiment of the farmers of the country. For instance, at any time when the officers of the federation desire to know what the farmers think of a certain measure it will only be a few days' work to get a questionnaire into the hands of every member. Mr. Gray Silver has been representing the federation in Washington, and I have learned that it has already taken an initiative in presenting the claims of the farmers to members of Congress and other government officials. The federation under its temporary organization

was instrumental in securing federal appropriations for the county-agent work, and probably not a little credit should be given it for the arbitration provisions in the new railroad law.

Exercising Political Influence

It is yet almost too early to forecast any political leanings of the new organization. But a fairly direct statement of political aims is to be noted in the following statement taken from the official organ of the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation:

From all sides comes the query: "Will the farm bureau ignore politics?" Not exactly. To ignore politics, and by that act refuse to accept a share of responsibility, would be distinctly un-American. For politics is a part of the machinery of American government.

The federation will concern itself with men and measures rather than with parties. It will have absolutely nothing to do with the political stew from a partisan standpoint. But when questions develop that have a bearing upon the agricultural interests of the country, or questions that deal with the life and stability of American institutions, depend on it the Farm Bureau Federation will be found very much in evidence.

Farmers will still be Republicans and Democrats, but probably from now on they will not be averse to letting their Republican and Democratic friends in Congress know just what they want. It is quite certain that if someone goes down to Washington with a petition representing the wishes of a million voters, he is going to have some attention.

Agriculture—the Country's Leading Industry

Another thing that the organization will attempt to accomplish will be to explain the farmers' position to the city people, with the hope that better feeling may be engendered. Most people do not know that farming is a business. Secretary Meredith, of the Department of Agriculture, hit the nail on the head in an address before the Chamber of Commerce of the United States at Atlantic City the latter part of April. Said the Secretary:

If all the farmers in the United States should decide to go into some other business—branch out, as we say—they could sell their livestock and crops for one year, and with the money they receive buy all the railroads in the United States, together with all the rolling stock and other equipment. If they wished to go out of the farming business entirely, they could sell their farms along with their crops and livestock, and with the money they receive buy all the railroads, all the

manufacturing establishments, all the mines, and all the quarries in the United States. In other words, it would be just about an "even trade" between the farming property and all the other productive property in the United States, except the mercantile establishments. They could with their income from livestock and crops for a single year pay practically the entire national debt. The investment in agriculture amounts to about eighty billion dollars, and last year the value of crops and livestock aggregated about twenty-five billion dollars.

Agriculture is the most important business in the country; but how many people realize how unbusinesslike it is in some particulars? The city people now and then hear rumbles of dissatisfaction emanating from the country, but they do not always catch what the trouble is all about. As a practical illustration, the other day I attended a feeders' meeting at the Nebraska College of Agriculture. They had kept fifty cattle on various feeds in order to determine which was the best. But every lot had lost money, varying from \$29 to \$35 per head. The point, of course, was that the cattle market had been sagging about the time the experiment was concluded. These same figures would have been found to be true in thousands of feed yards all over the Middle West. A farmer raising his own feed would have done better to have sold the feed and saved the bother of feeding cattle. And he would have been \$1000 or so ahead. Heavy losses have also been suffered in hogs.

The farmer would like to see the market stabilized so that he would be less liable to be caught. Of course, practically nobody warned him that the bottom might drop out of foreign exchange and cut down the exports of American meat.

Then there is the labor problem. Reports indicate that the dearth of farm labor this year may be as great as it was during the years of the war. This is because the hired hand has been attracted by the lure of high wages and easy work in the city. In spite of reports which now and then reach us of the possibility of an amalgamation of labor and farmer forces, I think such a combination unlikely—and, as far as the Farm Bureau Federation is concerned, improbable.

How the New Federation Will Function

If the Farm Bureau Federation can do even the least bit toward solving a few of these problems, it will have earned its way. The farmer living near Bingville has his financial destiny carved out by the wheat

situation in Australia or by the value of the German mark. It will take big men to tackle problems of this kind, and the federation is setting out to secure them for its different branches of work.

Representation and voting power in the national organization are secured according to membership in the different States. The board of directors, which this year numbered fifty-three, sat like a solemn senate debating the agricultural questions of the day at the Chicago meeting. Each State organization qualified for membership is entitled to one director and an additional director for every 20,000, or major portion thereof, of paid-up members. There is also the house of delegates, the difference between the directors and the delegates being that the delegates do not vote at the annual meetings. Each State with membership in the federation is entitled to one delegate in the house of delegates and one additional delegate for every 10,000 farmers in the State.

The finances of the national organization were arranged at this meeting so that about fifty cents will be paid from the different States into the national treasury for each member. One can see with a million members at the end of the coming year just what the money resources of this organization will amount to and that it can bring to pass almost whatever it will in its investigational work. In addition, each State has its own funds for work within its borders.

One should have been present at the Chicago meeting to catch some of the enthusiasm of this organization, which has been in process of development only a little over a year. J. R. Howard, of Clemons, Iowa, was elected president and his salary was fixed at \$15,000 a year. So far as I know, this is the highest salary that any official of a farm organization has ever been paid, and shows perhaps the big way in which the farmers are tackling things. Mr. Howard, of course, is a farmer and has been president of the Iowa federation, as well as temporary president of the national federation pending its complete organization. S. L. Strivings, of Castile, N. Y., was chosen for vice-president. J. W. Coverdale, of Ames, Iowa, secretary

of the Iowa federation, was chosen as national secretary by the executive committee. Chicago will be the headquarters.

Work of the State Federation

As an illustration of what the different State federations are doing, one may call attention to Illinois. At the February meeting of the Illinois association's executive committee a budget amounting to \$333,000 was fixed to carry on the work. One of its big projects will be live-stock marketing, and probably \$75,000 will be spent on this item alone. Prof. H. W. Mumford, chief of the animal husbandry department of the University of Illinois, has been engaged to take charge of the work at a salary in five figures. There will be work in handling the coöperative live-stock shipping associations, and pure-bred live-stock marketing will be taken up in all its phases. This association also does work in securing limestone and rock phosphate for its members.

A grain-marketing department has also been started in Illinois with a budget of \$65,000. At the present time there are about 600 farmers' elevators in the State, and practical assistance will be given

them in working out their problems. Five to ten men will be kept on the road organizing coöperative elevators. A clearing house is to be established which will have brokerage functions, and efforts will be made to handle grain through to the big manufacturing plants, instead of through individuals.

It might be said that these State associations will do those things that are impossible for farmers to do for themselves. The farm-bureau federations will by no means usurp activities of the State agricultural colleges and the Department of Agriculture, but will supplement them by undertaking problems outside the domain of those institutions.

There is little likelihood that the federation will in any way attempt to crowd out the farmers' organizations that already are in existence. Many of them, operating for a specific purpose, have already done great things. The Farm Bureau Federation as a national organization will try to solve the big national and world problems.



MR. J. R. HOWARD,
OF IOWA
(First president of the
American Farm Bureau
Federation)

PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING

BY THOMAS H. SIMPSON

NO celebration of the centenary of Florence Nightingale, which occurs this year, could be so expressive of the world's regard for the Lady with the Lamp, or so thoroughly in keeping with her own desire for a memorial, as a simple survey of the monumental effect of her life and the universal realization of its value as the basis for the still greater progress which the growing needs of humanity demand. For probably no man and certainly no woman that ever lived outside the aura of the saints has so many and such imposing monuments, or so devoted a following, as the inspired Englishwoman who founded a religion of kindness and cleanliness.

Nursing Now a Profession

When the British people, upon Florence Nightingale's return in 1856 from her work amidst the horrors of the Crimea, planned to give her a triumphal welcome and raised a fund for a great monument to be erected in her honor, Miss Nightingale discouraged the celebration and asked that the money be used in establishing a training school for nurses. Such a thing was unknown at the time, and unappreciated by the majority, professionals and laymen alike, who were still blinded by ignorance as to nature's laws of health.

The gift she wanted was granted, however; and to-day, in little more than half a century, scientific nursing has become recognized as one of the most indispensable of the higher professions. The whole system of modern nursing from principles to practice is Florence Nightingale's monument; every hospital training school in the world is a temple in her honor, and each student and graduate nurse a disciple. And so piercing have been the rays from the lamp which first brought light into the agonized darkness of a cruel and futile war that governments which once let their sick and injured welter in pain and filth for the lack of care now call for more nurses than the profession and its facilities for training eligible young women are able to provide. In the United States to-day one branch of nursing alone—

that of public health—under federal and State legislation recently passed or pending requires five times as many specially equipped nurses as are available.

State Supervision

It was first the shortage of nurses at home, due to the enrollment of so many in military and relief service during the war, and then the epidemics that gave the nursing movement in America its present impetus. Medical and public-health authorities and the leaders of the nursing profession themselves had long recognized the opportunity for extending the practice of public-health nursing; the tuberculosis nurse, the school nurse, the rural district nurse, the maternity nurse, the industrial and sick-poor visiting nurse in the city, had all demonstrated the necessity and value of their functions in the great scheme for solving the national health problem and had satisfied even the most skeptical of trained eyes. But the public and politicians needed the lesson of the war and of the poliomyelitis and influenza epidemics with their frightful toll of deaths to bring them to the point of acting. New York State, for example, enacted a bill in 1914 providing for a State-supervised system of public health nursing, but the law, regarded as a model of its kind and used as the pattern for legislation in other States, remains inoperative for the lack of an appropriation to pay the salary of the supervising nurse.

Rural district nursing associations, urban visiting nurse societies, settlement houses, and the like, all dependent on charity, have been carrying the burden—or such part of it as they could. One by one the States, however, under the influence of enlightened health leaders, have begun trying to catch up with the far-visioned doctrine of Florence Nightingale, who more than half a century ago pointed out that public-health nursing is an essential part of the health protection which the State should offer its citizens. Her original idea has not changed fundamentally. Bacteriology, new discoveries and methods in medicine and surgery have modi-

fied nursing practice; but Miss Nightingale's "Notes on Nursing" and her pamphlets are still standard textbooks.

Prevention Rather Than Cure

Florence Nightingale predicted that the time would come when nurses everywhere would be engaged not so much in sick-nursing as in "well-nursing." That was a favorite phrase of hers, meant to differentiate between the philosophies of cure and prevention. The latter is the essence of public-health nursing; and it is with the larger view in mind of improving and protecting public health by detecting causes of disease and preventing it or stopping its spread that health authorities and legislators are now framing the laws. The relationship between a nation's general welfare and the physical health of its citizens is no more plainly apparent, however, than that which exists between an individual's prosperity and his health, or between a business organization's profits and the health of its workers.

Thus while the State, recognizing the truth of the premise, provides nurses to visit outlying rural districts and congested city neighborhoods where, for the reason of isolation or poverty or ignorance, disease may not otherwise be discovered in time, and the citizen welcomes and supports the work of the skilled "visitor" because of his regard for the welfare of his family and neighbors, the industrial concern finds it "good business" to employ a trained nurse for the sake of maintaining the productive efficiency of its hands.

Much disease and most accidents—the loss from both in the United States runs into billions of dollars annually—are preventable; and it is the skilled public-health nurse always on the job who is the most effective preventive. In the factory she teaches the prime preventive of cleanliness and sound living to the ignorant or careless, detects evidences of incipient disease and by constant alert observation of the conditions affecting the health of the workers not only prevents the spread of infection among the well but guards against accidents. One industrial company, for example, recently reduced the cost of accident insurance, by the establishment of a first-aid room and the employment of a nurse, from \$2 per \$100 of payroll to ten cents per \$100.

"T. B.," for Instance

Consider the preventive work of the public-health nurse against tuberculosis alone.

Tuberculosis is one of the most curable of diseases; nevertheless one out of every seven human beings dies of it. Practically everybody gets it and the majority recover without knowing they have had it. And of those in whom it manifests itself it is usually arrested if discovered and treated in time. The public-health nurse working among the busy and the poor has the opportunity to detect it.

The man or woman who has been suffering from a seemingly unaccountable "tired feeling" and perhaps a slight cough neglects to go to the doctor. The nurse discovers the condition, knows that there must be some pathological cause, and sends the sufferer to a medical clinic or insists upon a visit to the family physician. The patient is astonished to learn that the deadly lassitude which has mysteriously captured body and mind was due to poisons emanating from a small spot in one lung; and if he continues working his family will probably lose its breadwinner. He is withdrawn from his job and after the necessary period of treatment is able to return to his place as an effective member of the country's production force.

It is now generally recognized that tuberculosis crops out oftener among workers who endure long hours and receive comparatively low pay than among those whose working and living conditions more nearly approach the ideal. Tuberculosis is a disease of overwork, underplay, malnutrition, and worry. When a really sufficient force of public health nurses, therefore, is at work in those factories where the longest hours and lowest wages obtain, and in the sordid homes tenanted by such workers and their families, it can be supposed that larger numbers of people will be discovered to have the disease. This might develop such a large withdrawal of labor that the factories and offices involved would be forced to better the conditions imposed upon their workers if for no other reason than to meet the ever-pressing problem of modern industry—increased production.

Poverty's Relation to Health

Public-health nursing, efficiently conducted under private auspices in some of the larger cities, has already been the means of disclosing with unmistakable clearness the bearing of poverty on the health problem. During the infantile paralysis epidemic of 1917, the Visiting Nurse Association of Brooklyn, New York, which is a private

philanthropy employing about fifty nurses, compiled a "poliomyelitis map" of the city. When the scourge had run its course those sections of the map which denoted congested and unsanitary neighborhoods of the poor bristled with black-headed pins, while the quarters of the comfortably-circumstanced were comparatively free. Similar maps were compiled during two successive influenza epidemics and the cluster of "flu" pins were practically identical in location and proportionate number with those of "polly," as the nurses nicknamed the dread children's plague. Health authorities say that a majority of the infections occurring among families in good circumstances could be traced to so-called disease centers in the crowded tenement blocks. To the query, "Am I my brother's keeper?" therefore, the public-health nurse answers, "Keeping your brother well may mean keeping yourself well."

Visiting Houses of Employees

But the trigly uniformed woman with the little black bag of her calling is not exclusively occupied with the brethren who need keeping by the more fortunate. During the war and the influenza epidemics, when even the rich who in ordinary times employed perhaps whole squads of trained nurses in their regular establishments, could not get an R. N. for either love or money, people of every class were glad to receive the public-health nurse. And the same people, many of them, now have the habit of calling in the district or visiting nurse who, collecting a small but standard fee from those who can afford to pay anything, is recognized as not being a "charity-worker" although the employment of her services is far cheaper than engaging a full-time private-duty nurse. Many nursing associations now contract with industrial and business concerns to visit the homes of sick employees, the payment being made by the company at a flat yearly rate based on the expected average number of calls that the nurse will be required to make.

Extension of this class of "business" is what an increasingly large section of the public is coming to demand. First, it adds to the volume of preventive work; it tends to remove the stigma of charity from the visiting nurse, and it operates to improve and stabilize the whole profession both from the viewpoint of the public and from that of the nurses themselves. For example, in the

present scarcity of nurses it is regarded as an unsocial error, if not a crime, for a family of large means to monopolize the entire time of a trained nurse when not absolutely necessary, when families of moderate means, and of no means, are in some cases unable, either for lack of nurses or lack of money, to get proper nursing care at all. It frequently happens that nurses, exhausted by the high tension at which they work, are obliged to seek "easy cases" at high pay in luxurious homes. It is interesting to note, however, that nurses as a rule do not enjoy this catering to the self-indulgence of wealthy hypochondriacs, preferring instead the disciplined service of the public-health field.

A Public Service

The idea, therefore, towards which the health leaders are trying to move, is a system under which the public will learn to look upon nursing as a public responsibility, and a public function to be used by all at a standard price and to be conserved by all. That the movement has made remarkable strides in this direction is strikingly instanced by the increased absorption of private philanthropic nursing organizations by States or municipalities and the marked change of attitude on the part of the public in most cities toward the visiting nurse.

When Florence Nightingale entered the nursing profession in 1850, there were not only no training schools for nurses as we know them to-day but the calling of the nurse—it could not then be fairly described as a profession—was reserved exclusively as a charity of the church on the one hand and of the benevolent aristocracy on the other. Aside from the nuns and the Lady Bountifuls the only nurses were midwives and women of a type several degrees lower in the intellectual and moral scale than the average so-called "practical" nurse of to-day. In fact, people of any pride at all regarded nurses as distinctly inferior persons. The same people, having little if any more desire to become objects of charity than has the upstanding citizen of to-day, also naturally looked askance at, or at least could not be made to call upon, the services of the sisters of mercy.

The movement, so far as it concerns visiting or public-health work, is still largely in the hands of Lady Bountifuls; but its most significant tendency is the gradual but comparatively rapid absorption of it by the

State. Remarkable and indeed heroic work is being done in the field of public-health nursing by organizations which are supported by private groups of rich men and women. In fact, many of them who are qualified to speak with not a little authority, deprecate the tendency toward absorption by governmental agencies as laying the work open to the typical American experience of maladministration by politicians.

On the other hand, leaders among the nurses themselves say that their work is often handicapped by the necessity of deferring for one consideration or another to the wishes of wealthy patrons who, with the best humanitarian intentions imaginable, nevertheless lack the scientific knowledge and judgment required for the successful administration of so technical a work as that of a modern visiting-nurse organization, either rural or urban. Moreover, they realize that if a work acquires the importance and scope of a public utility it must in a democracy be amenable to public control—which automatically throws it into politics, and thereby into the hands of politicians. And if the politicians thereupon proceed to meddle with nursing in the way they have hitherto meddled with education and business and practically everything else in the country except the fine arts, the people may eventually be goaded into doing something about it. And that would not be an entirely undesirable consummation, it will doubtless be admitted by representatives of all shades and hues of public thought.

Florence Nightingale had to battle with bitter opposition not only to get women to become nurses, to provide adequate training facilities for them and to force governments to employ their services in cleaning up the veritable cesspools of military and civil health administrations, but to get nursing recognized as a profession. Her leading disciples in America for a long time were confronted by a not entirely dissimilar problem. Now, however, the problem is to get women of the right type to take up nursing, to provide adequate training facilities and to maintain ever higher standards of professional technique and morale. The New York State law, for instance, which is being copied by other States, established a State Bureau

of Public-Health Nursing, under the direction of a registered nurse of special experience, in public-health work to supervise, standardize and coördinate the work being done throughout the State. In addition, the State law now authorizes cities, counties, towns and villages to appropriate public funds for the employment of nurses. It is legislation of this kind, recently passed in Kentucky, Minnesota, Nebraska, Ohio, Wisconsin, West Virginia, Texas, Connecticut and other States, that has quintupled the demand for nurses and necessitated efforts to recruit more and more American girls under the banner of Florence Nightingale.

Under the leadership of the National Organization for Public-Health Nursing, which represents an increasing proportion of the public-health nurses of the country, together with non-professional individuals and groups, hospital training schools are being induced to add special courses in public health work to their curricula, to increase the pay of students, improve and standardize the method of training, shorten the hours and lessen the amount of such manual toil as has no intimate bearing on technical practice. It is hoped thereby to attract the high type of young women needed not only in the ranks of the profession but also to fill the rapidly increasing number of responsible and well-paying administrative jobs.

As for the prejudices against nursing as a career, it is to-day non-existent compared with the feeling which prevailed universally when Florence Nightingale, at the age of twenty-four, asked Dr. Samuel G. Howe, the Boston philanthropist and husband of Julia Ward Howe, whether he thought it would be a "dreadful thing" for her to study to be a nurse. It is recorded by her biographer, Sir Edward Cook, that Dr. Howe replied that it would be a very good thing indeed—a prediction fraught with infinitely more good tidings to the civilized world than Dr. Howe could have dreamed when he uttered it, and an answer which, in the undying light of the lamp that gleamed in Florence Nightingale's hand as she walked among the tortured inmates of the Crimean military hospitals, is made far more confidently nowadays to any young woman hesitating on the threshold of a nursing career.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

THE PRESENT BRITISH ATTITUDE TOWARDS GERMANY

NO one who has followed the organs of British opinion during the past few months can fail to have observed a marked change in the tone of expressions regarding the execution of the terms of the Peace Treaty. Even those English journals which decline to accept the conclusions of Mr. Maynard Keynes on the subject of German reparations are free to admit that the best interests of the Allies will be conserved by a moderate course in the exaction of indemnity.

In the London *Spectator* for May 1 there is an important editorial dealing with the conference at San Remo. The *Spectator* declares itself as entirely satisfied with the actual result of the conference as expressed in the Allies' declaration:

It was clear from the outset to all sane men that the Allies must continue to stand together, and that the Franco-British Alliance was a permanent bond which both countries were resolute to maintain in their own interests. It was also clear that the Allies must be fully agreed as to the necessity of enforcing the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. Mr. Lloyd George has the Celtic habit of changing his mind with a rapidity that dazzles and alarms the ordinary Englishman, but we are quite sure that there are limits even to his variability. Women have the privilege of changing their minds, but they do not as a rule change their husbands. Mr. Lloyd George may steer an erratic course in domestic politics, but he knows better than to throw over the great international agreement, by the making of which he has gained immense prestige the world over.

All that he and his fellow-premiers had to determine was the best method of making the peace effective. The French showed a preference for military means, believing, as they do, that the German is an animal who can only be brought to reason by a big stick. Mr. Lloyd George and Signor Nitti, on the other hand, thought, as most Englishmen and Italians do, that the gentler methods of diplomacy might be tried with advantage, even upon such stubborn and unreasonable people as our late enemies. The Allies' declaration shows that Mr. Lloyd George had his way. He devised a formula which satisfied M. Millerand, but which, in effect, pledged the Allies to adjust their differences with Germany in a

peaceful manner. The Allies, in their declaration, laid great stress on Germany's failure to comply with the peace terms in regard to disarmament, or to the supply of coal to the ravaged districts of France, or to reparation in other forms. The Treaty, said the Allies, must be executed; if not, they would not hesitate to occupy more German territory, though they would not annex any.

These announcements were made to reassure Frenchmen, who are not unnaturally nervous and somewhat dispirited in the reaction after their long and glorious efforts to free their country from the German invader. But the novel and important features of the Allies' declaration, as we read it, are the statement that the Allies "do not ignore the difficulties with which the German Government are faced, and do not intend to insist upon too literal an interpretation of the Treaty," and the consequent invitation to "the heads of the German Government to confer directly with the heads of the Allied Governments," and to explain their difficulties by word of mouth. Mr. Lloyd George has thus carried his Allies with him over the last obstacle, separating a state of war from a state of peace. By inducing M. Millerand to meet Herr Müller he has taken a long step towards the reestablishment of normal relations between the countries that must always be neighbors.

The editors go on to say that they welcome the prospect of the conference between the Allied Premiers and the German Premier at Spa. They state their position frankly:

We have not changed our opinion of German militarism, nor can we say that the conduct of German politicians of late has encouraged the belief in Germany's repentance for the evil that she has wantonly wrought. But we are no longer at war, and we must face the new problems of peace in a practical and businesslike fashion. The first of these problems is the execution of the Peace Treaty. Germany has signed and ratified the Treaty, but pleads her inability to carry it out literally or punctually. We have, therefore, to examine her plea, to see how far it is genuine, and to determine the best way of helping her Government to fulfil their pledges.

It may or may not be true that the German Government are unable to demobilize their troops as fast as the Treaty requires. As the delay prevents the Allies from disarming and reducing

their military expenditure, it is clearly to our interest to probe this matter, and to devise means of accelerating Germany's demobilization. We may, for instance, strengthen the Müller Ministry by showing a friendly concern in its doings; we may lessen the industrial unrest in Germany by expediting the supply of raw materials without which many German factories remain idle.

Again, there is the problem of the indemnity. So long as the amount is left indefinite, Germany has an excuse for folding her hands and saying that it is hopeless to try to meet her obligations. It is true, of course, that Germany has been accorded the opportunity of suggesting a lump sum, and that she has made no attempt to do so. But the Allies, for their own sake, would be well advised to fix the amount of the indemnity at the earliest possible moment. Germany could then be required to remodel her taxes so as to provide the money, for she is still a wealthy country. We

must, in short, deal with Germany as we have dealt with other vanquished enemies in the past. We have never had reason, in the long run, to regret our moderation and generosity. If we have had no serious quarrel with France since Waterloo, the credit is largely due to the temperate policy of Castlereagh and Wellington.

It is conceivable, says the *Spectator*, that even Germany hereafter may come to be thankful to the Allies if they treat her as Castlereagh and Wellington treated France. "We have exorcised the Kaiser as we exorcised Napoleon. The French people have long since repudiated Napoleon's statecraft. We must now seek to wean the Germans from the Napoleonic ideas which have brought them to disaster."

ECHOES OF GERMANY'S REVOLUTION

A REVIEW of the political crisis in Germany of last March appears in *The New Europe* under the title, "Germany Playing at Revolution."

For some time past, the writer points out, an attempt at a *coup d'état* had been expected either from the Militarists or the Spartacists. "These two opposition groups have been watching one another, each of them, we may suspect, waiting for the other to strike first."

The government was surrounded by difficulties. It found it a hard task to maintain its authority at home owing to "the very peculiar circumstances in which they were placed" by the necessity of carrying out the terms of the Peace Treaty which "in the eyes of a large portion of the people . . . was not only destructive to the very existence of the German nation, but also derogatory to its honor." There were other reasons for the government's weakness.

The task before them was one which might well prove to be beyond the capacity of any government, and both in the personality, character and the origin of the holders of power there were elements which made it very difficult for them to maintain their authority. By their previous personal history and their social condition—matters which count for more, perhaps, in Germany than in any other country in Europe—they came to their task without that social prestige which is so important. The ordinary German, to put it bluntly, did not want to be governed by men who had come from the working-class, or small tradesmen. They were without that nimbus of dignity that counts so much in political matters. Moreover, they were entirely without administrative experience. The government of the country continued to be carried on through the government offices, and these were still staffed with

the old members; none of the changes that have taken place have shaken the practical control which the bureaucracy wields. New ministers have been substituted for the old, but the wheels of the great machine were still there, and the new ministers were quite incapable of imposing their will upon the offices of which they were nominal heads. They sat in the seats of government, but they did not govern.

Noske and Erzberger were both strong men. But the first was gravely suspected of sympathy with the Militarists, and the latter's financial proposals had made him very unpopular with a large and influential class of Germans grown wealthy through the war. Moreover, he had come very badly out of the Helfferich libel suit, and the government of which he was a member suffered accordingly.

To what extent were dissensions among the Allies responsible for the outbreak? Apart from the legitimate reasons for the dissatisfaction of Germans with their government,

there is no doubt that there were other and more dangerous elements at work, and we cannot doubt that these have been stimulated by the symptoms of dissolution in the alliance. First of all we have the practical secession of America; as a result of this for purposes of high policy, the alliance has come to be little more than a union between Britain and France. But unfortunately during the last weeks an impression has been allowed to gain ground that there are very serious differences between these two states, and Germans who were prepared to make trouble, might well begin to think that the time was coming when they might fish in troubled waters.

Added to this we have the criticism of the Treaty and of the action of the powers under the

Treaty in this country, which has been gaining in force. There are no doubt in Germany a large number of men, including many who held high positions both in the army and in the civil service, who would shrink from nothing in an attempt even by violence to restore Germany to something like the position which she formerly held. There is no doubt that their eyes were fixed upon Eastern Europe. It is in the east of Germany, in Pomerania, in the Mark, in East Prussia, that this party have their stronghold; to them the establishment of an independent Poland and the cession of Prussian territory to Poland is a blow to which they will never be reconciled. Watching, as they doubtless are, the increasing ministerial ineffectiveness in Poland, they might well think that the time was approaching for a gambler's throw. There are some of them who probably would not shrink from using a Bolshevik Russia to destroy the newly-created Polish State, hoping that ultimately, when this was done, they might in some way or another use the confusion which would arise for the reestablishment of a militarist and monarchist Germany.

In spite of all these disturbing factors, this writer anticipates that "the ultimate result of this sudden crisis will not be unbeneficial." "The result may be to show that the apprehensions of which we have heard so much recently, that a large and influential party were doing their uttermost to bring about a repudiation of the Treaty and a fresh appeal to force, will be dissipated. It will have shown that though there were undoubtedly some who desired this, their numbers were in fact small, and their influence smaller; the dangerous element was limited to Berlin and the Northeastern provinces; against them the whole of the rest of Germany was united. It will prove eventually all to the good that they have shown their hand, that they have made their attempt, and that they have failed."

THE NEW WORLD DISEASE

A CARNIVAL of social disease has swept over Europe since the Armistice, crossed the Atlantic, and invaded our own land. This new form of epidemic is vividly described in the *Atlantic* for May by the English journalist, Sisley Huddleston:

- The diagnosis of the malady is not difficult. There is, first, this crazy seeking after artificial amusements, generally of an unpleasant kind; there is a love of display that runs to the utmost eccentricity; there is a wave of criminality; there is an unscrupulous profiteering, a cynical disregard of suffering, a mad desire to get rich quickly, no matter by what means; and there is a reluctance to do any genuine work. You can visit any capital, and you will find these characteristic stigmata. This pathological condition is certainly the legacy of war. Men's mental outlook has changed. Those who were sober, industrious citizens, content to rear up their families and to walk usefully and humbly in the world, are now stricken by the wild notion of having a "good time"; a good time that means the easy earning of questionable money, its prodigal dispersal, forgetfulness of the family, non-production of necessities, hopeless confusion and incompetence, which affects private as well as governmental persons, and a lowering of moral values, a debasing of intellect.

Continuity has been broken. All is in the melting-pot. The old landmarks have vanished. People were torn up by the roots. Their habits were shattered. Their beliefs were destroyed. Their very soul was melted in the fiery furnace of war, and molded and twisted into new shapes. To straighten it back will be a prodigious feat. They have trampled on their religion. They have abandoned those good prejudices which kept

society together. They have become cynical and selfish.

The demoralizing régime of war accounts for much of the present social discontent. As Mr. Huddleston puts it, the habit of soldiering develops unconcern for human life, one's own and the enemy's; disregard of property, one's own and one's neighbor's; disregard for the sanctity of women; disregard of Time and Eternity. The evils that have arisen from this "philosophy of heedlessness" can be eradicated only if we recognize the causes and apply ourselves resolutely to the cure.

Behind all the strikes and threats of strikes Mr. Huddleston finds no generous impulse, no spiritual stirring. It is all cold materialism. Everybody is profiteering. The contractors who can buy and sell at exorbitant profits are frankly unscrupulous. The manufacturer sells at a swindling price because he has had to deal with governments that took no heed of money, or with officials who corrupt. The worker naturally demands his share, for he has found that labor also is something on which a profit can be made.

What is worse is that in France, in England, in Germany, in Poland, the worker wants to dodge his work. That he should get a high price is permissible. That he should try to escape his obligations is another matter. He thinks no shame if he does not deliver the goods. He is in exactly the same moral position as the grocer who mixes sand with his sugar. I think it may

honestly be said that the worker is the last to succumb to this spirit of greed. Now the circle of social immorality is practically complete, and all grades, from the Paris landlord who has doubled his rent because there are not enough houses, the contractor who deliberately supplies shoddy material, the shopkeeper who cheats and robs his customers as a habit, down to the workman who demands the highest possible pay for the least possible work, are doing their best to live at one another's expense.

Mr. Huddleston has only the most scathing censure for the new rich of Great Britain. He refers to the findings of the Central Profiteering Commission, which revealed in some instances profits of 3200 per cent. One Lancashire cotton factory before the war earned \$40,000 a year in profits. During the war it reached \$200,000, then \$300,000, then \$600,000, and last year netted \$2,000,000. Factories are prospering as never before, and yet their products are almost inaccessible to the ordinary person. Shares of stock in one instance were bought at \$5 and sold at \$50. A new company had a capital of \$1,000,000 subscribed before it could be registered.

As to the wave of actual crime that has

swept over Europe, Mr. Huddleston cites with approval these reasons as set out by an English writer:

(1) That many men who had criminal instincts, but also a horror of killing, before the war are now more or less devoid of that horror.

(2) That many men who had embarked on a career of crime before the war were liberated from prison during hostilities, and entered the army, and that these are now free again to resume their depredations against society.

(3) That unemployment and the high cost of living have forced many men who would otherwise have been law-abiding citizens into criminality.

(4) That the general feeling of unrest which is permeating all classes is responsible for much crime.

In addition, it is found that nervous diseases, which it would be difficult to diagnose, are prevalent. Many men when closely questioned by Mr. Huddleston confessed that it was a year or so after the war that they first felt "a strange depression, a lowering of vitality, a mental and moral degeneration." Mr. Huddleston can only conclude that, turn where one will, one finds only that the war has worsened mankind.

THE RACIAL CHALLENGE FROM EAST TO WEST

ACCORDING to the English writer and student, Mr. Basil Mathews, writing in the *London Review of Reviews*, the destinies of world civilization are to be put to still another test, which may prove even more momentous than the World War from which we have recently emerged.

At the beginning of his article Mr. Mathews cites the declaration of a great Japanese statesman, early in the war, that that stupendous conflict was the beginning of the end of European civilization. The next scene in the world's history, said this Japanese prophet, would witness the decay of the West and the rise of a new and dominant civilization in the East. Mr. Mathews proceeds to examine the several considerations that lie back of this startling assertion:

When war broke out in 1914 five empires of the despotic military type remained on the earth's surface. They were the German, the Austrian, the Turkish, the Russian, and the Japanese. To-day four out of the five are smashed in irretrievable ruin. Japan alone remains. The old European order has gone—the

one Asiatic power, rich now beyond the dream of avarice, with its man-power unimpaired and its ambitions vaster than those of Alexander, leaps upon the stage fully equipped. On the face of it, then, the first and dominant facts of the world situation are in favor of the Oriental statesman-prophet whom I have quoted.

You may trace back through recorded time, and you will not discover anywhere (even after the fall of the Roman Empire) a scene which in range and in awful significance can eclipse or even parallel this amazing reality that lies before our eyes. A third of the human race has lost its old rule. From the Rhine to the Pacific Ocean, from the Baltic to the Persian Gulf, the Teutonic, the Slavonic, the Turanian, and the Semitic peoples stumble bewildered and maddened amid the crashing *débris* of their broken civilizations. Hundreds of millions of people are without a settled state—sheep without a shepherd, men without a master-word to guide their confused and disordered lives through the chaos and darkness.

The fifth empire, then, remains as protagonist in the contest for the mastery of the Pacific. The mastery of the Pacific, it is conceded, means the leadership of the human race. This English writer is convinced that

the center of gravity of the world's politics is swiftly moving from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This fact seems to him the key to a multitude of issues that perplex and bewilder the British mind. He says that the British mind is slow to grasp the fact that the mind of America is even more absorbed in the problem of her Pacific coast than in what is going on in Europe. As Mr. Mathews puts it, "When America talks of not wishing to be tied to European policies, or asks for a big navy, we think of Europe and the Atlantic; she thinks of Asia and the Pacific, and we must think that problem through with America from that point of view before we begin to criticize her."

The facts of the Pacific scene, as Mr. Mathews visualizes them, are these:

First the rise of the power of Japan which we have already visualized.

Secondly we see China, as the vastest reservoir of soldiering and of labor on the surface of the earth. We see there a race of some five hundred millions of people, hardy, industrious, careless of death; with high capacity for organization, and with the most tremendous resources of coal, iron and all other mineral products that remain in the world. China has enough good coal to supply the whole human race at its present consumption of a billion tons a year for a thousand years; and alongside the coal, great iron deposits. Already she can make pig-iron and transport it to America at rates that enable the American steel manufacturers who purchase it to compete with the Bethlehem and Pittsburgh steel kings. China, for long an Empire protected by exclusive traditions in an age-long conservatism, is now a Republic open to the flow of world-tides.

If, in a war, an enemy started killing Chinese soldiers at a million men a year, and if China were using ten per cent. of her population in that war, it would take fifty years to destroy her first armies, and in that period two further Chinese forces of fifty million each would grow up to confront their enemy.

The third factor is Russia, which (one view of future developments, the idea of a crescendo of competing ambitions) we might think of as being organized and controlled by a new Prussia to realize in the Far East the ambitions now lost by Germany in Africa and the Near East. Russia abutting on the North Pacific is, and inevitably always will be, one of the dominating factors in the Pacific situation.

Opposite to these stand, fourthly and fifthly, America and Britain, which cannot conceivably hold back from immediate active interest in the developments of the nationalities around the Pacific.

Mr. Mathews clearly sees the problem that presents itself to the American mind (and he says it will have to present itself to the British mind also), how far can the flood of emigration of the Asiatic come into our terri-

tories without submerging the type of civilization for which we stand?

The Asiatic fought with the Allies through the war and refuses to be excluded from free life in Western lands. The development of a racial consciousness in the Far East seems to Mr. Mathews to be a matter of more moment for the future world history than any other fact in the world to-day.

The tremendous challenge which the dilemma presents lies in the fact that while on the one hand we cannot permanently resist the will of 500 to 600 millions of people, yet, on the other hand, there is a real peril, if we surrendered to their desire for unrestricted immigration into our lands, that our civilization, which after all has some very precious things in it, would be submerged and lost under Asiatic civilization. To accept is impossible; to resist is world-suicide. Such is the dilemma. What is the solution, if there be a solution?

Literally, if the militarists of Asia triumph we are on the eve of world-suicide. Certainly Europe and all that we have laboriously built up in the centuries since Rome fell will go down in ruin. Probably America will be swept too by the terrific floods of Asia, before which all landmarks will be swept away and submerged.

What are the bases for such a view?

They are based on the fact that militarist ambition in the Far East will inevitably breed war. But we have already seen that not only the six hundred millions of China and Japan, but all Russia (and maybe Germany), the British Empire and America (*i. e.*, all the English-speaking peoples of the world and India and Africa) will be involved in any war in the Pacific.

What a hideous travesty and mockery of human hopes it would be if we had only cast the devils of militarism out of Central Europe to find them rushing the maddened millions of Asia down the Gadarene steeps of inter-racial war into the sea of barbarism!

Thus far the views expressed by Mr. Mathews might be regarded as distinctly alarmist. In the concluding part of his article, however, he presents an alternative aspect of the situation which seems to him "Not too splendid to be realized." This alternative view is that with the triumph of the democratic leaders of Asia we shall be on the eve of a world order of international and inter-racial coöperation full of unmeasured good; and in both China and Japan Mr. Mathews has discovered groups of leaders representing the humaner, progressive, democratic type, who stand as to foreign policy for an international ideal of comity and coöperation and in home policy are out for a progressive, democratic educational development of the proletariats of their respective countries.

WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS

MR. HOWELLS has long been the recognized dean of American letters, yet his death, on May 11, came before most of us had begun to think of him as an old man. He himself was almost the only one who remembered that he was an octogenarian. He wrote about it in *Harper's* for December last—an essay full of wise and kindly comment on old age and death, closing with these words:

Whence is death, and out of what awful void or whither? All along the line of living, from the moment of birth, when we first catch our breath and cry out in terror of life, Death has set his signals, beckoning us the way which we must go. Kind Science knows them, but will not let us believe they are what they are, and Nature laughs them to scorn, because she is our fond mother. "Oh, that is nothing, is it, Science?" she cries at our alarm, and Science echoes, "Nothing at all, Nature; or if it is anything it is proof of superabounding vigor, of idiosyncratic vitality." Very likely; but quite the same, all the men born of women must die in a destined course; every man of eighty and after must die as certainly as the new-born babe, or often sooner, or, if not, certainly in the event. It will not avail against the fact whether we pray and praise, or whether we eat and drink; the merciless morrow is coming. But why call it merciless? No one knows whether it is merciless or not. We know that somewhere there is love, the love that welcomed us here, the love that draws us together in our pairing, that our children may live, the love in our children which shall see that their fathers and mothers do not die before their time, even if their time shall be delayed till eighty and after.

A few months before those sentences were printed, his friend and colleague, of almost the same age, Henry Mills Alden, had written on the intimacy between life and letters as exemplified in the writings of Howells (the *Bookman*, July, 1919):

It cannot be said of any writer of genius that his environment accounts for the quality of his work. That is determined by his personality and by the unfathomable implications of that personality, hidden in the mystery of heredity. But in a peculiar sense as compared with other writers, Howells's environment, summed up in the impressions made upon his sensibility by things of time and place and by human contacts, serves as a constant and faithful guide to the imaginings embodied in the eighty-nine volumes published since 1860—exclusive of some two hundred "Easy Chair" essays, and a number of his most characteristic short stories that have not yet found their way to book publication.

Did ever bibliography and biography have so close coincidence? Some of these volumes are at once literature and frankly biographical—like

"My Literary Passions," "A Boy's Town," and "Years of My Youth." But the others impress the reader as being just as directly drawn from living experience and observation. From the first, to use his own expression, he "hungered to resemble all life to literature."

How this human quality in the writer moulded his writing is brought out in the latter part of Mr. Alden's article:

In its maturity his style, in essay or in story, has been charmingly modulated to the tone of conversation—partly for companionable intimacy of communication, but chiefly as indicating the modesty and tolerance generated by profound and pervasive human sympathy. Out of his heart, truly, are the issues of his life; and his feeling of life is so real as to exclude sentimentality and romanticism, though neither sentiment nor romance.

The *Outlook* of May 19 reminds us that Mr. Howells himself expressed his ideal at a dinner given in 1912 in honor of his seventy-fifth birthday:

"All of human life has turned more and more to the light of democracy, the light of equality. Literature, which was once of the cloister, the school, has become more and more of the forum and incidentally of the market-place. But it is actuated now by as high and noble motives as ever it was in the history of the world; and I think that in turning from the vain endeavor of creating beauty and devoting itself to the effort of ascertaining life it is actuated by a clearer motive than before."

After speaking of the great number of books, essays, poems, travel papers, and short stories that Mr. Howells put forth in his long life, the *Outlook* makes this comment:

A large part of Mr. Howells's books are almost as enjoyable to-day as when they were written. If any of our younger readers are unacquainted with them merely because the best of them appeared thirty or forty years ago, they will secure genuine enjoyment and entertainment by passing over some of the ephemeral "best sellers" of the day in favor of, say, "The Lady of the Aroostook" or "Out of the Question" for lightness of touch, of "Silas Lapham" for strong and deep character drawing, of "A Hazard of New Fortunes" for a protest against social injustice, or of "Venetian Life" as a picturesque and animated description of life in Venice as Mr. Howells saw it when he was American Consul there.

The old debate between realism and romanticism in fiction found Mr. Howells ranged on the side of realism. But he never interpreted realism to exclude imagination, much less humor. He interpreted life as he saw it, but he well knew that fancy, idealism, and romance itself may be a part of reality. Aridity was not a part of realism as he practiced it.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE'S CENTENARY

THE one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Florence Nightingale, whose service among British soldiers in the Crimean War gave the first great impetus to the modern nursing movement, was very generally observed on May 12 in America as well as in England.

The authorized biography of Miss Nightingale, by Sir Edward Cook, was published in 1913. In the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for January, 1914, there appeared a review of this book, from which a few paragraphs may be appropriately reproduced at this time:

The real Florence Nightingale was very different from the legendary one, and much greater. Her life was built on larger lines, her work had more importance than belonged to the legend.

The story of Miss Nightingale's early years, we learn from this biography, is that of the building up of a strong and sweet character. This girl, of unusual natural ability, having found an ideal, was "thrown into revolt against the environment of her home." In spite of all obstacles and the temptations of circumstance, she had already "served her apprenticeship" when the call to the Crimea came. This was not a call to "sacrifice," but the fulfilment of her dearest wishes for a life's activity.

The popular imagination pictures Florence Nightingale at Scutari and in the Crimea as "the ministering angel," and such in very truth she was, but the deeper significance of her work in the Crimean War lies elsewhere. It was as administrator and reformer more than as angel that she showed her peculiar powers. Queen Victoria, with native shrewdness and a touch of humor, hit off the truth about Miss Nightingale's services in the Crimea in concise words: "Such a clear head; I wish we had her at the War Office." She may also be accounted, if not the founder, yet the promoter of female nursing in war, and the Red Cross societies throughout the world are the direct outcome of her labors in the Crimea.

From a sickroom in the West End of London Miss Nightingale played a part—and a much larger part than could be known without access to her papers—in reforming the sanitary administration of the British army, in reconstructing hospitals throughout the world, in founding the modern art of nursing, and in setting up a sanitary administration in India.



TWO FAMILIAR PORTRAITS OF MISS NIGHTINGALE
(The first as a nurse in the Crimean War, and the other from the painting by Sir William Richmond in 1887)

For forty years Miss Nightingale worked at Indian questions. She practically founded the Indian Sanitary Commission of 1859-63, "and the measures taken in consequence of its report were the starting point of a new era of sanitary improvement for the army." From the reform of sanitation and hospital nursing, she turned to the reform of work-house nursing, and "certainly deserves to be remembered as a Poor Law reformer in every respect." Meanwhile she continued her interest in general army nursing. She was instrumental in bringing about better conditions in the Franco-Prussian War. Henri Dunant, the Swiss physician, to whom the Red Cross Society owes its inception, said, in 1872:

Though I am known as the founder of the Red Cross and the originator of the Convention of Geneva, it is to an Englishwoman that all the honor of that convention is due. What inspired me to go to Italy during the war of 1859 was the work of Miss Nightingale in the Crimea.

During subsequent wars all over the world Florence Nightingale was ever ready to aid and always succeeded in mitigating the sufferings of the sick and wounded. After 1872, the year in which, as she herself put it, she went out of office, she devoted herself to literary work and study. When, on August 13, 1910, she passed away, she had lived ninety years and three months. She was buried simply near her old home in Hampshire.

CURRENCY, FOREIGN TRADE AND EXCHANGE

THE Japanese financial panic has called sharply to mind the conditions of trade and finance among the nations as a result of the World War, and Edward A. Bradford takes occasion in the *Times* (New York, May 9) to comment on some aspects of world finance in a refreshing and timely manner.

There is no way, he says, of controlling issues of paper credit except by testing them by convertibility into gold. He differentiates the financial and commodity markets, stating the former to be the surface exposed to the irrationality of panics, while the latter are the controlling, underlying influence. The complexity of assembly and distribution of raw and finished products is baffling and does not appear on the ticker tape, which, he says,

carries only prices of titles to property, whose capacity of production or distribution does not vary with the quotations of the titles. . . . Even quotations of international exchange come little nearer to the heart of the matter. . . . The particular thing to remark is how the exchanges are corrected by security spasms. It would seem as though finance controlled trade. The reverse is true, nevertheless, and that is best learned by study of the history of the first nation (England), which, after using inconvertible, depreciated paper, resumed specie payments without repudiation. . . . But in the only two cases on record (England and America) the resumption of specie payments became possible only by commercial panics, and falls in prices worthy the name of panic. How the world may resume specie payments without that cruel experience is the problem of our times. Our particular part of the problem is to play as small a rôle in that panic as may be practicable.

International trade is the avenue for the resumption of specie payments for the world, preferably by coöperation. Most of the world is on a paper basis, with no premium quoted for gold. Frank admission of the depreciation of currency, measured by the gold premium, will result in lesser fluctuations of foreign exchanges than those now observed. The next step is to get rid of the idea that fluctuations in exchange depend upon the balance of trade. No alteration of discount or exchange quotations can make currency convertible into specie. The depreciation of foreign exchange now reflects the depreciation of currency, not the unbalance of trade. For currency depreciation the only remedy is convertibility. Paper drives

out gold as long as it is in possession; and, to make room for gold, must be withdrawn. Retirement of currency by bonds or taxes is the answer to withdrawing paper.

Czechoslovakia issued bonds at one per cent. interest, because even that low rate made bonds more stable than the constantly depreciating currency. Cutting down the paper circulation cuts down speculation, because when there is no more currency than commerce needs, commerce will command it; but where there is an inconvertible surplus it cannot be exported, and goes into speculation. Making currency convertible brings a check to both exchange and to speculation; but neither taxes nor bonds are effective with inconvertible currency. Mr. Bradford says:

When currency is convertible any surplus is exportable, and any deficiency is importable. The exchanges are corrected by altering the currents of trade through the effect of the export of currency (converted into gold) on prices.

We in America are not compelled to import more goods than we export; but the opposite is true in all other countries, which are unable to attract gold because of it. Gold will not come to them if they can bid for it, until their currency is convertible. That will not occur until more than twenty years. There should be a distinction between the exchanges of currencies and goods. The goods exchanges constantly tend to equality, currency to inequality if either currency is depreciated. To the extent of the depreciation the exchanges are falsified as well as obscured. Mr. Bradford remarks:

If the currency and trade exchanges are unequal, there will be reluctance to allow foreign balances to remain abroad and a difficulty about bringing them home without loss. The result is to promote a desire and tendency to bring home goods instead of currency, for there is no discount on goods. Thus the price of goods and bills of exchange are coupled in a relation, the bills tending to fall until they can be turned to profit by the purchase of goods on which there is no discount. That is the meaning of the correction of the exchanges by trade.

A century ago, England discovered that paper circulation had no reference to the state of exchange; now we discover that the state of commercial exchange—the balance of trade—is not more important than the paper

circulation. Mr. Bradford does not think we will soon have an excess of imports, as when we were importing capital; nor will other countries soon have convertible currencies. There will be an excess demand for New York exchange to pay the interest on our foreign credits, with occasional constrictions of credit and securities. If such "panics" hasten the reestablishment of the gold standard and convertibility of currencies in solvent nations, they will be wholesome if severe. Investments abroad may hasten the correction of exchanges, if the terms are attractive enough to produce active buying here of foreign securities, and this to the

probable enrichment of the American buyers.

An American dollar to-day will buy more gold in New York than could be obtained in London if a premium on gold were quoted, and this whether the gold (which cannot be obtained or exported in England) were purchased with greenbacks or with "Bradburys" purchased with sterling bills of exchange. Therefore, the exchanges are unbalanced through currency as well as through trade. When we can convert our gold into currency and buy a foreign bill of exchange convertible into the same amount of gold, and it can be brought here if desired, the exchanges will be equal.

EX-PRESIDENT POINCARÉ'S COMMENT ON THE SUPREME COUNCIL

IN the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for March 15th, the last paper surpasses in interest, on many accounts, any that has recently appeared. "Raymond Poincaré, of the French Academy" prints the first of his regular "Fortnightly Chronicles"; a semi-editorial feature long familiar in this venerable periodical. The following numbers are and will be taken up, naturally, with details and passing events of more momentary interest, even to the French themselves; but here the ex-President of the greatest and freest of republics, except our own, with frank use of his own official experiences, takes a large general view, clear if not always calm, of world-conditions, every part of which is stimulating and illuminating.

Moreover, with all the Gallic grace and sense of form, he holds even the foreign reader, without consciousness of effort, absorbed from beginning to end. Coming at the close of the war period and just as his successor takes up in earnest the restoration of devastated and impoverished France, this utterance has much of the impressiveness of a Washingtonian Farewell Address.

The disappearance of party lines, the instant union of all classes for the defense of France at the outbreak of the war, is im-

pressively sketched. It is recognized that partisanship is now again inevitable, but the hearty union of all for the largest welfare of the state is quite as vital as six years ago.

Here the very words seem a conscious echo of Aristides to Themistocles, when Athens itself was in the invader's hand: "Let our rivalry hereafter be only as to which shall do the most for the fatherland."

The mention of M. Deschanel's "all but unanimous" election tactfully ignores the Clemenceau incidents. It is emphasized that this unpartisan head of the state must be treated, like a constitutional king in England or elsewhere, as the personification of the nation itself and of all its continuous historic ideals. And in this connection occurs a passage which will compel deep thought in every serious student of our own Constitution—not least by the calm bracketing of ourselves

with Mexicans and Venezuelans!

In both Americas, the President is a politician; his election is the outcome of a great conflict between opposing opinions; it marks the victory of one great organization over a rival organization; it inevitably leaves behind it discontent and bitterness. The President, whatever may be his worth, his moral authority, and his position in the country, still has his adversaries, who do not disarm, and if he were tempted to forget that he



M. RAYMOND POINCARÉ
(Former President of
France)

is, before all else, the representative of a party, his friends would be at hand to recall it to his mind.

He is head of the government, and at the same time head of the entire state; with the prerogative and the responsibility, the advantages and handicaps, of both.

The writer is evidently thinking especially of Mr. Wilson's continuance in the Grand Council, and his practically solid partisan delegation to the Peace Conference, even after his partisan appeal for support here at home had been answered with the return of a hostile majority to both houses. "As head of the state," says M. Poincaré indirectly, "I, like the English and Italian kings, took no active share in the international debates and decisions; as heads of their governments, a great French statesman like Clemenceau, and his Italian colleague, disappeared the moment they ceased to speak for a Parliamentary majority." And later passages, no less tactful, reveal how deplorable he considers the present results of such an undemocratic anomaly to be.

There is, indeed, in the whole utterance nothing more emphatic than the desire for

the end of the "Big Five," or "Four," or "Three," which has practically dwindled to hasty meetings of M. Millerand and Lloyd George, alternately in London and in Paris, though neither can properly be spared from his own capital and his own national government—to pass snap judgments, often reversed, on questions which only boards of experts can intelligently study.

The last words are:

Negotiations which should follow the regular (diplomatic) course, and which should be entrusted, under the general oversight of the government, to specialists, would be a hundred times more certain and efficient than this everlasting coming-and-going across the Channel. The peoples could be kept quite as well-informed about the sessions of diplomatists as on the meetings of the premiers. The heads of government would remain at their posts, guiding their colleagues. May the Supreme Council at last sleep in its final slumber! Its death will bring no sorrow, I think, to M. Millerand, nor to the Chamber, nor to the country!

No less frank is the treatment of such live subjects as the endless vacillation and delays over burning problems like the control of Constantinople and of Fiume.

OUR PURCHASE OF ALASKA

AFTER the lapse of more than half a century there is still not a little mystery surrounding the purchase of the Territory of Alaska by the United States from Russia. In the current number of the *American Historical Review* Mr. Frank A. Golder tells the story of the transaction, not hesitating to disclose some discreditable conduct on the part of members of the American Congress, and concluding that "Russia sold Alaska not out of enmity to England, not out of friendship for the United States, but out of the desire to get rid of a territory which had become valueless and burdensome."

On the other hand, just why the United States bought Alaska is not quite so clear to Mr. Golder. It was not done, he thinks, with the object of catering to the Pacific Coast states or of pleasing Russia. Mr. Golder maintains that in reality no one but Secretary Seward was deeply interested in the purchase of Alaska, and the question is, why was he eager to buy? Stoeckel, the Russian agent in the transaction, did not think that Seward's object was merely that of a far-sighted statesman who saw the political and economic importance of the territory. It seemed to

Stoeckel that Seward was interested in the purchase because he hoped that it would bring him once more into popular favor.

Some of the correspondence of Stoeckel with his government throws an interesting sidelight on the reputation that Uncle Sam had in those days in so distant a country as Russia. At one stage in the negotiations for the sale in the spring of 1868 Stoeckel thought that the case was almost hopeless and asked for additional instructions from his government. As far as he could see there were only two dignified courses to pursue: (1) To tell the United States that Russia had done her part, and that if the United States were unwilling to pay for Alaska, they could have it without paying; (2) To send a strong but a courteous note which would touch the American pride. The Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs wrote a reply which was approved by the Czar favoring the second of these courses but not the first for fear that the offer would be taken up! He said: "But you should not say a word about the cession without compensation. I consider it imprudent to expose American cupidity to this temptation."

MARK SULLIVAN, REPORTER

IT is an honorable title that George Creel accords to Mark Sullivan in *Collier's* for May 15th. He calls him the Last of the Reporters. First and last Mr. Creel himself has known something about reporting and reporters, and certainly reporters have found Mr. Creel good "copy." He may be regarded as an expert on the subject, and his characterization of Mr. Sullivan is worthy of note.

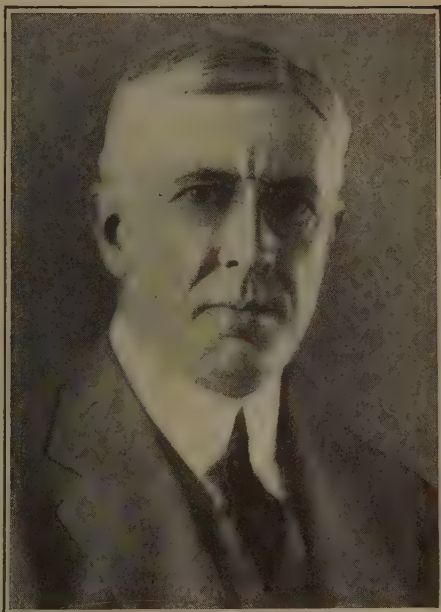
Mr. Creel thinks it strange that the magazines are always telling how money is made, but never printing articles showing how public opinion is made. Yet the maker of public opinion is obviously much more important than the mere maker of money. The men who write for the great dailies and national periodicals have power to form the thought of the people and to influence public action. Yet we know little about them as individuals.

When Mr. Creel says that Mr. Sullivan is the Last of the Reporters, what does he mean by reporter? Let him answer the question:

By reporter I mean one who is willing to give time and energy to the pursuit of facts, and who presents these facts without bias and without color, leaving it to the reader to draw his own conclusions and to form his own opinions. Always an important function, it was never more so than to-day, when a thousand and one intricate problems of reconstruction press for intelligent decision. Yet at the very time when good, honest reporting is virtually a necessity, the reporter elects to list himself among the missing. In his place we have Opinionists, men who have small interest in facts, choosing to deal entirely in Conclusions, Charges, Persuasions, and Cocksure Certitudes.

So it is that only Mark Sullivan remains. First, last, and all the time, he is a reporter. Facts are his hobby. They draw him as anise seed does the hound. As a matter of fact, the *real* reporter must have the hound note. The quality of persistence, the obsession of the pursuit, the iron exclusion of everything but the scent that is before him—these are essentials. The man who is trying to serve a cause or to save a friend has no business in the reporting game, for facts have a way of being brutal. Their development, regardless of the consequence in terms of personal hurt, is an important and necessary public service; nevertheless, it is a cold-blooded business.

Sullivan's father and mother came from Ireland and settled in Pennsylvania. Young Mark was born and reared in a Quaker community. Irish blood and Quaker environment meant conflict, and Mr. Creel assumes that the flame of this conflict, burning out eventually, left Sullivan cold. It is this



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MARK SULLIVAN, WHOM MR. CREEL CALLS "THE LAST OF THE REPORTERS"

very quality, says Mr. Creel, that gives Sullivan some of his greatest values. "When he writes he seems to have no friends, no party, and no creed. His stuff has a cutting edge that turns aside for nothing."

Another thing that stamps Sullivan as a reporter, setting him apart still farther from the writers, is unobtrusiveness. One can read his articles year in and year out without gaining the slightest idea as to the Sullivan personality. In the majority of writing to-day the high spot of color is the writer himself. He is more concerned in having you think about him than he is in having you think about his article. He meets you at the first paragraph, bows you in, follows you persistently from sentence to sentence, and at the end you have the feeling of having had a personally conducted tour. Sullivan never obtrudes himself. When you enter the front of the article he slips out the back. He lets nothing interfere with consideration of the facts that he has gathered for your information.

When Sullivan was only eighteen he became owner of a half interest in a daily paper in Phoenixville, Pennsylvania. After four years of newspaper experience he went to Harvard, where he remained seven years, receiving his A. B. degree and completing a course in the Law School. After three

years, however, he joined the staff of *Collier's Weekly*, and has ever since devoted his entire interest to journalism. He did a brilliant piece of reporting in Europe in the summer and autumn of 1918, and later he rendered a similar service in connection with the Peace Conference. In regard to this latter task Mr. Creel's comments are illuminating:

Reporting the Peace Conference was the job of the press. And the press fell down on the job because the majority of these correspondents were not reporters. They opinionized, conjectured, attacked, and defended, but only in a few notable instances did they give time and effort to the collection of the facts that would permit the

people at home to pass judgment and to render decisions. Let us admit the difficulties of the task. The nations of the world were gathered to assess damages, to sit in judgment, and to rebuild the shattered foundations of civilization, and to add to the inevitable clashes of interest, a new idealism tested strength with the old conventions. Yet it was not an impossible task. No fact was in one piece, but the pieces themselves were in view, waiting to be put together. But this called for skill, intelligence, and even drudgery, and Opinionizing was the Easiest Way.

Proof of these statements is to be found in the articles that Sullivan cabled back from the conference. They went to the heart of the business and let people see the beats. In plain words, he reported. And this is his value. And it is a social value. A Mark Sullivan is a national asset.

CHAIRMAN HAYS ON THE PATRIOTISM OF PEACE

A STIMULATING discussion of the duties of citizenship in peace time is contributed to the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia) May 8th, by Chairman Will H. Hays of the Republican National Committee. Some of the passages are almost Rooseveltian in vigor of statement and homiletic intensity. Incidentally the article shows that a National Committee chairman of to-day may have a different conception of the claims of party on the individual citizen than was formerly entertained by men holding his position.

Mr. Hays makes it clear that in his opinion the chief danger now threatening the republic is the indifference of the average voter. Not only, he says, do men and women fail to do their duty in politics, but they will not even take the trouble to find out what that duty is. He laments the departure of the magnificent war patriotism, since no spirit of peace patriotism has come to replace it.

To the voter who claims that politics is a rotten game, Mr. Hays makes the same reply that Roosevelt made, times without number: "Politics is no more rotten than you will permit it to become. If you refuse to play, someone less worthy will take your place, and who is to blame?"

The business man who a few years ago said that politics was none of his business has learned this fact. For politics walked into his business in spite of him. And the business man soon found that it was his own business which was no business of his because politics had taken it away from him. It is a very human institution, politics, and if you don't help it to direct the country, then it is

likely to misdirect the country, and you along with it.

Furthermore, Mr. Hays insists that the modern politician really wants the aid and counsel of all straight-thinking citizens. He wants this aid not necessarily through altruistic motives. The far-sighted politician knows that the better the laws which his party gives the people the better will be his chance of being kept in politics so long as majorities rule the government. He wants the help of those citizens who know more about special things than he does.

The only kind of politics that Mr. Hays will recognize as successful politics to-day is the politics of faithful, honest, efficient, and economical administration. For this reason it is his dictum that we want more men in politics for what they can give, and not for what they can get.

There must be in this country two political parties, and both must be strong and virile. To which party a person belongs is of less consequence than that a person belongs to some party; that every citizen seeks for the truth, and finds it, and acts, and acts continuously.

Therefore, Mr. Hays' plea is for a patriotism in peace as well as in war. He insists that we need the patriotism of good citizenship at home and in business. Unless men will continually interest themselves in the practical politics of their communities, will in fact make their country's welfare their own business, we cannot have good government in this country.

THE MODERN MISSIONARY

DR. HOWARD S. BLISS, president of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut, who died on May 2 at Saranac Lake, N. Y., was widely known in the Near East. His father, Dr. Daniel Bliss, had founded the college and for forty years had been its guiding genius. Dr. Howard Bliss was himself born near Mt. Lebanon, Syria, and succeeded his father in the presidency of the college seventeen years ago. A graduate of Amherst College and the Union Theological Seminary, Dr. Bliss was a fellow of the Universities of Oxford, Berlin, and Göttingen. To his wisdom and patience is attributed the fact that throughout the war the college was never molested by the Turks. He had brought the institution to a commanding position in Syria, and its students, numbering about 1000, were drawn from all races and religions of the Near East.

An important article by Dr. Bliss, on the subject of "The Modern Missionary," appears in the May number of the *Atlantic Monthly*. In the introductory paragraph of this article he outlines impressively the unique influence exerted by the Syrian Protestant College among the non-Christian populations of the region, describing by way of illustration the annual celebration of Mohammed's birthday, in which the college officially joins with its Moslem, Druze and Behai students in the religious commemoration. Fifty years ago the college was opened by the elder Bliss to all classes and conditions of men without reference to color, nationality, race, or religion. Such has been its directing principle to this day. Yet the college is distinctly a Christian missionary institution. According to Dr. Bliss, the modern missionary "is certain that the Christian view of the world is so superior to all other views as to make it infinitely worth while to proclaim this view to the uttermost parts of the earth."

While holding this conviction in accord with his predecessors, Dr. Bliss rejects the once prevalent belief, that Christianity is the sole channel through which divine and saving truth has been conveyed. The missionary who accepts this conception obtains an

enlarged spiritual fellowship. He dares to seek out the truth in other faiths than his own and to become a fellow worker with "all men who are themselves seeking God and who are striving to lead others to God."

Thus seeking and thus working, he discovers with a new humility that, with very much to give, he has not a little to receive from men of other faiths: the mystical element so prominent in Eastern religions; a becoming reticence in the presence of the great mysteries of life; a sense of the nearness of God; a recognition of the importance of religion.

How does this wider vision affect the practical conduct of the missionary? Instead of contenting himself with exposing the error in the creeds of other men he tries to find the kernel of truth, of which even that error may be only a distorted expression. He continues to preach the truth as he sees it, but he no longer applies epithets or harsh phrases to non-believers. Such words as "heathen," "infidel," "heretic," "pervert," no longer have a place in his vocabulary. Furthermore, the missionary withholds arguments which he would not think fair or generous if applied to his own belief. In this matter, as in others, he tries to observe the Golden Rule.



DR. HOWARD S. BLISS
(One of the foremost missionary leaders in the Near East)

Coming in contact with men who are as convinced of the truth of their own faiths as the missionary is of his, his appeal to them must be upon the common basis of absolute fidelity to truth. He must strive to be unflinchingly, scrupulously honest in his own intellectual processes and habits. Our students at Beirut are repeatedly reminded of Coleridge's great aphorism, applicable to all religions as well as Christianity: "He who begins by loving Christianity better than truth will proceed by loving his own sect or church better than Christianity, and end by loving himself better than all." In all our classes, and especially in our Bible classes, there is a tradition of absolutely untrammelled inquiry; and woe be to the teacher who gives the impression that he is suppressing or fumbling question and answer, however blunt, embarrassing, or indiscreet the inquiry may seem to be. Indeed, a chief advantage which a college offers the missionary as a rich field for his activity lies in the fact that here he has as his constituency a picked body of youth, the future leaders of their lands, singularly responsive to the presentation of new moral and religious ideas and ideals, provided the appeal is made in as straight and honest and rational a way as other ideas are taught in the classroom.

In a final appeal to the church in America, Dr. Bliss asks that there be sent to the foreign field only men of "intellectual, social, and apostolic power: godly men, world-men, modern men, resourceful men, moulders of

civilization, who can get abreast of the width of the opportunity in these coming days of reconstruction in the world—men worthy of the weighty and glorious responsibility lying before them."

THE RHODES SCHOLARS AND FUTURE WORLD PEACE

THE plan of Cecil Rhodes for the education of young Americans and Australians at Oxford has appealed to not a few men of vision as a kind of herald or precursor of eventual world-peace. Writing in *Education* (Boston) for April, Mr. Ralph H. Bevan points out that the Rhodes plan of Oxford scholarship rests on the principle that friendship is the surest guarantee of generous compromise between peoples. In its practical operation he sees a weakness in the fact that the opportunities and international significance of the Rhodes Scholarships have not been appreciated, and so perhaps have not attracted the best material for future leadership among the young men of the United States.

Details are immaterial. It is necessary only that the value of the resource proposed be made clear to all far-sighted governments in order that by the prestige and financial resources of their support its essential features may be realized.

Any plan whereby qualification for the awful responsibilities of international statesmanship shall necessarily or unusually involve effective education in international sympathy and world patriotism—such a logical development to perfection of Rhodes' idea constitutes, on the soundest ethical and psychological principles, the most promising insurance against war.

Whether or not Rhodes' scheme is destined to become supplementary to a more complete project, the cause of peace must be further advanced in proportion to the number of Americans, with prospects of national influence, availing themselves of the Rhodes Scholarships.

Mr. Bevan directs attention to Oxford's new Ph. D. degree which, during the war, she decided to grant especially for the benefit of the Americans to divert to English centers of culture the stream hitherto flowing to German universities. This degree, in Mr. Bevan's opinion, will greatly enhance the personal advantages of the Rhodes Scholarships. Emphasis is laid, however, on the value of the scholarships themselves.

BUSINESS METHODS IN GOVERNMENT

IN the April number of the *Grinnell Review* (Grinnell College, Iowa), Governor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois gives an interesting summary of what has been done in his State to secure a wiser expenditure of the public moneys. The lessons derived from the experience of this one State might well be applied, as Governor Lowden suggests, in the operations of the Federal Government.

The great evil at Washington, as is well understood by all who have given thought to the matter, is the lack of any central agency whose business it is to prepare a financial statement of the actual needs of the state with its probable revenues for submission to Congress. Why could not a counterpart of the Illinois Department of Finance be instituted at Washington? Governor Lowden shows the reasonableness of this;

There each head of each bureau, of each division and of each subdivision, makes up his own estimate of expenditures for the coming year. It is human nature that he should exalt his own little subdivision of government. But there is no power to-day in the Treasury Department, which is charged with the duty of transmitting those estimates to Congress, to reduce a single item, to eliminate a single needless item.

Before the war, in the executive department of the government in the District of Columbia, there were something like thirty-two thousand civil service employees. That was a large enough number, I assume, for all the duties they had then to perform. It is true that when the war came on, new activities were created and new employees were necessary. Yet, a year after the war was over, the number of civil service employees in the District of Columbia alone, in the executive department of government alone, had gone up from thirty-two thousand to over a hundred thousand. The war had been over a year, war activities had been largely discontinued, the greatest army that was ever marshalled beneath

our flag had been largely demobilized, but there was no power anywhere in Washington to demobilize the army of civil service employees in the District of Columbia, and they were still occupying these temporary structures built to meet the exigencies of the war.

In recent hearings of the House Appropriations Commission it was disclosed that there are 42 different agencies of government scattered through the executive departments having to do with the administration of the public-health laws alone. As Governor Lowden points out, each of these agencies has its own overhead expenses, its own independent organization with overlapping functions, in competition with the other

agencies, with no general supervision, and necessarily with great waste and extravagance.

If the Treasury Department were made a real department of finance, somebody would find a way to get rid of forty-one of those agencies and concentrate the duties of them all into one, where it belongs. But until that happens, instead of having forty-two in another year we are likely to have more. We talk about there being ten departments of government in Washington; there isn't a living man who knows how many hundreds of independent departments of government there are in Washington. It is true that they may be thrown, without being related to the department, into some one or other of the ten departments, but so far as functioning goes, their name is legion.

MOTOR-TRUCK ROUTES IN THE UNITED STATES

OF the recent rapid growth of motor-truck routes in this country—a phenomenon of almost revolutionary economic importance—Miss Muriel Baily, writing in the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* (Washington, D. C.), says:

It took the world war, the combined cries of the hungry in our own and other lands, the falling off of actual agricultural production, the warnings of our public men, the rotting of food-stuffs in the fields, the criminal practices in the waste of crops for the maintenance of high prices, and the abnormal cost of living to compel recognition of the motor truck and its rightful position in the marketing of food.

When the war came with its sudden and almost incredible call for immediate supplies of every sort, our transportation system went just

so far and stopped. Embargo after embargo was issued by the railroads, and the freight rates rose steadily. Industries faced ruin, and the world struggled under constantly rising prices and diminishing food supplies.

It was then that the motor truck came to the rescue, 600,000 strong.

Why, with all of the planning and scheming, all of the logical deductions made along other lines, it had never occurred to the business world that a carrier capable of acting as an auxiliary between outlying districts and the fixed points of rail stoppages was vitally necessary argues either indifference or the belief that national production was so abundant that its handling did not need to be efficient. To be sure, the motor truck has only been in practical existence twenty years; but two decades is a long time to have so valuable an adjunct unused. Purely a utility, it did not appeal to the public fancy, and it was re-



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AN IMPROVED MOTOR-TRUCK HIGHWAY (A DANGEROUS CURVE AT THIS POINT HAS BEEN ELIMINATED) BETWEEN BALTIMORE AND WASHINGTON

garded as an enemy rather than an aid by railroad interests, and as a destroyer of roads by the suburbanites. But it came into its own in a blaze of glory.

As we are keenly aware, the end of the war failed to bring an end of high food prices. Analyses of the prices that now prevail have focused attention upon the excessive cost of transportation.

According to congressional figures the people of the United States have been paying more than \$500,000,000 a year in excessive costs for the transportation of food. The chief of the bureau of food and markets in New York City produced figures to show that two-thirds of every dollar is paid by the consumer to the present system of distribution. The people of that city pay 19 cents for the quart of milk for which the farmer has been receiving 4 cents. The California Fruit Growers' Association has stated that the average paid to the grower for four years has been \$1.60 a crate for oranges, for which the consumer paid \$4.80. Just 135 miles from the market in the Middle West the farmer received 60 cents per bushel for tomatoes, which subsequently sold for \$3. The farmer receives 75 cents for the leather in a pair of \$8 shoes.

These contrasts seem to be attributable, in large part, to the fact that the railways, with their obvious limitations, are not supplemented by efficient highway transportation. Motor transport, plus good roads, may be expected to relieve the situation partially.

It is not suggested that the average farmer could afford to own and operate a motor truck for his exclusive benefit.

So enormous an enterprise as bringing food-stuffs from the producers to the consumers can best be accomplished by collective or coöperative movements.

The efficacy of the motor truck for this task was recently tested in a demonstration which was undertaken by the United States Post Office Department. At 6 o'clock one morning a motor truck was loaded at Lancaster, Pa., with 18,000 eggs in crates, 1000 little chicks a day old, and started off for New York City, 180 miles away. At the same time a similar shipment was sent to the consignee by railroad. It took the truck twelve hours to reach New York. Four of the little chicks were dead and nine eggs were broken when the goods were delivered at the door of the consignee. The train shipment was four days in reaching Jersey City. It took another day to send a notice to the consignee that the shipment had arrived. He was then compelled to send his own truck to Jersey City for the shipment. When it finally reached his door thousands of the eggs had been smashed and half the chicks were dead.

The Federal Government is rapidly extending the use of motor trucks as a part of the parcel-post system, and Congress has recently appropriated \$100,000 for further experiments in this line.

Routes are now in operation, laid out through producing territory to important market centers, and the effort is being made to demonstrate the practicability of bringing the farmer into direct touch with the consumer, by giving an expeditious service at a reasonable cost for carriage, thus relieving other avenues of transportation, preventing wastage at the farm, thereby conserving other less perishable food products. It is believed that this will encourage increased production and at the same time insure a reliable market to the producer, and give the consumer the advantage of better and fresher products at less cost. Fifteen of these routes are now in operation, employing sixty trucks of from one to one and a half tons capacity, including reserve trucks, and fifty drivers. These routes cover over 2311 miles per annum. Some of them have been in existence long enough to demonstrate their value as revenue producers. A tabulation of the postal receipts of these routes from January 1, 1918, to May 31, 1918, shows gross postal receipts of \$152,237, with operating expenses of \$27,130 and a net profit of \$125,107, or about \$3000 per route per month.

There are now more than 600 motor-truck lines in operation not under the jurisdiction of the Government, and more than 150 of these are in California. Certain States have already been mapped into districts and each district mapped out into rural truck routes and over these dozens of lines are running, making money for themselves, for the farmers, and for the little villages around the central cities. These truck express lines send big motor trucks out on a regular schedule to cover a prescribed route. Anyone on any of these routes can have anything, from a package of needles to a tractor, delivered to him from any point on the line, and it will reach him the day it is ordered, and when the truck arrives the vegetables, grain, fruit, eggs, butter, and live stock of the farmer can be loaded and shipped away to market.

Last year 78,000 trucks were used in hauling farm products, showing a considerable saving to farmers in actual hauling expenses. For hauling in wagons from farms to shipping points in 1918 the costs average 30 cents a mile for wheat, 33 cents for corn, and 48 cents for cotton. For hauling in motor trucks or by tractors the average costs are 15 cents for wheat or corn and 18 cents per ton-mile for cotton. The average haul by wagon was 9 miles and the average haul by motor was 11.2 miles, while the truck could make 3.4 trips per day and the horse and wagon 1.2 trips. Farmers served by motor-truck lines state that this service enables them to dispense with one horse and one man in their work.

These motor-truck lines have also proved that nearly all products can be raised in the country adjacent to the communities, the better for their freshness and at decreased cost to the consumer and an increased reward for the farmer.

The chief obstacle to the success of these undertakings is the lack of good roads. Once, however, the advantages of motor routes are generally realized, it may be taken for granted that the necessary improvement of the roads will not be long delayed. The country will demand it.

THE ADVANCE OF BUSINESS RESEARCH

"RESEARCH" is the keynote to-day in the factory, department store, and wholesale center, as well as in the university laboratory. This had begun to be true before the great war, but undoubtedly the war did much to make clear to business men everywhere the value of scientific planning and accurate knowledge of facts as the basis for such planning. Not only has research been rapidly extended to the fields of production, but the managers of business enterprises have found it necessary to apply its principles to the methods of purchasing and selling goods, to market conditions, to prices and costs, and to the factors by which market fluctuations may be anticipated. The passion of the day among alert business men seems to be to get to the bottom facts of their business.

The president of a great corporation is said to have brought an argument to a close with these words:

You have your opinions about this matter and I have mine. My opinion is as good as yours and yours is as good as mine. Probably neither is worth anything. Get the facts and figures and let's decide the matter on facts and figures and not on opinion. Get enough facts and enough figures and they will decide any problem without argument.

An indication of the tendency to standardize research methods in all forms of business is the highly scientific treatment of the subject by Horace Secrist in the current issue of the American Statistical Association's quarterly publication. As to the application of scientific methods to present day conditions, this writer says:

Research implies a laboratory from which facts may be secured or in which they may be developed. Because of the frame of mind which the war developed and nurtured, business to-day, in many respects, constitutes an ideal laboratory. Merely as the result of daily operations, great masses of comparable facts which may be statistically expressed are currently developed. Some of these are crude, it is true—they are "in the rough." This is especially so in small businesses where accounting principles are neglected or ignored, or where competition, state control, or public necessity has not required comparable records to be kept. In the larger industries, however, where markets are wide and competition severe, and where large-scale production, utilization of waste, and the creation of by-products is the rule, the facts are far more nearly satisfactory. Not for all purposes, of course, for no business fact, however carefully prepared, is

equally good for all purposes. Definition, measurement, and use are interrelated; they cannot be divorced from one another. The field for business research is ready or in preparation; the sanction for research is daily being extended to private and public agencies. This sanction must neither be abused nor destroyed.

In the effort to standardize business facts Mr. Secrist adduces six prime requisites:

- (1) Statistical units must be homogeneous.
- (2) Statistical facts must be representative.
- (3) Facts must fit; they must be germane.
- (4) Facts must be stable, relating to purposes and conditions that are essentially uniform.
- (5) Both the facts themselves and the conditions of measurement must be comparable. Like can only be compared with like.
- (6) Facts must be essentially accurate.

In his book "Commercial Research," Dr. C. S. Duncan, of the University of Chicago, special expert of the United States Shipping Board, predicts a new era of coöperation and coördination and a greater stimulus on the part of business men in the use of scientific knowledge.

In the preface of his book Dr. Duncan says:

1. The immediate and primary need of business to-day is intelligent direction and control, individually, generally.
2. Intelligent direction and control of business can be had only by a better knowledge of business principles.
3. A better knowledge of business principles can be derived only from a careful and comprehensive survey of business facts.
4. To secure a careful and comprehensive survey of business facts is a problem for business research.
5. Therefore, the immediate and primary need of business to-day can be met only by business research.

This means, also, that the research work so well begun in the field of production should be carried over into trade, into buying and selling. The beginning and the end of every business enterprise is a marketing problem. The problems of marketing, therefore, like factory problems, must be isolated, abstracted, analyzed after the scientific method. More deliberate, concentrated, prolonged, and undisturbed thinking ought to be applied to business problems. They are of vital importance to success; they are fascinatingly interesting in themselves; their very difficult complexity is a stimulating intellectual challenge; the rewards which their correct solution offers have no determinable limit.

RAILROAD CONDITIONS IN SOUTHERN EUROPE

IN the *Revue Mondiale* (Paris) of April 15th, M. Géo Gérald, a deputy to the French Assembly, writes, with much graphic detail, an imperfectly unified paper under the somewhat misleading title: "The New Transportation Policy of the Allies." His prominence as president of the committees advocating the great express passenger and freight line from Bordeaux to Odessa, and also one from Switzerland to the sea at a French port, will orient the reader much better.

As is too common with French writers at present, while talking of pacific world-trade, there is a steadfast determination to isolate and bar out Germany, Austria, and Hungary from all participation therein.

A vivid sketch is first given of the German imperial policy of infiltration and domination, preparatory to the great war. Even the omnipresent German "hotel porters, traveling salesmen, governesses, were opening the roads for her soldiers and her cannons." It is conceded (or perhaps, rather, claimed) that the famous road to Bagdad began at Paris, and ran the first 400 kilometers on French soil. Yet it is described as "cleaving Europe in twain."

By bold hyperbole a similar function is ascribed to a minor link-line from Zurich and Lucerne to Milan, so not on Germanic soil at all; yet this, too, appears as a perilous crevasse, ramifying from Copenhagen to Brindisi, "splitting off" Eastern Switzerland, in particular, as a first insidious attack on the midland republic's mountain fortress.

The revival of these perfidious and deadly projects, it seems, is already revealed by each and every German "drummer's" appearance in a neutral or allied trading center! As to the Swiss-Italian artery, at any rate, the substantial grievance is that some three-fifths of Switzerland's export and import trade, especially with ourselves, has been through German, Dutch, and Belgian ports. Hence the immediate need for a "purely Swiss"—not French—outlet straight to the sea, preferably via Bordeaux.

Of course, no one now questions the finally and supremely political character of that mighty spearthrust at British India, the Berlin-Bagdad, or Hamburg-Bagdad highway. It might have so secured the East that the open struggle with England and her

allies, if delayed a few years longer, might actually have issued in a world-empire—with ourselves and Japan alone remaining as serious stumbling-blocks.

But hardly less national, at least in its real motives and eventual aims, is the present vision. There is even one carefully camouflaged paragraph on the margin of which "Albion," rather than "Nippon" or "Muscovy," is probably half-visible, to well-schooled Gallic statesmen's eyes at least:

An international system of transportation must be organized to the profit of the Allies only, and to serve essentially them alone. In its spirit and its results it must be utilized against any offensive activity not merely of the states which have actually upset the equilibrium of the world, but any that may hereafter seek to realize imperialistic dreams.

As at present planned, the most unsatisfactory feature seems to the writer to be a cut across a corner of Hungary; but the absence of any British station in the long line, Bordeaux-Milan-Trieste-Belgrade-Bucharest-Galatz-Odessa, is even more complete. It looks as if the ever-to-be-dreaded Alemanni were now at best, or worst, a feeble third in a jealous race for transcontinental trade.

The line is in some fashion already an accomplished fact, but many details as to equipment here revealed are truly pathetic, and must remind Americans of grounds for thankfulness, even to-day, with our freight piled high at every trade-center. For freight cars the Rumanians, for instance, have little save tanks intended for petrol. The query seems apposite: "When Mackensen was forced to leave the country he carried off 200 trains fully equipped; why has he not returned them? It is probable that the Magyars have hidden superior material (*i. e.*, rolling stock) in various places." Freight cars, once sent eastward of Laibach, it is complained, rarely return at all!

As to passengers, through tickets are sold only for the sleeping-car folk. The ordinary first-class passenger must count on being aroused at any unseemly hour by a demand from a new conductor, who speaks only his own language, for payment of fare in the coin of the new sovereignty over whose border the train has just glided. Dining-cars are practically unknown from the Slavic borders eastward, and at present would be

of little use on those stretches, because no fresh and suitable food supplies would be available.

There are many other broad hints of discomfort, delay, even uncertainty; and finally, lest the globe-trotter count too confidently on this route, we read, apparently referring only to express or, at least, "through" trains without changes:

Since April, 1919, some trial, or, as they are called, "sample" trains, have actually made the journey from France to Serbia and Hungary. The experience will be repeated at the demand of the representatives of the peoples whose lands are traversed.

A PLEA FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

IT is a commonplace observation that economy in the allocation of the public funds, as practiced by our more or less august body of lawmakers in Washington, is sometimes quite as expensive to the nation as the outbursts of extravagance that checker the career of the same body. Some cases very much in point were cited in the address of Secretary Alexander, of the Department of Commerce, before the Atlantic City convention of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. The Secretary's remarks are published in *Commerce Reports*.

Mr. Alexander reviews several of the major activities of his Department, and he shows how deplorably these have been hampered, in many cases, by the failure of Congress to recognize that, as the speaker puts it, "the greatest national economy is to facilitate the production of greater wealth." Pursuing this theme, he says:

Money appropriated for the Department of Agriculture, for instance, to make two ears of corn grow where one ear of corn grew before, results in a net gain to the wealth and production of the country many times the original expenditure. Likewise, if the Department of Commerce makes one spindle produce what two spindles produced before, makes one day of labor produce what it took two days of labor to produce before, the comparatively small appropriations that are necessary to carry on the scientific work that brought about this increased production will "bring forth good fruit" some forty, some sixty, some a hundred fold. Is it economy to save a few hundred thousand dollars in the appropriations for the Department of Commerce when this so-called saving will cripple the scientific and trade-promotion work that increases the production of the country by many millions of dollars?

The writer gives countless illuminating details, and has in some directions broad political and economic views. Most disturbing, though by no means unusual, is the grim underlying determination that no German-speaking community shall have any share whatever of international commerce. But what defense can be offered for a policy which, if ideally successful, would make of Mittel-Europa a desperate, seething inferno, cutting off all hope of real indemnification for the Allies' war-losses, and also requiring vast defensive armies to hem it in?

There is, perhaps, no single government establishment in Washington that yields a richer return on the money allotted to it by Congress than the Bureau of Standards; the approximate American equivalent of the National Physical Laboratory in Great Britain and the Physikalisch-Technische Reichsanstalt in Germany. Some of the activities of this branch of the Department of Commerce and the untoward conditions under which they are carried on, are thus described:

This country is endeavoring to build up the scientific-instrument-making industry. Scientific apparatus of all kinds and many of the materials from which they are constructed have heretofore been imported. During the war many such industries sprang up which should by no means be allowed to lapse into the former condition of things. Furthermore, nearly all industrial processes now depend upon scientific methods of measurement and demand measuring instruments in all fields of measurement. The demands upon the Bureau of Standards for the calibration and testing of such measuring instruments have increased enormously in the past four or five years. The facilities of the Bureau of Standards are absolutely essential in work of this kind, since it is one of the most important factors in commerce and manufacturing, as well as all branches of scientific investigation. The facilities of the bureau are entirely inadequate at present, and the coming year will find its resources much reduced.

The method of making purchases by competitive bids is absolutely necessary in public work of all kinds; but it is the worst method that could be employed if suitable specifications, methods of testing, and testing facilities are not available. All departments of the Government are united as never before in their efforts to place Government purchases upon a fair and businesslike basis.



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SECRETARY ALEXANDER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF
COMMERCE

Furthermore, it frequently occurs that business corporations and the public generally come to the Bureau of Standards for information regarding specifications and methods of testing. The value of this information given to the public is even greater than the actual saving to the Government by assisting it in its purchases. The Bureau of Standards has assisted the various departments of the Government in preparing specifications, developing methods of testing, and has served as a testing laboratory for the various bureaus in many ways. As such, its facilities have not kept pace with the demands, and the curtailment of the bureau's resources for such work during the coming year will have a very serious effect upon Government purchases.

The industries are realizing as never before the advantages of scientific methods and the method of scientific investigations. This has been greatly emphasized during the past five or six years. The new conditions under which the industries are being placed during this period have necessitated the adoption of many new materials, the modification of methods of manufacture, and even the establishment of new industries. The bureau has cooperated with the industries in many of the more important cases, and the value of this work alone would warrant the expenditure of the entire cost of maintenance of the bureau from its beginning. The bureau's own work depends for its quality upon scientific research of the highest order. The departments of the Government consult the bureau in such matters, and it has become, to a large extent, a scientific research laboratory in physics and chemistry

for the government service. In many cases several government bureaus have united in a request for the solution of a problem common to the work of each. Again, bureaus engaged in scientific research and technical work in their own fields come to the bureau for measuring instruments, the properties of materials, and scientific assistance. This not only increases the efficiency of government work but often results in great economy.

For the present year an appropriation of \$300,000 was provided for industrial research in cooperation with the industries. No fund ever appropriated for the bureau has resulted in greater benefit to the public. Many problems are now in progress which must be discontinued at the end of the present year, owing to the failure of Congress to provide a continuation of the fund in question.

An analogous situation exists in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, the work of which, says Mr. Alexander, has resulted in "two ships sailing from American ports where one ship sailed before." The appropriations for this Bureau are not half great enough to maintain efficient service on the part of its commercial attachés and trade commissioners abroad and its corps of experts in Washington.

In the statistical service of exports and imports, which issues the *Monthly Summary of the Commerce of the United States*, there has been no increase in the personnel to handle an increase of about 500 per cent. in the country's foreign commerce.

That it behooves American merchants to make vigorous representations to Congress in behalf of "the Business Man's Department" is perhaps most strikingly evidenced by the case of the "World Trade Directory." The needs of this enterprise are brought home to the American exporter in the following terms:

Another service that would mean many thousands of dollars' saving and also many hundred thousand dollars in sales to you is at present being handled by one clerk because of inadequate appropriations. This refers to the World Trade Directory of firms that is being compiled abroad through the cooperation of the Consular Service. Detailed information regarding the principal importers of foreign countries is coming into the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce from the consular and department officers. This is not a published directory, but a card index. From these cards trade lists, classified according to the nature of the business, are being prepared as fast as this one clerk can do it. On these trade lists is indicated not only the nature of the business but the relative size and importance of the firm in the community. The trade lists that are compiled in this way make it possible for you to know that every catalogue and every letter that you send out goes to a going concern.

WHY NOT A UNION OF SOUTH AMERICAN STATES?

SHOULD a United States of South America be created in imitation of the United States of North America? This question forms the subject of a paper contributed by Señor Félix Nieto del Rio to *Cuba Contemporánea*. He finds that the vision of such a state was present in the minds of many of the leaders of the War of Independence against Spain early in the last century, but even the great prestige of Bolivar was powerless to bring about the cohesion of the provinces now constituting Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia.

On the contrary, the divergencies of interest and of tradition already existent in the South American regions became more accentuated with their new freedom. Already variations of manners and customs had established themselves, because of the differences of climate and the intermixture of Europeans with the local Indian peoples. The greater or lesser fertility of the land has also had a marked effect on the character and qualities of the different nations. Indeed, there has been so little tendency to amalgamate, that no commercial union, no zollverein, has ever been established.

An old French proverb runs that "where there are two Poles we find three opinions," and Señor Nieto del Rio thinks this may well be applied to Latin Americans. Even the attempted combination of Argentina, Brazil and Chile, popularly designated by the initials A. B. C., failed to please the remaining countries, which saw in it the germs of an imperialistic policy on the part of the three leading South American republics.

The writer asks what advantages the proposed union would offer, and he declares he can see none for the Latin-American countries, either collectively or individually. Good results are not to be expected from a unity of sovereignty, but rather from commercial agreements and a strengthening of the political and intellectual ties that bind together the Latin-American nations.

Suppose that all South America could be formed into one immense republic, this new state would come into being without the resources necessary for the maintenance of its greatness and for the satisfaction of its legitimate aspirations to figure among the great powers. It would be born with congenital

defects difficult to eradicate. The emulation that now prevails among the separate countries, and which has caused many of them to make notable progress, would lose a great part of its force.

Neither would the projected union respond to any present or probable necessity. In the first place, the South American countries are not menaced by any danger for their territorial integrity, or their independence, from the attacks of a foreign power. Europe is incapacitated for campaigns of conquest for many years, and even were this not so it is improbable that any European country would wish to embark in such a wild venture. England, for example, instead of creating new colonies, is granting the greatest possible degree of autonomy to her old ones. Spain has been a gainer by the loss of America. Russia lies prostrate. France alone still seeks for expansion.

There remain Japan and the United States. Against the former the Latin-American nations can defend themselves and as regards the United States, the writer believes that if the professed adhesion to the Monroe Doctrine holds good, this country, instead of being a menace, should be a permanent guardian of the Latin-American republics, always provided that the policy of intervention which has been rather frequently practised in recent years, be abandoned.

All material conditions are opposed to a union. South America, with a territory twice as large as that of the United States, has no adequate lines of communication, and is also sparsely populated. Any government which sought to rule over such an immense extent of territory would lack the power to do so, and would be unable to make itself respected.

Moreover, the Indo-Latin race is harder to discipline than the Anglo-Saxon race. The spirit of individualism is stronger in it, and politics occupy too prominent a place. Trade and industry have not gained such a hold upon the people that the governments can act strongly and quickly, as is the case in the United States. And although political rivalries excite but too much interest, there is a general inability to comprehend the real significance of political questions, everything being looked at in the light of

partisanship and devotion to rival candidates. The craze for office-holding is highly developed—an old Spanish vice—and this interferes with liberty of action on the part of the rulers, who are constantly subjected to the intrigues of importunate office-seekers. Under these conditions it is easy to imagine how disastrous would prove the attempt to carry out a system of collective administration for the benefit of all the South American countries.

Those who favor such a combination confuse the brotherhood of the Latin-American

peoples, which is a heritage of their common origin, language and race, with a formal union of these peoples. The spirit of Latin Americanism is not opposed to the Pan-American spirit, but will never be supplanted by the latter. It is a historic fact, a sentiment which the Latin Americans cherish and cultivate, just as they will one day cherish and cultivate the sentiment of Pan-Americanism, provided this shall come to represent a whole-hearted devotion to the material and moral interests of the "Continents of Columbus."

WAS CHILE'S NEUTRALITY JUSTIFIED?

THAT Chile should have preserved her neutrality through the entire course of the World War has been made a subject of reproach by not a few of our countrymen. A clear and impressive statement of her reasons for maintaining this attitude is given by the Chilean Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Beltrán Mathieu, and published in *Cuba Contemporánea*. He shows that at the outset Chile simply followed the example set by the United States, and the ideas expressed by President Wilson, who as late as December, 1915, declared that "it was manifestly the duty of the self-governing nations of this hemisphere to redress, if possible, the balance of economic loss and confusion in the other, if they could do nothing more."

It should not be forgotten that in the early part of the war Chile, because of her extensive coast line, was forced to make strenuous efforts in order to protect neutral vessels from attack within her territorial waters, as for several months German warships were at large in the Pacific. At a later time, Chile remained neutral because the grave circumstances which changed the attitude of the United States were not operative in her case. Up to the end of the war she lacked even any serious pretext that could warrant her in making the sacrifice of sending an army to Europe and expending hundreds of millions of dollars for war costs.

The most critical experience Chile had in her defense of neutrality was probably in the matter of the German cruiser *Dresden*, which was attacked on March 14, 1918, in the neutral waters of Cumberland Bay, Juan Fernandez Islands, by the British warships *Glasgow* and *Kent*, and was blown up by her crew to avoid surrender. She had sought

refuge in the bay five days earlier, had been warned to leave at the expiration of twenty-four hours, and having failed to do so was notified that she was interned. When the circumstances were communicated to the British Government, Sir Edward Grey officially expressed its regret for the misunderstanding. The crew, which escaped, was interned by Chile, in spite of the German protest that it had been forced to land because of the British violation of international law. Thus Chile was here forced to defend her neutrality against both belligerents, and succeeded in doing so honorably and successfully.

While thus scrupulously preserving her neutral attitude, Chile nevertheless rendered a service of the highest importance to the cause of the Allies by her regular shipments of nitrates. No restrictions were imposed upon this commerce, nor was the price of the precious material unduly raised. Of the transcendent importance of the Chilean nitrates, a report of the National City Bank of New York declares that they served in a proportion not surpassed by any other substance in the victorious termination of the World War and the consequent vindication of the cause of liberty.

To this the writer adds the following commentary, that these nitrates are a Chilean monopoly, as Chile is the only country which produces this material. In time of peace, the nitrates serve to fertilize the fields, and have saved many nations from agricultural exhaustion; in time of war, they constitute a primal necessity in the manufacture of explosives. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to assert that Germany owes, in part, her defeat to the impossibility of securing an

abundant supply of this essential and cheap material for the manufacture of her explosives. At the outbreak of the war, it is stated that her stock of Chilean nitrate did not reach a million tons. An even more convincing testimony is given by the great German scientist Professor Ostwald, as cited by Waldemar Kaempffert, editor of the *Popular Science Monthly*. Some years before the war Professor Ostwald wrote:

If a great war should break out between the powers of the first rank, and one of them should succeed in preventing the exportation of nitrates

from the Chilean ports, this would render it impossible for its enemy to continue the war longer than its present supply of munitions should hold out.

After affirming his belief that Chile's neutrality was both legal and necessary, that it was a justifiable governmental measure, the Chilean Ambassador declares, in conclusion, that the pacific sentiment of the Chilean people and its intellectual traditions cause it to acclaim heartily the downfall of that militarism whose first victim was the German people itself.

SPANISH CRITICISM OF SOUTH AMERICAN LITERATURE

EDUARDO DE SALTERAIN HERERA (*Revista del Ateneo Hispano-Americano*, Buenos Aires) comments at some length on a symposium by various Spanish critics, assembled by *Nosotros* (Buenos Aires)—based on the following questions:

(1) Do you know the work of the earlier American authors: Olmedo, Bello, Sarmiento, Montalvo, Hostos, Andrade, Hernández—for instance? What is your judgment of their worth?

(2) Do you have any preference based on modern Spanish-American literature? Who are, in your judgment, the best American writers of the present day?

(3) Do you believe that, in this conjunction, American literature has expressed the new continent?

(4) What, in your opinion, are the most evident defects in the Spanish-American literature?

Of fifty-seven critics to whom this questionnaire was sent, but seven answered: Julio Cejador, Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, Quintiliano Saldaña, Salvador Rueda, José M. Salaverría, Emilio Bobadilla and Alberto Insúa (the last two are Latin Americans). Were the other critics silent because of indifference or ignorance?

Cejador says that Spanish-American literature owes its defects to (1) lack of classical study and (2) the imitation of French and Spanish literature, which leads to French and Spanish idioms. He holds that the true literature of South America should be "gauchesco" (a native of the Pampas is a "gacho"), not a pale reflection of European schools.

"Do not well-defined regions of native, definitely American literature exist? Does not Mexico have its own literature, and Colombia and the peoples of the River Plata

their several distinctive literary works? Can we group them all together? Can we even compare them? It is absurd for César Arroyo (in *Ateneo de Madrid*) to say, "Melancholy, graceful epigram, tenderness, tendency to hyperbole and over-emphasis are the characteristics of (South American) literature."

Rodó said, some years ago, "Rubén Darío is not the poet of (South) America." To even suggest that such a poet can arise is as impossible as that one poet shall represent all Europe! American literature is regional, affected by national sentiments and necessities.

Don Luis Arasquistain, of Madrid, recently stated that the Spanish character has deteriorated—wisdom and learning have been replaced by intolerance and ignorance. Perhaps this is true—that it is partly true is evidenced in the answer sent by Don Quintiliano Saldaña: "I hardly know the work of the old writers of Central and South America . . . since boyhood I have read Bello. . . . I find no new æsthetic rules in the perception of Andrés Bello, nor do his works impress me more or less than those of our neoclassicists." He blames this lack of knowledge to the fact that the Madrid Athenæum contains but few books by South American authors.

Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín complains that South American literature comes only at intervals and fragmentarily to Spain. (American readers will remember that the famous Brazilian novel "Canaan" has taken over four years to reach the United States—though translated into French almost at once.)

An appreciation of the magnificent Colombian poet José Asunción Silva is given by Don Miguel de Unamuno, a Salamancan professor. . . . "Silva sings, as a bird sings, but as a sad bird that feels the approach of death with setting of the sun." Silva's suicide he explains as "a crisis of nostalgia for his youthful days." His further assumption that Silva was merely a youth, his poems "torrents of spring," is incorrect.—Study and travel reformed Silva; his sadness was that of knowledge, not immaturity. His psychology, finally, was not composed of sentimentality or juvenile indecision, but of great strength—which critics fail to grasp because of his great simplicity. His great influence on Colombian literary thought is founded on his own efforts as a poet to better his country's literary standards.

Emilia Carrère Darío considers the following a criticism of Rubén Darío: "Rubén Darío is the only poet of Castilian lyric; the ennobler of verse, the wizard of rhythm, who has taught us that verse in itself is an artistic work. . . . he is infinitely greater than the old bards Zorrilla, Espronceda, Campoamor or Bécquer." Then again we note such a well-known critic as Cejador saying of Alfama " . . . he is . . . the most sincere and Castilian poet born in America."

Let us return to the charge that one defect of South American literature is its imitation of French:

"Gutiérrez, Nájera, Casal, José A. Silva especially, Darío in a particular and universally known manner, Guillermo Valencia in part of his work, Julio Herrera y Reissig with enthusiasm, Amado Nervo insensibly—some are affected with the spirit, others with the form of current French verse—while in Spain Machado,

Jiménez, Carrère and Bacarisse have come under the same spell."

And thus as in lyric poetry—which we speak of now—the torrent of French ideas has inundated the Spanish novel and drama of this time with the same impulse, overflowing the confines of the watercourses. Why, then, consider unwholesome the French influence which has strengthened (in Spain) the novels of celebrated authors?

Salaverría condemns the exaggeration in both words and thoughts that is common in tropical countries. (The Chilean critic, Vaisse, has warned the writers of South America against this fault of exaggerated rhetoric.)

Another broad-minded critic (E. Gómez de Baquero) says the inability to judge South American poetry and prose arises from "our lack of exact knowledge of the true state of spirit and culture in the young nations of America. We want them to be Spanish and they wish to be, and are, Latin in most cases. It is the obstinacy of the Spaniards that, moved by narrow and blind patriotism, desires that these peoples remain our spiritual provinces, though they no longer belong to us. It is a traditional, but a modern, not an exclusively national but a broad European mind that should be the point of contact between Spain and the American nations speaking our (Spanish) tongue."

It will serve no good purpose to have American literature disdained by the Spanish, or a contempt of Spanish letters in America. It is a bad sign when a traveling South American in Europe says: "At home we all speak Argentine."

The bonds between Spain and South America must be based on mutual understanding and affection.

SAVING THE FISH OF WESTERN RIVERS

YEAR by year the United States Bureau of Fisheries provides new gustatory experiences for our palates and unfolds a record of new undertakings fraught with the romantic interest that traditionally pertains to fish stories. In recent years the annual reports of the Bureau have had much to say about a novel variety of conservation work that is in progress in the flood basin of the Mississippi and its tributaries, and a popular summary of this work is presented in the *National Geographic Magazine* (Washington, D. C.), by the head of the Bureau, Dr.

Hugh M. Smith, United States Commissioner of Fisheries.

Several times every year, the floods of the great river produce temporary pools and lakes on the adjacent lands, and these waters are tenanted by myriads of young fish derived from the main stream. With the subsidence of the waters, the pools dry up, rapidly or slowly, according to their size, and the fish are doomed to destruction, unless rescued by man. They are, as will appear, too small for immediate use as food, but the condition of their growing to the proper size



A TYPICAL FISH-RESCUE SCENE ON THE MISSISSIPPI

(The rapid subsidence of flood water would make it impossible for any of the fish in this bayou to escape into the river)

for such use is that they shall be removed to the main river, or other permanent waters. The Bureau has embarked upon an extensive campaign of salvaging these fish and thus conserving the food supply of the nation. The main facts of the story are thus set forth:

Pursuing their natural instincts, the adult fishes at flood time leave the main channel and seek quiet back-waters in which to deposit their eggs. The eggs are laid under conditions that appear to be favorable for their development and for the hatching and growth of the young, and the latter may attain a length of several inches before the freshest begins to subside. With the recession of the flood waters, the adults turn their noses in the direction of safety and most of them ultimately reach the main stream. The young, however, fail to react promptly to the falling waters, and a very large proportion of them sooner or later are cut off and become permanently landlocked.

The temporary pools, ponds, lakes, and canals left by the subsiding flood waters are of various shapes, sizes, and depths. Some of them become dry in a few days; others may persist for weeks or months, while their water is gradually lost by evaporation and seepage; others, in smaller number, continue until winter, when they soon become solidly frozen.

The larger pools that survive the summer are often rich feeding grounds for the young fish, which grow with such amazing rapidity that many of them may attain a length of eight to ten inches by early November.

In any event, the fish contained in the landlocked waters necessarily die. The mortality may ensue quickly, as when a small pool becomes completely dry in a few days, or it may be gradual

and long drawn out, as in a pond or lake of some acres area.

The frightful conditions that prevail as the water becomes reduced and the fishes become more and more concentrated can well be imagined. The fishes' suffering from lack of water and air is usually aggravated by starvation, by the daily heating of the water by the sun's rays to a point that is almost intolerable and often fatal, by cannibalism, and by wading birds, snakes, turtles, mammals, and other fish-eating creatures from which there is no escape. The pools that persist until winter are so shallow that the fishes are killed by smothering, even if the water does not freeze to the bottom.

The annual task of rescuing these fish, though first undertaken some five years ago, did not reach complete development until last season, when the number of food-fish saved was determined, by an approximate counting process, to be 156,657,000. It is estimated that the proportion of these which will survive and eventually be caught for market represent a value of \$6,527,000.

The work of salvaging the fish is thus described:

It consists of netting the fishes from their unfavorable environment and depositing them in the open water of the Mississippi, and is accomplished by properly equipped rescue parties dispatched to the flooded districts from conveniently located bases or headquarters.

A Government fish rescue crew consists of six to eight men, who employ a small launch in going to their field of operations and in returning to their base. The necessary equipment comprises fine-mesh seines of various lengths, small

dip-nets, galvanized iron washtubs of one and a half bushels capacity, tin dippers, and a flat-bottom rowboat.

The seining crews begin their work each season as soon as the floods subside sufficiently to disclose conditions. The active operations, as a rule, begin in July and continue in a given section until the allotted task is accomplished or the waters freeze, usually early in December.

The size and depth of given waters determine whether the men shall set their seines by wading or from a boat. As the net is carefully hauled and bunted, the fish are sorted into tubs, then carried as soon as practicable to the nearest point at which open water may be reached and there liberated.

The cut-off waters are for the most part in the bottom lands on both banks, usually within a few hundred yards of the river. In some sections, however, where the surface configuration permits a wide lateral dispersal of the flood waters, the temporary ponds that demand attention may be several miles back. It therefore happens that, while under ordinary circumstances the seining crew can easily carry the tubs of fish to the place of deposit, sometimes teams and motor trucks are employed.

While by far the greater part of the rescued fish are placed in the Mississippi, small numbers are sent to more remote waters, where they serve the same purpose as do the product of the Bureau's fish hatcheries.

They are intended for replenishing depleted waters or for stocking newly formed lakes and ponds that may have no fish life or no suitable supply of food or game fishes.

Fishes as taken from the landlocked waters of the Mississippi Valley are not in a condition to stand distant shipment. It is therefore necessary to subject them to a hardening process before it is safe or wise to send them on a long railway journey. The hardening is done at several depots along the river, notably at La Crosse, Wis., and Bellevue, Iowa. At these and several other points are small buildings containing tanks in which the fish are kept, without food, in cool, clear, running water for several days.

The fish, then ready for shipment, are placed in large cans and loaded into railway cars, in which they make their journey in safety and comfort.

MEDICAL SERVICE FOR ISOLATED COMMUNITIES

WRITING in *Public Health Reports* (Washington, D. C.), under the title, "The Community Without a Physician," Dr. Robert Olesen, an officer of the U. S. Public Health Service on duty with the Wisconsin State Board of Health, tells us how a certain township in the extreme northwestern part of Wisconsin proposes to solve the perennial problem indicated in the foregoing title.

The importance of the problem requires no demonstration. Dr. Olesen says:

The Wisconsin State Board of Health is frequently in receipt of communications from bereaved parents and relatives, telling of their inability to obtain the services of physicians during the fatal illness of members of their families. Sometimes, too, a decided spirit of vindictiveness, for which the holder can scarcely be blamed, is manifested. It is not cheering to read such letters, for the writers are invariably convinced that timely medical advice and attention would have saved the lives of their loved ones. The writers of many of these letters are distinctly at a loss to understand why skilled physicians are not made available for all localities, regardless of their remoteness. They feel that the State should, when necessary, subsidize physicians and nurses so that no one shall suffer unnecessarily because of his living in an unfortunate geographic location.

Properly to provide for the medical and sur-

gical care of people in isolated places would manifestly impose an exceedingly heavy burden on the State. Moreover, the persons in the more thickly populated districts would probably be unfairly taxed for the care of those in sparsely settled places. It is a difficult matter to induce a physician to undertake the practice of medicine in any thinly settled section, for the work is unusually difficult and the compensation small. Unless, therefore, some special inducement is offered, it is evidently impossible to secure the services of a skilled attendant in such a place.

The remote and sparsely settled township which an interesting plan has been evolved to deal with this situation was preparing, at the time Dr. Olesen wrote, to vote on its adoption. In the event of affirmative action the experiment will be watched with much interest throughout the country.

It is planned to levy a sufficient tax to provide an annual retainer of \$1000 for a physician who shall practice medicine and surgery in this locality. Furthermore, it is proposed to bond the township sufficiently to provide funds for the erection of a physician's residence, the cost of which shall not exceed \$5000. The physician will be permitted to reside in this dwelling and also to have his office therein without the payment of rent. A suitable garage and barn will also be provided.

In return for the annual salary of \$1000 and the rent-free residence, office, garage, and barn,

the township board reserves the right to prescribe the fees which shall be collected by the physician. Tentatively the charge of \$2 per call made within in the township boundaries, together with mileage at the rate of 50 cents per mile traveled, has been set as the fee the physician shall collect. When a call is made outside the township the charge shall be \$3, with the same mileage charge. However, \$1 of each \$3 fee so charged shall revert to the township treasury. Charges for confinements, operations, and other unusual attendance are to be made in accordance with the county medical society's fee schedule.

It is the intention of the officials in charge of the project to have the physician act as health officer and serve as medical attendant to the indigent supported by the township. He is also to serve as school physician, making a physical examination of the pupils at least once in three months during the school term. Furthermore, he is to advise the members of the board of health in professional matters.

A similar plan for solving this problem is set forth in a recent editorial in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* in the following terms:

There are many small communities throughout the country that are without physicians. Some which have come to our notice have been so for three years and are without any prospects of

obtaining a practitioner. Such a condition is a calamity. How to secure adequate medical attention and at the same time have it efficient is the problem which is before these communities. Physicians cannot work without adequate compensation—just what that compensation must be depends upon the cost of living and the work required; but it is very doubtful if satisfactory medical service can be obtained unless the physician has an income of from \$3600 to \$5000 a year. Most communities can afford this amount.

While we do not approve of a "contract practice," we do believe that communities that are without medical attention should make a contract with a physician which should take the form of a guaranty of a certain salary for the year. He should be free to charge the regular fee, but if at the end of the year he has not collected the specified amount the deficiency should be made up to him. What would this mean to the community of perhaps 1000 persons? A guaranty of \$3600 would mean \$3.60 per year per individual, or, in round numbers 30 cents per month, or 7½ cent per week. Any community can afford that sum. There are many capable young men who have just graduated from college who would be glad to enter into such an arrangement and who would do good work. The trouble at present is that communities wish the physicians to come to them and take all the risks of making a living, regardless of the fact that larger communities usually offer better opportunities for success.

DR. VORONOFF'S EXPERIMENTS IN HUMAN GRAFTING

WHEN a new scientific idea is given to the world, it is rarely grasped at once in its entirety by the public at large. If it happens to carry with it some corollary having an especially sensational flavor, the chances are that this subordinate detail will spread like wildfire along the channels provided by the newspapers and the popular magazines, while the broad, fundamental features of the revelation will lag behind—not only for days, but even for generations. For example, it is notorious that the all-embracing theory of evolution was popularly understood, for decades after its enunciation, to be hardly anything more than the assertion of man's simian ancestry.

Just as Darwinism used to mean to the average citizen, and perhaps still does, the doctrine that mankind is descended from monkeys, so the recent far-reaching experiments of Dr. Serge Voronoff in the grafting of animal organs, bones, and tissues seem to have been reduced, in popular apprehension, to certain undertakings in the transplantation of the thyroid gland. The similarity to the case of Darwinism extends even to the

prominence of the monkey—since the glands of apes were used in the experiments which have lately figured in the newspapers.

Fortunately Dr. Voronoff has presented a comprehensive account of his work in *La Revue* (Paris), and an abstract and partial translation of his article appears in the *Scientific American Monthly*. Thus we are able to glean important information which failed to reach us by way of the cables.

It appears that Dr. Voronoff, a former pupil of Dr. Carrel at the Rockefeller Institute, has been studying for many years the process of grafting, as applied to animals and man, with a view to ascertaining the conditions that insure success in such operations. He says:

I undertook certain experiments in order to determine the conditions which might insure the definite vitality of grafted organs. I soon perceived that the organs borrowed by one animal from another of the same species sometimes exhibit signs of retrogression and atrophy. I concluded that the borrowed organ failed to find the proper vital conditions and nutritive environment in its new host necessary for its continued existence.

Every living being represents a highly personal individual entity, possessing a peculiar temperament and blood character, which, while similar to that of other individuals of the same species, nevertheless has certain peculiarities which differentiate the intimate biological conditions of the cell life in our organs. This individual difference varies in degree, and it occurred to me that it must certainly be possible to find some individuals which were more closely similar than others among the same species. I based this opinion upon the fact that some individuals are found whose blood when mingled forms a uniform liquid wherein it is impossible to distinguish the portions coming from one or the other. There are others on the contrary whose blood immediately coagulates in contact with the added blood, and there are still others whose blood acts like an acid upon the blood which is poured into it, dissolving and destroying the red corpuscles. An organ borrowed from an individual whose blood is very different from that of the individual in which it is planted is naturally certain to die, since its nutritive environment is suddenly changed. On the other hand when the transplanted organ finds the same conditions which governed its previous life it continues to live in a normal manner.

Family relationship was found to be favorable to grafting experiments and the author was able, in the case of closely related sheep, to transplant even very delicate and complex organs, which exhibited perfect vitality at the end of two years.

Having thus proved his theory by animal experimentation, Dr. Voronoff proceeded to undertake human grafting. Shortly before the outbreak of the war he reported to the Academy of Medicine in Paris a remarkable case wherein he improved the condition of a child who was idiotic because of the atrophy of the thyroid gland by grafting upon it a thyroid gland of a monkey, and a still more remarkable case where he grafted a portion of a thyroid gland of a mother upon her son with remarkable results. The latter, a youth of twenty, resembled a child of ten in appearance, having been born without a thyroid gland. He had remained small, fat, with a neck sunken in his shoulders and the cretinoid face which recalls an animal. This boy, dull and apathetic, able to pronounce only a few intelligible words, and hiding in corners like a frightened animal, presented a painful contrast to his brother only a year older, but a big, vigorous fellow fighting bravely at the front.

In 1915 the mother, a strong and intelligent woman, gladly consented to have a portion of her own thyroid gland removed and grafted upon her son. The operation was highly successful, and at the end of a year an absolutely marvelous change was found in the afflicted youth. He had begun to grow, gaining sixteen centimeters (over six inches) in the year, his head was no longer sunken between his shoulders. The bloated look had disappeared; best of all, his mind had been awakened. He was able to talk distinctly and he is at present earning his living by working in a bakery.

Dr. Voronoff was able to apply his discoveries on a very extensive scale during the war to the treatment of shattered bones, in a hospital especially devoted to grafting operations. The process is thus described:

The first problem is to decide where to take the graft; as I have said, it is necessary that these grafts should find the same nutritive environment, and the same biological conditions in the new host, which they previously had. When the wounded man is able to bear it, the best thing, therefore, is to take the needed fragment of bone from his own body. At first the idea seems paradoxical, since the proposition is to repair a fractured leg or arm by breaking another bone of the wounded man. Happily the reality is less tragic than it seems. Nature has thoughtfully given us a bone which we can dispense with, without suffering any inconvenience. This is the fibula, that thin but solid bone which is able to bear a weight of 70 kilos (154 pounds) without breaking, and which is fastened to the tibia. Our body is supported by the femur which is joined directly to the tibia and not to the fibula, which we retain as a vestige of an ancestral condition, and which we can dispense with without trouble, at any rate its upper part. Moreover, there are many animals which are excellent runners and yet do not possess this bone.

When taken from the invalid himself this bone naturally finds the same vital conditions to which it is accustomed, and it is grafted with great ease in the new area to which it is transplanted. Placed between parts of bones which are larger than itself, such as the femur or the tibia, it not only welds the broken parts together but it becomes larger itself, becoming indeed almost as large as the femur or tibia, thanks to the more abundant nutrition which it receives from the bigger blood vessels in its new position, and thanks also to the marvelous adaptability of every organ to its new function. This growth in volume naturally requires a certain length of time, sometimes a year or longer. But this bone is not the only one which can be used as material for grafting. The graft is often borrowed from the tibia, by cutting a piece of a certain thickness out of it, especially to repair an arm bone. The tibia is such a thick bone that it can stand such a loss without injuring its solidity; in fact, the wounded man who has had a piece of bone borrowed from his leg to mend his arm is able to get out of bed and walk without trouble ten days after the operation. In other cases I have borrowed a bony fragment to fill in a fractured bone from the longest fragment of the injured bone itself.

Though what Dr. Voronoff calls "auto-grafts"—i. e., grafts from the same individual—give the greatest assurance of success, it is quite possible to graft bones taken from another human being or a lower animal, and it is even thought feasible to borrow bones from dead men to mend those of the living, since bone is said to retain its vitality for about eighteen hours after the general death of the individual.

THE CRISIS IN THE PUBLISHING TRADE IN FRANCE

THE grave and possibly disastrous consequences, material and moral, of the decline of the French publishing industry are forcibly presented in a discussion of the subject in the *Correspondant* (Paris) by Fernand Roches. He backs up his statements by specific instances and statistical data, and concludes by suggesting, in view of the importance of the matter, remedial measures to be adopted by the government.

The crisis in the book trade, he observes, is a vital one for France, and is becoming daily more acute. Those solicitous about the intellectual and economic future of the country ask themselves whither it is drifting.

One of the most important houses of Lisbon asked the writer's firm to discontinue sending new publications on account of the high rate of Portuguese exchange; similar notices have been received lately from Brazil, Rumania, etc., and even from Italy. The rates of exchange have a twofold effect: on the one hand, the countries, like those mentioned, where the exchange is favorable to France, cannot purchase French books owing to the high prices demanded in their currency; on the other, those countries where the exchange is unfavorable to France tend to buy less because, publishing being very expensive with them, too, the French books would be much cheaper and thus prove detrimental to the sale of native literature. The export of French books, therefore, encounters great difficulties, which form a barrier to French intellectual expansion.

The situation, it may be urged, is a natural one; all other industries are in the same boat. But it should be noted that the questions involved in the book trade differ from those raised by any other. They have a special character, and demand a special solution.

A book is unlike any other merchandise; and that from two points of view: firstly, from the *economic* one it is subject to peculiar laws. This was proved during the war. While all other commodities rose in value in proportion—and beyond that—to the rise in cost prices, books remained stationary until August, 1917, and their selling price was very moderately increased subsequently; and to-day we have the following paradoxical situation: though the cost price has increased 400 per cent., the selling price has risen but

100 per cent., and that much only for law books and learned productions. The reason for this disconcerting situation is to be found solely in the nature of the book as a commercial article.

A book is not a product of prime necessity: that is the truth in a nutshell. It is not indispensable—at least apparently. Food, clothing, furniture may rise in price indefinitely, yet their sale will not be greatly diminished; other commodities, too, not of prime necessity, run the same course. Don't we know that man craves the superfluities? The book, however, is modest, makes no display, and is discarded.

Many books, to be sure, are sold to-day—mainly works of the imagination. Their price, as we have seen, is very low compared to other merchandise. The intellectual élite has never abounded in riches, and the *nouveaux riches*, of whom there are hundreds of thousands in France, have not yet attained a degree of culture which makes a book an object of imperious necessity.

A book may reach a certain price, but cannot fall below it without loss. Now, that price having actually been attained, and the cost of production continuing to rise heavily, the result is an inextricable crisis.

The number of learned works unpublished is rapidly increasing, while young literary aspirants find themselves in a vicious circle: to await, in order to find a publisher, a fame which they can attain only after a publication of their efforts. At any rate, the decline in the number of works of consequence is considerable; a phenomenon all the more deplorable since France offered a splendid example of intellectual activity in the full tide of war. This decline threatens, indeed, to become a national cataclysm unless serious attention be given the matter in high places.

We are at ebb tide. It remains to be seen whether we shall sink still lower. Cornered as they are between the cost of production and the limit of the selling-price, will the publishers succeed in mounting the fatal incline?

The answer does not depend upon them. The war conditions have been succeeded by special economic causes of impoverishment of the book trade. But the problem ought to be solved! To lose the result of French in-

telligence is inconceivable, impossible. To be represented in the world only by the writers able to pay for the publication of their manuscripts would be scandalous. The spirit must rise above material obstacles.

And our hope is based on the second peculiarity of the book as an industrial product. The first, we have seen, is economic; the second is moral.

The book belongs to the domain of thought. On that score it helps to maintain and to elevate our intellectual level; and on that score the whole nation is directly interested in its fate. The world is being transformed. It is to the interest of France, moral and material, to take a leading place in this transformation, to exercise its influence upon the minds and institutions of nations old and new. Joseph de Maistre observed: "France possesses an extraordinary power of propaganda." True, but unfortunately that force has not led to action.

As for Germany, consciously or unconsciously she aims at moral (if one may so term it) and economic supremacy. The government realizes the value of the book as a tool. Paper there is abundant. Leipzig means to remain the center of the European book trade.

Furthermore, the French language has adversaries it had not in 1914. The fact that

the Treaty of Versailles was not published in French proclaims a new element of competition.

The book is a weapon in the economic struggle, and the publishing trade the most essential one to the general economic prosperity of the country. This should at all costs be recognized in the world of affairs.

Abroad, books pave the way, open the doors, maintain friendships, develop credit.

The publishers' contemplated, concerted efforts should be aided by the state. Should the government decree the following concessions in order to encourage the publishers in their struggle it would meet with general approval, rouse no jealousy in the other branches of industry:

(1) All the raw material required in book production to enter France free of duty.

(2) The said raw material and the manufactured publications to be transported at greatly reduced rates on the various railway systems. During any congestion of railway traffic they shall have the right of priority.

(3) The rates of postage for printed matter not to be increased.

(4) Subsidies to be granted for the export trade of books, reviews, and magazines until the economic situation of the publishing industry shall have become normal.

(5) A subscription of 250 copies to be arranged for by the Minister of Public Instruction in the case of every documentary work of value. These 250 copies shall be distributed among the libraries of the nation.

THE NUMBER OF TITLES PUBLISHED IN RECENT YEARS IN EIGHT FOREIGN COUNTRIES
AND THE UNITED STATES AS REPORTED TO THE INTERNATIONAL UNION
FOR THE PROTECTION OF LITERARY PROPERTY AT BERNE

	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
Germany	35,078	29,308	23,558	22,020	14,910	14,743
Japan	18,000	20,000	23,000	24,000		
Great Britain	12,379	11,537	10,655	9,149	8,131	7,716
France	11,460	8,968	4,274	5,062	5,054	4,484
Italy	11,100	11,523	11,431	8,641	8,349	5,902
Holland	3,831	3,453	3,701	3,762	3,951	3,681
Spain	3,652	3,995	4,832	4,176	4,820	3,620
Denmark	3,635	3,735	3,931	3,948	3,687	4,305
United States					10,060	9,237

THE NEW BOOKS

CURRENT INTERNATIONAL TOPICS

The Peace in the Making. By Wilson Harris. E. P. Dutton & Company. 235 pp.

Those readers who are interested in finding an account of the Peace Conference to supplement the somewhat opinionated statements of Keynes and Dillon would do well to provide themselves with a copy of "The Peace in the Making." The author, who for three months was the special correspondent of the London *Daily News* at Paris, aims in this volume to do no more than give a bird's-eye view of the doings of the Conference, and this for the time being is all that can be expected. He does, however, include entertaining sketches of the chief personalities. These, in the main, are good-humored and scrupulously fair. The book as a whole, while not itself history in the fullest sense, may well be regarded as a contribution to history.

An Introduction to the Peace Treaties. By Arthur Pearson Scott. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 292 pp.

While this book gives some analysis of the causes of the war and the motives of the peace proposals, its chief purpose is to present a detailed summary of the Versailles Treaty, including the Covenant of the League of Nations. These documents are accompanied by comment which is illuminating rather than controversial, and in cases where marked differences of opinion concerning the peace settlement have developed, the author sets forth impartially the arguments on both sides. If the question of Treaty ratification is to be one of the leading issues of the coming Presidential campaign, this book will prove an invaluable source of information.

Have We a Far Eastern Policy? By Charles H. Sherrill. With an Introduction by Hon. David Jayne Hill. Charles Scribner's Sons. 307 pp.

General Sherrill is well known in this country as a diplomat and as an author. He writes with special knowledge of the Pacific countries. To his view those lands present a great field for the development of civilization in which both East and West must share. It is by frankly facing the varied and difficult problems that present themselves in our contacts with the Orient that General Sherrill is able to contribute stimulating and constructive essays toward the formulation of a Far Eastern policy for America.

International Relations. By Stephen Haley Allen. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 672 pp.

Now that American interest in the world relations of nations and peoples has been immensely stimulated by the war and its outcome, such a treatise as this has a distinct value. The reader will find here in outline the ancient and modern

conceptions of a nation, and especially a clear statement of what has been done to regulate international intercourse by conventions, efforts to prevent war by arbitration and mediation and to mitigate the barbarities of war when it does come. Included in the volume are the documents representing the important general conventions that were in force at the outbreak of the Great War, and in conclusion the Peace Treaty itself and the Constitution of the League of Nations are presented.

The Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Supremacy. By Lothrop Stoddard. Chas. Scribner's Sons. 320 pp. Ill.

Mr. Stoddard has written a brilliant and highly suggestive survey and analysis of the present-day relations of the White and Colored races throughout the world. What he describes as the rising tide of the Yellow, Brown, Black and Red races is graphically described in a series of tersely written chapters. This is followed by an historical account of "The Ebbing Tide of White," and the book concludes with brief chapters on "The Outer Dikes," "The Inner Dikes," and "The Crisis of the Ages." Mr. Stoddard's immediate program, involving what he regards as "the irreducible minimum," calls for a thorough revision of the Versailles Treaty and a provisional understanding by which the white races will give up their tacit assumption of domination over Asia, while the Asiatics forego their dreams of migration to the lands of white and other races. Without some such understanding Mr. Stoddard looks forward to a race war on a world scale.

International Commerce and Reconstruction. By Elisha M. Friedman. E. P. Dutton & Company. 432 pp.

Mr. Friedman is already favorably known as the editor of "American Problems of Reconstruction" and the author of "Labor and Reconstruction in Europe." He writes not merely as a statistician dealing with facts at second hand, but from intimate personal knowledge of the trade conditions and policies of the nations. His book is constructive and written with a view to the development of an American commercial policy based on fundamental principles of trade, and recognizing at the same time the tremendous changes wrought by the war and the resulting difficulties to be overcome.

The New Frontiers of Freedom. By E. Alexander Powell. Charles Scribner's Sons. 263 pp. Ill.

An account of a journey through southeastern Europe during the summer and autumn of 1919. Like all of Major Powell's writings, this narra-

tive is spirited and colorful throughout. Perhaps on the whole the most interesting episode in Major Powell's travels, as related in this volume, was his visit to the King and Queen of Rumania. The candid utterances of these representatives of modern royalty form an amazing and delightful chapter of current history.

The New Germany. By George Young. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 333 pp.

A British diplomatist's account of events in Germany between the Armistice and the signing of the Versailles Treaty. Mr. Young was in Germany during that period as special correspondent of the London *Daily News*.

MORE WAR HISTORY

A Short History of the Great War. By A. F. Pollard. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 411 pp. Ill.

Although several histories of the war have already appeared, only a few of them have been written by men who had an ante-war historical reputation. Dr. Pollard is one of this small group. For many years he has held the chair of English History in the University of London, and is the author of numerous historical works, besides having served as assistant editor of the "Dictionary of National Biography." His record of the war is chronologically complete, and includes the work of the Peace Conference. His book undoubtedly represents the best that English historical scholarship can do at this stage by way of outlining the five-years' struggle. The book is supplied with excellent maps.

A Short History of the Great War. By William L. McPherson. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 410 pp.

Regarding the strategy of the war as a study in itself, Mr. McPherson has dealt with that subject in an earlier volume. In the present book he discusses the purely strategical aspects of the war only in so far as it is necessary to establish the true relation of battles and campaigns to one another and to the ultimate result. His main object is to give a clear and accurate running account of the war's origin and progress. He confines himself chiefly to military and diplomatic aspects and the part played by the United States.

The Battle of Jutland. By Commander Carlyon Bellairs. London: Hodder & Stoughton (Doran). 312 pp. Ill.

This book does not pretend to be a detailed

account of the greatest naval battle of the war, since even yet an accurate history is impossible under the policy of secrecy maintained by the British Admiralty. It is rather a critical survey of the work and methods of the British navy in connection with that battle, so far as they have been disclosed. For the general reader it has less value than for the naval expert. Yet it is an interesting example of the kind of criticism which seems to be encouraged among British naval officers, not for the sake of mere controversy but in order to draw conclusions that may be useful in the future.

Indiscretions of the Naval Censor. By Rear-Admiral Sir Douglas Brownrigg. George H. Doran Company. 314 pp.

So human a personality is this British naval censor, as his book reveals him, that we cannot help wondering at times how he managed to hold his job. He seems to have been on especially good terms with the newspaper men of the Allied countries, and he cannot say enough in commendation of our own Lewis Freeman, who was a contributor to the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* years before he held a commission in the British Naval Reserve.

From Serbia to Yugoslavia. By Gordon Gordon-Smith. With a preface by Dr. Slavko Grouitch. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 360 pp.

A much-needed statement of the course of Serbia's victories, reverses, and final triumph during the years 1914-18. The author, who is an intimate friend of the King of Serbia, gives an intimate and account of the great Serbian retreat. The attitude and policy of the Allies, especially with regard to Bulgaria, are freely criticized.

STIMULATING BIOGRAPHY

Leader of Men. By Robert Gordon Anderson. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 55 pp.

An eloquent tribute to Theodore Roosevelt by the author of a poem which attracted much attention in the pages of *Scribner's Magazine* somewhat more than a year ago.

That Human Being, Leonard Wood. By Hermann Hagedorn. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 126 pp.

The briefest and most readable of the various current biographies of General Wood. Mr. Hage-

dorn employs journalistic methods. He begins with incidents of present-day interest and works back for illustrative material through General Wood's career to the days of the Cuban administration.

Mrs. Gladstone. By Her Daughter, Mary Gladstone Drew. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 294 pp. Ill.

If Americans in Mr. Gladstone's time had been as closely in touch with English affairs as they are to-day, they would have recognized in Mrs.

Gladstone one of the great English women of her generation. Her daughter, Mrs. Drew, has only now, twenty years after her mother's death, completed the biography which reveals to both England and America the personality that was necessarily somewhat overshadowed during the lifetime of her famous husband, the Grand Old Man of English public life.

Pasteur: the History of a Mind. By Émile Duclaux. Translated by Erwin F. Smith and Florence Hedges. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company. 363 pp.

This is a book that must appeal with peculiar force to scientists, since both subject and author were themselves scientists of the first rank. The translators, who are pathologists in the United States Department of Agriculture, have appended an annotated list of persons mentioned in the book, including most of Pasteur's great contemporaries in his own and allied fields of research.

John Archibald Campbell, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1853-1861. By Henry G. Connor. Houghton Mifflin Company. 310 pp.

The record of a distinguished Southern jurist who left the bench of the United States Supreme Court in 1861 to follow the fortunes of his State (Georgia), and this although he was personally opposed to secession. In the North Judge Campbell is remembered in connection with the ne-

gotiations over Fort Sumter early in 1861 and as one of the three Confederate commissioners sent to the Hampton Roads Conference to meet President Lincoln and Secretary Seward in 1865.

Between You and Me. By Sir Harry Lauder. The James A. McCann Company. 324 pp.

No one would expect Sir Harry Lauder to do anything conventional—least of all to write a conventional autobiography. Probably he would not care to have his book placed in this category, but because it carries out its title, "Between You and Me," it is truly autobiographical. This book gives Lauder and his message in a unique and inimitable way. It is as well worth reading as Lauder himself is worth hearing.

Life of Dante Alighieri. By Charles Allen Dinsmore. Houghton Mifflin Company. 306 pp. Ill.

Scholars are always writing about Dante, but the readable biographies in English are not many, and especially rare are the books which, like this one, give the results of modern research in popular form. The first part of the volume outlines the general character of the age in which Dante lived and the city to which he belonged. The second part states the facts of his life that are definitely known, together with certain traditions. The concluding part is a study and interpretation of "The Divine Comedy" and of Dante as a literary artist.

LABOR, ORGANIZED AND UNORGANIZED

Socialism in Thought and Action. By Harry W. Laidler. Macmillan. 546 pp.

Probably as full and clear a statement of modern socialistic concepts as can be had in the English language. The author, as secretary of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, has lectured during recent years at many colleges, and in the present volume he gives the Socialist answer to the various objections that have been urged against his doctrinal positions. The book is chiefly valuable as an exposition of the worldwide Socialist movement during and since the war.

Organized Labor in American History. By Frank Tracy Carlton. D. Appleton & Company. 313 pp.

Besides telling the history of wage-earners' organizations in America, Professor Carlton explains the labor program as matured before the war and as adapted to war conditions, as well as the labor problems of to-day.

A Short History of the American Labor Movement. By Mary Beard. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 174 pp.

A good, brief account of the growth of labor organizations in America, based chiefly on the "History of Labor in the United States," by John R. Commons and his associates.

The Great Menace. By George Whitefield Mead. Dodd, Mead & Company. 153 pp.

From the author's viewpoint the great menace to the American people to-day is Bolshevism, which is more threatening in the United States than in any other country except Russia. This book undertakes to expose the machinations of the Red Terror in its contest with Americanism.

The Casual Laborer and Other Essays. By Carleton H. Parker. With an introduction by Cornelia Stratton Parker. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 199 pp.

First-hand studies of American labor conditions, with special reference to the elements of unrest exemplified most fully in the I. W. W. Professor Parker was a labor psychologist. An introduction is supplied by Mrs. Parker.

Is Violence the Way Out of Our Industrial Disputes? By John Haynes Holmes. Dodd, Mead & Company. 130 pp.

Dr. Holmes, who has long been an advocate of the doctrine of non-resistance, attempts in this little book to apply that doctrine to the industrial situation of our day. His argument should not be construed as a plea for acquiescence in evil or surrender to tyranny. On the other hand, Dr. Holmes upholds it as presenting "a program of courageous action and constructive reform, based on the fundamental idea of rational good-will."

Organizing for Work. By H. L. Gantt. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 113 pp. Ill.

Mr. Gantt's little treatise starts with the assumption that our political and business systems must be made to serve the community. He would make industry democratic by placing authority in the hands of those who know what to do and how to do it, irrespective of whether they are the owners of the tools of production or not. Mr. Gantt has also developed a chart system by which

essential facts may be presented as a step to the solution of all industrial problems.

Common Sense and Labor. By Samuel Crowther. Doubleday, Page & Company. 284 pp.

A survey of the present industrial situation by a man familiar through actual contact with the peculiar problems of employer as well as those of the employee. His book makes for sanity on both sides.

MODERN ART

Color Scheme for the Home and Model Interiors. By Henry W. Frohne and Alice F. and Bettina Jackson. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. Grand Rapids: The Dean-Hicks Company. 99 pp. Ill.

Probably more than one home-maker has wished at times for a brief and simple statement of the foundation principles of interior decoration and furnishing. Such a statement is provided in this interesting book, together with a series of illustrations that show in the clearest possible way the application of the principles in color schemes for model interiors. The authors have made no attempt to dictate in selection or arrangement of furnishings. They concede ample latitude for personal choice. The intelligent home-maker will profit from this book not by way of getting from it any hard and fast directions, but rather from acquiring a clearer comprehension of the reasons on which a sound decision must be based.

The Practical Book of Interior Decoration. By Harold Donaldson Eberlein, Abbot McClure, and Edward Stratton Holloway. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 445 pp. Ill.

The first part of this volume is devoted to historic period decoration in England, Italy, France, and Spain since the beginning of the sixteenth century, with comment on American colonial styles. In the second part lessons to be drawn from the historical exposition in Part I are applied directly to modern requirements.

Nearly 300 excellent illustrations accompany the text, adding materially to its value.

Modern Woodcuts and Lithographs. By British and French Artists. With Commentary by Malcolm C. Salaman. Edited by Geoffrey Holme. "The Studio" Ltd.

Running comment on the development of the woodcut in France and England, with a series of striking reproductions in color and monotone.

First Steps in the Enjoyment of Pictures. By Maude I. G. Oliver. Henry Holt & Company. 186 pp. Ill.

A book intended to help young readers understand and enjoy such pictures as may be seen in American galleries or traveling exhibits. Any boy or girl above the age of twelve may use this book to advantage and will find it interesting and suggestive as well as instructive. The paintings selected for reproduction are all by American artists, the frontispiece being Sargent's portrait of James Whitcomb Riley, in the John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis.

Proportional Form. By Samuel Colman and C. Arthur Coan. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 265 pp. Ill.

Studies in the science of beauty, supplemental to those set forth in "Nature's Harmonic Unity," by the same authors. The drawings and correlating descriptions are by Mr. Colman, the text and mathematics by Captain Coan.

AMERICAN RAILROAD ROMANCE

The Railroad Builders. By John Moody. Chronicles of America. Volume 38. New Haven: Yale University Press. 257 pp. Ill.

The fascinating story of the projection and welding of the leading American railway systems and the careers of the men of vision who pushed out across the Mississippi Valley and the Rocky Mountains in this bold enterprise. Popular works in this field are not many, and Mr. Moody has contributed to the "Chronicles of America" series one of its most distinctive volumes. The narrative as a whole makes one of the most vital and thrilling chapters in nineteenth-century achievement.

A History of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad. By Howard Douglas Dozier. Houghton Mifflin Company. 197 pp. Ill.

The Story of the Santa Fé. By Glenn Danford Bradley. Boston: Richard G. Badger. 288 pp. Ill.

Concrete illustrations of the processes and methods outlined by Mr. Moody are supplied in detail by these two volumes. Professor Dozier includes in his book a treatment of the economic history of that part of the South with which it is concerned. Professor Bradley relates the romantic adventures of the men who laid the iron rails along the famous Santa Fé Trail.

